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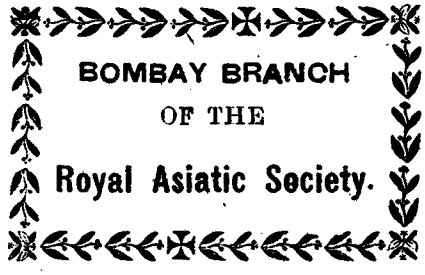

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Antiquities of Indian Tibet

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Antiquities of Indian Tibet

BY

A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D.,

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PART (VOLUME) II

THE CHRONICLES OF LADAKH AND MINOR CHRONICLES,

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS, WITH NOTES AND MAPS

Edited with Foreword by

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FOREWORD.

The printing of Dr. Francke's work was commenced in 1913. It was practically suspended during the war years, and the difficult period which followed: and since its resumption in 1920 it has been retarded by several circumstances, among which may be mentioned the supply of Tibetan type and the author's residence in Germany, entailing a vast amount of correspondence. The work has undergone considerable revision both prior to being submitted to the press and subsequently.

As regards the difficulties of the texts, it may be said that the edition and translation have been rendered possible only by Dr. Francke's personal acquaintance with the language, peoples, and topography of Ladakh and the neighbouring territories, and by the help which he was able to obtain in the country itself. There remain many points of reading, rendering, and explanation in regard to which certainty has not been attained.

In general Dr. Francke has preserved the varieties of spelling which he found in his originals, and such varieties are usually reflected in the translations. Apology must, however, be made for some inconsistencies in the treatment of Indian terms occurring in the Tibetan: thus such words as *mahārāja, wazīr*, may have been so written where the Tibetan has *ma-ha-ra-dza, wa-zir*.[1]

The numerous deviations in the spelling of the same names may be classified as follows: *First*, there are the variations so common in the Tibetan spellings both of proper names and of ordinary words. *Secondly*, there are the divergent spellings of European writers, whether due to differences of date, or to systems of transliteration, or to individual idiosyncrasies: and an important group under this head consists of place-names which have assumed a certain fixity in maps, while another consists of names of rulers for which Cunningham's *Ladák* is the chief or sole authority. In general the principles followed have been (1) to preserve in all citations the spelling of the writer, (2) to maintain an uniform and, if possible, correct spelling wherever Dr. Francke is speaking in his own person, except that (3) licence has often been taken to refer to places under the name-forms familiar in the ordinary maps. In the special local maps prepared for this volume a correct orthography has been thought appropriate. It is to be hoped that in the future writers on Tibet will show respect for an old literary language by presenting Tibetan words in the form of an exact transliteration according to an

[1] It may be here mentioned that many of the words noted on pp. 145–6 as borrowed from Indian and European languages have been discussed by Dr. B. Laufer in his article "Loan-words in Tibetan", published in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), pp. 449 sqq.

accepted system, regardless of pronunciation, which readers unacquainted with the language will in any case distort—in obedience, it would seem, to a perverse instinct misguiding all alike, whether *docti* or *indocti*, in the presence of unknown vocables.

Prior to the appearance of Cunningham's *Ladák* (London, 1854)—with which we should associate the likewise valuable work (*Western Himalaya and Tibet*, London, 1852) of his fellow-explorer, Dr. Thomas Thomson—information concerning Western Tibet was based almost exclusively upon the reports of travellers, Chinese travellers from the fourth to the ninth century A.D., Roman Catholic missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth, British travellers (Moorcroft, Henderson, Vigne) during the first part of the nineteenth. Some lists of kings were supplied by Csoma Cörösi, who lived in the country from 1823 to 1830, in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, pp. 131–2; and a few isolated notices have been traced in the Sanskrit chronicles (*Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*) of Kashmir.

Cunningham's work was of great importance, furnishing not only a great deal of systematic information concerning the geography, topography, meteorology, and economics of the whole region, but also a description of the ethnology and common life, the government, the religion, the languages, and the history. He supplies genealogies of kings and successions of priests for the several districts, and details the substance of local chronicles and narratives. His remarkable historical and topographical insight enabled him to produce a work which is susceptible much more of amplification than of correction, and which will retain its value as an original source. Since his time the region has been extensively visited by officials,[1] explorers, mountaineers, scientists, travellers, and sportsmen; and Ladakh in particular has been found not beyond the reach of ordinary tourists. The most marked deficiency in our present knowledge of the whole territory affects its early history, which is not without importance, seeing that the trade route viâ Ladakh has from ancient times connected Kashmir and India with the life and politics of Central Asia. Dr. Francke's work, providing definite outlines for the later centuries, may furnish threads leading back to the beginnings.

F. W. THOMAS.

August, 1925.

[1] One Englishman, an ex-Corporal named Johnson, even held under the Kashmir Mahārāja the office of Wazīr of Ladakh (1871–1883). He left a very honourable reputation (see p. 142 of the present work).

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INTRODUCTION

THE chronicles of Ladakh (*La-dvags*), which are here for the first time edited and translated in their full extent, comprise in their earlier parts the history of the ancient empire of Great Tibet and in their more recent parts that of the West Tibetan empire. But even in the chapters dealing with the history of Great Tibet special attention is shown to Western Tibet; and these chapters do not appear to be mere extracts from general Tibetan works of history. On the contrary, they appear to be an original production, which had its origin in the west of the country.

The first European to hear of the existence of a continuous historical narrative in Western Tibet was Csoma de Körös, who lived in Zaṅs-dkar and Upper Kunawar between A.D. 1820 and 1830. He says in a note appended to his list of Tibetan kings (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 132) that there was a book at Leh containing the names of the kings who successively reigned in that principality (Ladakh). But Csoma was never able to see the book.

Csoma's statement was questioned by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who visited Ladakh in A.D. 1846–7. He says that from Dpal-gyi-mgon (tenth century) down to the end of the sixteenth century no historical records exist in Ladakh. This he explains in the following way:—'During the invasion of Ladakh by Ali-Mir, the Mohamedan chief of Skardo (sixteenth century), all the temples and monasteries of the country are said to have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus.' Cunningham, however, managed to see historical books containing the history of Ladakh from *c.* A.D. 1580 down to the Dogra wars (A.D. 1834). These chapters were apparently translated for him into Urdu, and he wrote down in English what he was told. This method explains a number of blunders found in Cunningham's chapter 'Under Native Rulers'. But a comparison of his account with that of the chronicles, as we have them now, plainly proves that his information was drawn from original documents.

The first to bring a copy of such an original document to Europe was Hermann v. Schlagintweit, who visited Leh in 1856. It was a copy specially prepared for him, executed by three lamas, but not until valuable presents had been given to the ex-king, Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. This copy was published by Emil v. Schlagintweit, with a German translation, in *Abhandlungen der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. x, 1866.

A copy of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, very similar to that of Schlagintweit, must have been in the hands of the Rev. H. A. Jäschke when he made his collections of Tibetan words for his Tibetan-English dictionary. Many of the words and passages

marked *Glr.* in his dictionary may be traced in the Tibetan text of Schlagintweit's edition. But Jäschke's rendering is often different from that of Schlagintweit.

Dr. K. Marx, Moravian missionary at Leh, soon saw the insufficiency of Schlagintweit's translation. At the same time he discovered at Leh two MSS. which contained fuller accounts of the times subsequent to A.D. 1620. He even induced a Ladakhi nobleman, Munshi Dpal-rgyas, to write the story of the Dogra war, as such an account did not yet exist. Basing on this new material, Dr. Marx proposed to edit a history of Ladakh (of the West Tibetan empire, beginning with King Ñi-ma-mgon in the tenth century) in three parts. The first part was to contain the history of Ladakh from Ñi-ma-mgon to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (beginning of the seventeenth century); the second part, the history from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal down to the Dogra wars (1834); and the third part, that of the Dogra wars. The first part of his work appeared in the J.A.S.B., 1891, consisting of text, translation, and notes, exactly as intended by the author, who had died a few weeks before its publication. Of the second part, the Tibetan text being lost, an English translation only, with a few notes, was published by Dr. K. Marx's brother, Professor G. Dalman. It appeared in the J.A.S.B., 1894. The third part, text according to *Ca* MS., with a translation by my wife, sister-in-law to Dr. K. Marx, appeared in J.A.S.B., 1902.

This was the state of things when Dr. Vogel, officiating Director-General of Archæology in India, asked me to bring out a complete edition of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.* In spite of all the labour spent on this little work the edition of the text, as well as its translation, had still many shortcomings. Not only was the text incomplete and scattered over various journals in two languages, but also the translation in many parts left much to be desired.

My first aim was, naturally, to recover those MSS. which had been intended by Dr. Marx to serve as a basis for his second publication, viz. the history of Ladakh from *c.* A.D. 1620 to 1834. These MSS. were called by Dr. Marx *B* MS. and *C* MS. Judging from the description which Dr. Marx gives of the author of *C* MS., I came to the conclusion that he might be Munshi Dpal-rgyas of Leh. My conjecture proved right, and the Rev. G. Reichel of Leh was soon enabled to send me a copy of *C* MS., covering that particular period of history. Munshi Dpal-rgyas, however, was not satisfied with furnishing this little chapter. On the contrary, he offered me in addition his most recent and most complete copy of his history of the Dogra wars. An examination of this new account of the Dogra wars showed me the advisability of embodying it in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.* Not to miss the meaning of a number of difficult passages in that chapter, I translated it at once into German. This German translation, together with a note on the relationship of the three different accounts of the Dogra war to one another, was published in the Z.D.M.G., vol. lxiv. All these different versions seem to come from Munshi Dpal-rgyas. It was more difficult to trace Dr. K. Marx's *B* MS. As a description of the person who owned it about twenty years ago had not been left by Dr. K. Marx, I tried to recover it by offering a prize to the person who should find it. The prize, amounting to 10 Rs. only,

was gained by the Christian schoolmaster at Leh, Joseph Tshe-brtan, who found the MS. in the possession of Tsandan-munshi at Leh. Of this MS. Joseph Tshe-brtan soon sent me a careful copy. Then I remembered having read in Dr. K. Marx's introduction that in several MSS. of the *Rgyal-rabs* a chapter on cosmology and cosmogony preceded the historical account of the chronicles. At the same time people told me of Munshi Dpal-rgyas' most recent historical activity, viz. his composition of a chapter on the history of Ladakh after 1842 A.D. Joseph Tshe-brtan provided me copies of all these productions, to which he added quite a new chapter, viz. Munshi Dpal-rgyas' chronological and taxation tables.

When I heard from Dr. L. D. Barnett that the British Museum was in possession of a MS. of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, I asked Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, then officiating Director-General of Archæology, India, to allow me to order a photographic copy of the same, to which he kindly agreed.

In the present publication the Tibetan text of the following chapters appears for the first time:—chapter ii, on cosmology; chapter viii, on the kings from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal down to the Dogra wars (*c.* 1625–1834 A.D.); chapter x, on the history of Ladakh after the Dogra wars; and chapter xi, containing chronological and taxation tables. With regard to chapter ix, the history of the Dogra wars, let me state that in the present publication the text of *Ca* MS. has been replaced by that of *Cc* MS., because the latter MS. contains not only a fuller, but also a more reliable account of those wars. Moreover, the text of the other chapters, which is mainly reproduced from former publications by Schlagintweit and Marx, has been carefully revised, and compared with that of the London MS.; and thus a number of doubtful readings have become clear.

As regards translations, the following chapters only contain entirely new material:—chapter ii, on cosmology; chapter x, on the history of Ladakh after the Dogra wars; and chapter xi, chronological and taxation tables. But here let me state that my revision of the former translations by Schlagintweit and Marx has in a great number of cases led to entirely new conceptions. And the present revised translation yields a richer harvest of historical facts than could be gathered from the former translations.

Let me now describe the five MSS. which have supplied the basis of the present text. I have not seen the original of a single MS.; but a comparison of the different copies with one another has shown me their reliability. Of the London MS. I had a photographic reproduction.

1. Schlagintweit's MS. (*S* MS.). The original MS. was the property of the ex-King of Ladakh, Hjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. This ex-king resided at Leh during Hermann v. Schlagintweit's visit to that town in 1856 A.D. At first he refused to produce his MS. at all; but, after valuable presents had been given to him, it was the ex-king himself who insisted on a copy of the MS. being prepared for Schlagintweit by three lamas. The text of this copy was appended by Emil v. Schlagintweit to the publication of his German translation of the *Rgyal-rabs*

mentioned above. Dr. K. Marx gives the following description of Schlagintweit's copy of the text (J.A.S.B., 1891, pp. 97–8):—'It apparently was written in *dbu-can* characters; consequently, in all those cases where certain *dbu-med* letters are apt to be confounded it may be taken for granted that, as compared with *dbu-med* MSS., preference must be given to Schlagintweit's edition, as being founded on an *dbu-can* MS. On the other hand, any MS. specially prepared by a native of Ladakh for a foreigner is apt to be less reliable than others of independent origin, for the reason—which would especially be true regarding historical documents—that the copyist will have a tendency to slightly alter the text, in the interest of his master, religion, or country, suppressing such facts as may seem to be derogatory to their fame, and substituting for phrases liable to be misunderstood others of a less equivocal character. As to Schlagintweit's edition, it must be admitted that the lamas who wrote the copy for his brother did not give way to any such tendency until they reached the 6th line of folio 30*a*; be it that they wished to suppress certain facts contained in the sequel, or that they were of opinion that the "merit" of the presents extended no further: certain it is that beyond this point the text is merely a meaningless jumble of words, culled at random from the original, and put together in such a way that only a careful examination of the text by one who knew the language could reveal the fraud. These two and a half pages, therefore, which are supposed to embrace the history of about two centuries, are really not fit for translation, and the attempt can only conduce to results totally misleading. All the other parts of the MS. seem to have been done fairly well. There are mistakes in spelling, and here and there an omission or an addition of a word or phrase that did not belong to the original; but, on the whole, the MS. seems to have been better than many one sees here.' Let me add a few words to Dr. K. Marx's description of the last two and a half pages of *S* MS., embracing the history of Ladakh from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal to the Dogra war. It is not necessary to believe that 'the merit' of Schlagintweit's presents extended no further, and that for this reason the royal MS. was not properly copied. I have come to the conviction that the royal MS. did not contain a better text. The royal MS. was one of those which close the history of Ladakh with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign. Other MSS. of the same type are K. Marx's *A* MS. and the London MS. (*L* MS.). Although the history proper of *S* MS. and *L* MS. ended with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, a list of names of the more recent kings, together with a few historical notes, was added by a later hand. That King Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal actually did not possess a better text of the history of his country after *c.* 1620 A.D. becomes evident from the following incident:—when his son, ex-King Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal, on a recent visit to Khalatse, discovered that the Tiṅ-ḥdzin-pa family was in possession of a *Rgyal-rabs* which contained full descriptions of the reigns of the last independent kings, he carried away all these chapters on recent history, returning to the family only the first part of the history.

2. *A* MS. Dr. K. Marx says with regard to it, '*A* MS. is a small book in 16mo, bound in leather and well kept. It contains, on 109 leaves, 1st, a cosmogony and cosmology in outline; 2nd, the genealogy of the Śākyas; 3rd, a history of the kings of Tibet (Yar-lung); 4th, a history of the kings of Ladakh down to King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Throughout it is most neatly written, with comparatively few mistakes. As it was not originally written for an outsider, but for the private use of its owner, its text may safely be supposed not to have been altered on purpose. The history of the kings of Ladakh down to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal fills twenty leaves.' It forms the basis of the Tibetan text of K. Marx's 'first document'.

3. *B* MS. Dr. K. Marx says, '*B* MS. is four loose leaves in folio, very old-looking, very much worn at the edges and corners, and torn in some places. It commences with the history of the second (Rnam-rgyal) dynasty of Ladakh kings, and gives a comparatively full account of the history of Ladakh down to the Dogra invasion. This MS. is very badly written, so much so that even Ladakhis find it difficult to read; still, in point of evidence it ranks next to *A*, and the information which it contains regarding the decline of the Ladakh empire (since Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal) is especially valuable.' When Dr. Marx died in 1891, it appears that the owner of this MS. claimed his property, and took it to his home. As Dr. Marx does not give any hints with regard to the owner's personality, it was rather difficult to recover the MS. As already stated, Joseph Tshe-brtan found it in the possession of Tsandan Munshi at Leh. He prepared a copy of it, which he sent me.

4. *C* MS. Dr. K. Marx says, '*C* MS. consists of two parts. The first part was specially prepared by command of the wazir of Ladakh. Consequently all the vices inherent in such MSS., as hinted at above, are manifest in it. It consists of twenty-three folio leaves. It is very carelessly written, and the text is very incomplete. It is much inferior to either *A* or *B*. It is obvious in several places that alterations were introduced on purpose, and the principle underlying this practice can easily be discovered: it is to avoid, in the first place, the miraculous; secondly, anything that may be offensive to the Dogra reader; and thirdly, all that may throw an unfavourable light on the royal family. Still, there are preserved in it a few passages that are new, and they will be found introduced in their proper places, and specially marked *A* and *B*. This MS. covers the entire history of the kings of Tibet (*Yar-lung*) and of Ladakh till close upon the Dogra invasion. It also contains an interlinear translation into Urdu, but written in Tibetan (*dbu-med*) characters.'

'The second part of *C* MS. was prepared for me, at my special request, by the writer of the first part, who is the head of one of the ancient families that presided over important functions under the old régime. As I am not an official personage, I think I need not apprehend that he withheld the truth from me. In this portion he relates almost exclusively the events of the Dogra wars and the fall

of the Ladakh empire. As his own father was to some extent mixed up with these painful affairs, it is to him a kind of family history as well. The very fact that he tells it at all, and without any embellishing touches, goes far to prove his veracity in this case; and, as the whole narrative does not contain one word derogatory to the conquerors, but a long tale of ignominy and shame to the losing, i.e. his own, side, I think the character of the writer is fully established thereby.' This MS., the second part of *C* MS., 'consists of about six folio leaves. Its language is the modern Ladakh book-language, and this fact alone should render it particularly interesting to students of the Tibetan language.' As already stated, we have at present three different versions of the 'History of the Dogra Wars', which were probably all composed by Munshi Dpal-rgyas. These three different versions will in the following be distinguished by the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*. *Ca* MS., Munshi Dpal-rgyas' first attempt, is the version published in J.A.S.B., 1902, pp. 21 ff. A fragment only of a translation of *Cb* MS. by Dr. K. Marx is found in J.A.S.B., 1894, pp. 106–7. *Cc* MS., Munshi Dpal-rgyas' final edition, forms the basis of the present Tibetan text of the history of the Dogra war. Wherever a passage of the text is indicated as from *C* MS., without the addition of *a*, *b*, or *c*, it means that it was taken from a chapter of Munshi Dpal-rgyas' chronicle which either precedes or follows the history of the Dogra wars.

5. *L* MS. From a letter of Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum I learnt that the British Museum was in possession of a copy of the *Rgyal-rabs* of Ladakh. It is No. 6683 of the MS. collection. As the Museum authorities are forbidden by Act of Parliament to let any MSS. go out of the Museum, I was advised to have this MS. photographed. *L* MS. is a little book, consisting of seventy-two leaves of black indigo-tinted paper, furnished with *dbu-can* writing in gold. The size of the book is $23\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ cm. There are five lines on every page. This MS. begins with an introductory hymn, after which follow, as I suppose, a cosmology and a genealogy of Buddha's family. As these chapters are not of any historical interest, I asked Dr. L. D. Barnett not to have them photographed, and to let the photographer begin his work with the history of Gña-khri-btsan-po, on leaf No. 34. The text from leaf No. 34 to No. 70 closely agrees with Schlagintweit's copy of the *Rgyal-rabs*. On leaf No. 70, with the history of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the text proper comes to an end. But it is remarkable that the history of this king, as preserved in *L* MS., contains a few passages which are not found in any other MSS. at my disposal. These passages are, however, in agreement with Cunningham's account of the same reign (see his *Ladakh*). The remaining two leaves contain only a list of the kings following Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The last king mentioned is Ḥjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge, the father of the present ex-King Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal. Thus, *L* MS. is a specimen of those chronicles which were written at the end of King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign. They were probably called 'Biographies of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal'.

As stated by the early Tibetan writers of history, they made use of several historical books which were then current in Ladakh. In parts ii, iii, and iv, the following are mentioned:—

1. *Rnam-bśad-mṅon-paḥi-mdzod* (Abhidharma-kośa).
2. *Chos-ḥbyuṅ.*
3. *Rgyal-rabs-che-chuṅ-rnams.*
4. *Ḥjig-rten-gdags-pa.*
5. *Rgyal-rabs-spun-po-gsum-khug-blon-poḥi-rgyal-mtshan.*
6. *Gsaṅ-ba* or *Ḥbru-bdus* (Guhya-samāja ?).
7. *Daṅ-poḥdbaṅ-byed-rim-paḥi-dgu-byuṅ.*
8. *Ḥkhor-lo-sna-bdun.*

Of these works No. 7 is still known in Ladakh, where it is called *Rim-dgu.* This work may possibly come to light again. As I understand, this book contains not exactly folklore, but popular legends, referring to the early reigns. The book called *Chos-ḥbyuṅ* is given in Csoma's list of historical books. To these eight works may be added the *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalita-vistara*), which book was utilized by the writer of part iii, the genealogy of the Sakyas. The little song, *Rgyal-rigs-bram-zehi-bu-mo-daṅ,* etc., was directly copied from that book.

The office of chronicler does not appear to have been continually occupied in Ladakh. We know only of the following occurrences: Under King Mu-khri-btsan-po (798–804 A.D.) a first history of Tibet was written. Then King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1625–45 A.D.) wrote a biography of his father, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Finally, Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas, of Leh, has acted as chronicler of more recent times. It is, of course, very probable that between these three there worked a great number of chroniclers who have been forgotten. At present we cannot expect to find any more MSS. of the *Rgyal-rabs,* dating from King Mu-khri-btsan-po's times. Still, the early parts of the text of the royal MS. (*S* MS.) were possibly copied from an ancient MS. of the *Rgyal-rabs* of *c.* 800 A.D.

It is very probable that some of the early historians of Ladakh or Tibet took Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs* as their model. The *Vaṃśāvalī* of Chamba, for instance, as published by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his *Antiquities of the Chamba State,* bears a strong resemblance to the older portions of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.* Both productions begin with an introductory hymn, in which the book is called a necklace. The necklace is represented as being wound round the neck of the deity or saint to whom the book is dedicated. Then, both books contain a long list of names of mythological beings, the supposed supernatural ancestors of the race of kings, and, in a third part, the names of the actual human kings are given. The Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs,* even if they contained nothing but names, were written in metre, and such was also the case, probably, with the Tibetan productions. A last remnant of such a Tibetan metrical *Vaṃśāvalī* we may have in Schlagintweit's folios 13 and 14*a* (the seven heavenly thrones), where there are ten lines of metrical verse which contain in lines 1–6 only names, and in lines 7–10 a few notes on that group of kings.

In addition to the Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs*, Tibetan historiography may have been influenced in very early times by Chinese historiographers. Rockhill may be right when he compares the seven Tibetan *Khri* (heavenly throne) kings with the twelve celestial sovereigns of the Chinese Sanhwang; the six Tibetan *Legs* with the eleven terrestrial sovereigns of the Chinese; and the eight Tibetan *Lde* with the nine human sovereigns of the Chinese. Possibly the Tibetans were not at once furnished with sufficient names to satisfy a Chinese historian. Therefore they had to manufacture new names or classes of names, and insert them in their lists. This may account for the repeated beginning in the *Rgyal-rabs*, part iv, as we have it at present. Thus we find two kings of the name of Spu-rgyal. Of the palace of Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse, which was stated in the chronicles to have been in existence during the reign of the first king, we hear again, ten or eleven generations later, that it was then built as the first palace of the country. Then, although the country is described as having been in a high state of civilization under its first king, a first introduction of civilization is attributed also to several of his successors. From the Chinese the Tibetans probably learned history-writing in prose. In this connexion, however, we must not forget that the Tibetans are ethnically related to the Chinese. It is not impossible that both these nations had inherited their lists of mythological kings from their common ancestors. And this may account for the similarity between their lists of mythological kings.

But a really intelligent form of prose-writing was not acquired before the fifteenth century, when quite a new way of recording facts made its appearance. This last and best form of chronicling was probably learnt from the Muhammadan writers of the period.

The man who compiled the story of the kings of Yar-luṅ, *Rgyal-rabs*, part iv, did not derive his information only from chronicles in prose or verse, but also made use of the folklore of his time, and thereby added a new charm to his chapter of the history. Thus we find an old proverb placed at the beginning of the chapter, and popular ditties, referring to the reigns of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal and Khri-sroṅ-lde-tsan. The first song in part iii is probably a verse from Buddhist literature which had become popular, whilst the second song was taken from the *Lalita-vistara*. It is interesting that in Dr. K. Marx's *B* MS. (part viii) also an ancient popular song is found, which it was the historian's endeavour to turn into prose. My attention was drawn to this interesting fact in the following way:—I told my Tibetan assistant, Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs of Khalatse, to read through the third chapter of Schlagintweit's text of the chronicles, to see if he could find poetical parts in it. He read it and said that he had not found anything, because the old song of Ali Mir, which was contained in Dr. K. Marx's *Rgyal-rabs*, was omitted in Schlagintweit's copy. He said that he had often heard people sing a song of Ali Mir. When I examined Marx's text, I could see at once that seven lines of the old song could be easily restored by making only very slight alterations in the text. It then runs as follows:—

kha-saṅ-ña-yis-rmi-lam-du
mtsho-nas-seṅ-ge-ñar-gyis-mchoṅs
rgyal-kha-tun-la-thim-par-mthoṅ
de-daṅ-dus-mtshuṅs-bu-mo-ḥdi
sems-can-daṅ-ni-ldan-par-gyur
ḥdi-la-bu-żig-ñes-par-skye
miṅ-la-seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal-thogs.

Then also, in the tale of the battle of Babsgo, Schlagintweit's MS., we find a little song of four lines included, as follows (with two corrections by myself):—

Rgyal-po-Bab-sgor-bżugs-śiṅ
Kha-chul-dmag-daṅ-bcas
Sog-po-rnams-la-brgyab-pas
Sog-ḥbros-thabs-su-soṅ.

Another song referring to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal is found in *C* MS., and the last chapter of the chronicle contains a few proverbial sayings.

The influence of prose productions of folklore (the Kesar-saga in particular) on the writing of history is, of course, very distinct in the early parts of the chronicle. Let me mention only the description of the seven heroes under Guṅ-sroṅ-ḥdu-rje, which at once calls to mind the seven 'Agus of the Kesar-saga. But also passages like the description of Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's three sons, who lived as late as the sixteenth century, look as if they had just been copied from the Kesar-saga.

This brings us to the question of the Bon religion, which religion is apparent in many parts of the *Rgyal-rabs*. Thus (1) in the chapter on cosmology we find a line of gods, preceding the gods of the four continents, which looks as if it might be of Bon-po origin. It begins with Nam-kyer-rgyal po, who is probably identical with Kyer-rdzoṅ-sñan-po of the *Gliṅ-chos* (religion of the Kesar-saga). (2) The tables of nations in the same chapter, which are not yet entirely intelligible, also look as if they had come down to us from early Bon-po times. (3) The ancient dynasties of kings from Gña-khri-btsan-po down to Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal, look as if they had been introduced wholesale from Bon-po mythology. As we know from the mythology of the Kesar-saga (*Gliṅ-chos*, the most original type of the Bon religion), the world consists of three realms, viz. (*a*) heaven, the land of the gods; (*b*) the earth, the land of men; and (c) the underworld, the land of the *Nāgas* (*klu*). Now it is remarkable that all the five groups of mythological kings are connected with one or other of these three realms of mythology, as follows:—The seven heavenly *khri* (thrones) are connected with the land of the gods; the two *Bar-gyi-ldiṅ*, the six *Saḥi-legs*, and the eight *Saḥi-ṭde* are connected with the earth; and the five *Smad-kyi-btsan* or *Klu-rgyal* (*Nāga-rājas*) belong to *Yog-klu*, the realm of the *Nāgas*. (4) Then the history of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po with his two wives at once calls to mind the tale of King Kesar with his two wives, as I have repeatedly stated. And the influence of the Kesar-saga is felt also in other parts of the chronicle, as stated

above. Gesar's (Kesar's) name is found three times in the chronicle, viz. in parts i, ii, and vi. He is the revealer of historical knowledge.

Let me now review the text of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. It consists of ten parts, some of which have headings in Tibetan, whilst others have not.

Part I: Introductory Hymns. One hymn is found in *S* MS., another in *L* MS.

Part II: Cosmology and Cosmogony. Dr. K. Marx mentions such a chapter as occurring in *A* MS. The following text is based on a copy of this chapter provided by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh.

Part III: The Genealogy of the Śākyas. This chapter is found in *A* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. It is interesting that several of the mythological names contained in it are found also in inscriptions of Ladakh and in folklore. This shows how deeply rooted is the belief of the people that the kings of Ladakh are descended from the Śākya race. The following text is based on *S* MS. But *A* MS. might be adduced for comparison. The history from Rna-ba-can to Gautama Buddha is almost literally identical in *S* MS. and *A* MS.

Part IV: The Tibetan Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to Glaṅ-dar-ma, the Apostate. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'History of the First Spread of Buddhism'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The same times we find described in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical books and in Chinese works. The latter were translated by S. W. Bushell (JRAS., 1880). A most successful attempt to reconcile the Chinese with the Tibetan accounts was made by Herbert Müller in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtskunde*, Bd. xx. My chronology is based on the Chinese chronicles. The following text is based on *S* MS.; but *L* MS. has been adduced for comparison.

Part V: Glaṅ-dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'The Submerging of Buddha's Religion'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The same times are described in Central Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese historical works. Even Albīrūnī speaks of Long-dherman, Langdarma. The text of this chapter is based on *S* MS.; but *L* MS. has been adduced for comparison.

Part VI: The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'The Story of the Later Spread of Buddha's Religion'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The Chinese works do not contain any passages relating to those events. The Central Tibetan and Mongolian authors tell the tale down to King Dpal-gyi-mgon. Of later times they supply only occasional notes, as, for instance, the note on a census of Tibet and Ladakh under the Emperor Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century. The text of this chapter is based on *A* MS.; but *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison.

Part VII: The Kings of the Second Dynasty down to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. This is probably the 'Biography of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal' compiled by his son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, as stated in *S* MS. No Oriental would begin a biography with the birth of his hero. The hero's history is given at the end of a long narrative of his

ancestors. *A* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. are probably such biographies of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, furnished with the most elaborate groundwork. The text of this chapter is based on *A* MS.; but *C* MS., *S.* MS., *B* MS., and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison. Foreign historical works contain only occasional references to the events told in this chapter.

Part VIII: The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh. This chapter, which is not furnished with a Tibetan title, is found in *B* MS. and *C* MS. *S* MS. and *L* MS. supply only a few additions to the text. Foreign historical works contain only occasional references to the events told in this chapter. The following text is based on *B* MS.; but *C* MS. and in a lesser degree *S* MS. and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison.

Part IX: The History of the Dogra War. Its Tibetan title is 'History of the War waged by Mahārāja Gulāb Siṅg's Soldiers against Ladakh and Tibet'. It is found in *Ca* MS., *Cb* MS., and *Cc* MS. The same events are described by Tshe-brtan of Khalatse and Bastī-Rām. The text of this chapter is based on *Cc* MS.; but a few additions were made from *Ca* MS.

Part X: Ladakh after the Dogra War (1842–86 A.D.). This chapter was written by Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas of Leh, and his text was copied for the present publication by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh.

In an eleventh part Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas' Chronological and Taxation Tables will be found published.

The aim of the present publication is not to bring out a critical edition of a Tibetan work on history, but to present in a connected text all the historical facts contained in the various MSS. of the West Tibetan chronicles.

As after 1600 A.D. the various MSS. do not correspond with regard to their texts, it would be advisable on some later occasion to publish the texts of the different MSS. in full.

Where does the truth begin? I am convinced that all the early groups of kings (see Part IV) have nothing to do with history. They belong to Bon-po mythology. The first historical king is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (600–50 A.D.). The Tibetan art of writing history begins with him. But, as the Tibetans probably could remember his forefathers up to his great-great-grandfather, the Kings Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan, Ḥbroṅ-sñan-lde-ru, Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs, and Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan may also be historical personages. Thus the first possibly historical king, Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan, may have lived about 120 years before Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, *c.* 480 A.D.

Let me now examine the general features of Ladakh historiography. The character of the chronicles is not the same during the different periods which they describe. The first three and a half chapters contain only legendary matter, taken from Buddhist as well as Bon-po mythology. Then follow one and a half chapters of real history (Part IV, second half, and Part V). They tell the tale of the empire of Great Tibet. Then we hear the tale of the West Tibetan empire, which in its most ancient parts (Part VI) can hardly be called a history; nor was it apparently meant

to be such. It was begun as a pedigree of the kings of Leh, whose chief intention was to prove their descent from the famous line of the ancient kings of Lhasa. Thus the first portion of this chapter, covering roughly the period from 900 to 1400 A.D., does not contain much beside mere names. About the year 1400 the account begins to become fuller. This may be due to the fact that the second dynasty branched off at about that time, and this new line of kings may have had a stronger instinct for history. Or it may be due to Muhammadan influences. At any rate, the accounts grow in fullness after 1400 A.D. Still, they leave much to be desired from a European point of view. The writers were lamas, and to them the greatest events during the reign of a king were his presents to lamas and monasteries, or his building of chortens (*mchod-rten*, stūpa) and *maṇi*-walls. Much ink has been expended on these events, which are of very little interest to the average European. On the other hand, the campaigns of the kings are treated with extraordinary brevity, and of their economical work we hear nothing at all. Only in the case of the last few kings are we able to form an idea of their characters, and of the tactics employed during the campaigns we hear practically nothing. The chronicler is quite satisfied with telling us the final result. Thus we see that all those points which go to make a history of a country serviceable are missing in these Western Tibetan records; and yet the naïve tone of the chroniclers has often a charm of its own.

An important question is this: do the Ladakhi historians tell the truth, or is their history entirely or partially fabricated matter? The best test of the veracity of a historical account is a comparison with other entirely independent documents. Only in comparatively few cases are we enabled to compare a Western Tibetan account of an event with that of a foreign country. Of greater importance in that respect are the many inscriptions on rock and stone which are scattered all over the country. I have made a special study of these records, and have come to the following conclusion: from the inscriptions it becomes evident that at any rate the kings of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty are historical realities, and their order of succession is the same on the records on stone as in the chronicles. Records containing the names of all of them have been found, from Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal down to Tshe-dpal-rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal. As far as contemporary history of other countries can be adduced by way of comparison, the chronicles do not contain anything that conflicts therewith. The test of the veracity of the account of the first dynasty is of a more insufficient nature. Records on stone relating to the time from *c.* 850 to 1400 A.D. are rarer than those of later times, and several of them do not contain the proper name of the sovereign. This much has so far come to light. King Ḥbum-lde's name is found on the rock at Mul-bhe, which contains an edict by him. The name of his son, *Blo-gros-*[*mchog-ldan*], occurs in an inscription on the wall of the *Byams-pa-dmar-po* temple at Leh. An inscription at Tabo in Spi-ti mentions King Lha-chen-byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ (first half of the eleventh century) as a contemporary of the Gu-ge king Byaṅ-chub-ḥod and the famous Indian teacher Atīśa. Thus the testimony of the inscriptions which have become known up to the present does

not go very far with regard to the accuracy of the first part of the chronicles. Here folklore comes to our aid. It has preserved the names of two more kings of the first dynasty in two songs, the drift of which is not in opposition to what the chronicles say about them; these are the kings Ñi-ma-mgon and Jo-dpal. And the name of yet another king, or at least prince, of Western Tibet, Prince Rin-chen, is apparently attested by the chronicles of Kashmir. Certainly, we should be glad to be able to adduce more arguments to prove the accuracy of the account of the first dynasty. However, what can be adduced is in accordance with its statements, even with regard to chronology, and I think we have a right to accept also the account of the first West Tibetan dynasty as on the whole true and reliable.

In no case do the West Tibetan chronicles enable us to fix the time of the reign of a king exactly, and the Tibetan dates have to be used with much caution. The Tibetans, as well as the Chinese, have cycles of sixty years, which are differentiated by numbers. The first Tibetan cycle begins with the year 1024 A.D. (1026 according to Waddell). This great cycle of sixty years contains smaller cycles of twelve years each, the single years of which are named after twelve animals. To be able to distinguish between the same animal years within the cycle of sixty, the animals' names are coupled with the names of the Tibetan five elements. Thus, a date is complete if the following is given: (1) the number of the great cycle, (2) the animal of the little cycle, (3) the element. For instance, the water-ox year of the fourteenth cycle is the year 1853 A.D. But in most cases the date is not given completely enough to be of much use. In the most ancient dates only the animal's name is given. Some time between 1500 and 1600 the Ladakhis began to combine the animal's name with that of an element. Dates furnished also with the number of the cycle of sixty do not occur before the nineteenth century. Besides, I have come to the conclusion that the Ladakhi cycles are behind the Tibetan cycles by exactly twelve years. Compare the dates for the beginning of the Dogra war and for the discovery of the sapphire mine. But in the second half of the nineteenth century some lama authority introduced the Tibetan cycles. Thus we have no absolute certainty with regard to West Tibetan dates. As, however, several West Tibetan kings were contemporaries of other historical personages whose dates can be fixed, we are in a position to furnish all the Ladakhi kings with approximate dates. With regard to the second dynasty eventual mistakes can hardly amount to more than a decade. From the outset it must be understood that the reign of a certain king may have been longer or shorter than the period given in this chronicle; but it is probable that some years of his actual reign coincide with some of the years given here. The fixed dates, on which hinges the whole chronology given in this book, are the following:—Glaṅ-dar-ma, 816–42 A.D., according to the Chinese; Atīśa, 980–1053 A.D., according to the *Reḥu-mig*; Prince Rin-chen, *c.* 1320 A.D., according to the Kashmir chronicles; Tsoṅ-kha-pa, 1356–1418, according to the *Reḥu-mig*; the Turkoman invasion of Ladakh under Sultan Haidar, 1532 A.D., according to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*; the siege of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D., according to various authorities; Desideri's visit to

Leh, under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, 1715 A.D.; Moorcroft's visit to Leh, under Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, 1820 A.D.; Dogra wars, 1834–42 A.D. The intervening periods are filled up by assigning about thirty years to each reign.

The most important foreign works which are of particular value for a history of Western Tibet are (1) the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (chronicles of Kashmir), by Kalhaṇa, for the Chinese and Kashmiri expeditions to Western Tibet in the eighth century; (2) the Annals of the Chinese Thang dynasty, for the same period; (3) the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (chronicles of Kashmir), by Jona-rāja, for the career of Prince Rin-chen in the beginning of the fourteenth century and the Kashmiri expeditions to Ladakh in the fifteenth century; (4) the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, for the Turkoman expedition to Ladakh in the sixteenth century; (5) Roman Catholic accounts of d'Andrada's mission to Tsaparang in Gu-ge in the seventeenth century; (6) Desideri's account of his journey to Lhasa and Leh, 1715; (7) the account of the Mughal historian, Mir-Izzet-Ullah, for details about the siege of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D.; (8) Bernier's travels (Kashmir), for the relations of the Mughal emperors to Western Tibet in the seventeenth century; (9) Moorcroft's travels, for the times of the last independent king of Ladakh; (10) Central Tibetan and Mongolian works are of the greatest importance for the history of Western Tibet down to the tenth century. After that time they contain only casual notes on Western Tibet, as, for instance, on the census of Ladakh under Kublai-Khan.

Together with the chronicles of Ladakh I am publishing the chronicles and genealogical trees of several West Tibetan vassal chiefs and three short accounts of important events in Ladakhi history. They are found under 'Minor Chronicles'. The chronicles relate to the following provinces: Zaṅs-dkar, Bzaṅ-la, Gu-ge, Bu-rig (Cig-gtan, Śod, Mkhar-bu), Baltistan, Ko-loṅ of Lahul, Ti-nan of Lahul, and Bar-bog of Lahul. And the brief accounts tell the tale of the Dogra war (two versions) and of the trade between Ladakh and Kuḷū and narrate the services of several ministers and generals.

Besides the chronicles and genealogical trees, the following historical documents are also of great importance:—(1) Inscriptions on stone, etc. They will be treated in a special part. (2) Decrees on paper issued by certain kings. Up to the present I have discovered the following:—two decrees by Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, one by Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal II, one by Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, and one by Biddhi Singh of Kuḷū. As regards Kuḷū kings, a great number of letters by them in Ṭakrī, addressed to various chiefs of Lahul, have been collected by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant-Commissioner of Kuḷū. But it would not be difficult to collect similar documents in Ladakh. They are all of the greatest historical interest. (3) The *Māhātmyas* of monasteries. I have succeeded in seeing the following:—the *Chags-yig* of the Gyuṅ-druṅ (Lamayuru) monastery of Ladakh, and of the Gandhola and Trilokanātha monasteries of Lahul. The *Chags-yig* of the Likir monastery is contained in an inscription on a wall of the monastery. The *Māhātmyas* do not contain much historical, but a great deal of legendary matter.

With regard to names of kings, the Tibetans seem to have had the principle of not repeating the same name. If ever the same name occurs a second time, as in the case of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, we may be sure that the second king of such name was not heir-apparent, but a younger prince, previous to his accession to the throne.

My thanks are due to the following persons for having assisted in the translation of the chronicles:—To Mrs. S. Becker-Chapman, of Herrnhut, for having looked over my first rough copy of the English translation; to the two Tibetan Christians, Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs, of Khalatse, and Joseph Tshe-brtan, of Leh, for having assisted me to find the correct interpretation of several difficult Tibetan passages; and, most of all, to Dr. F. W. Thomas, of the India Office, for having revised the work before printing. Dr. Thomas has not only revised the English rendering, but has also cleared up many a difficult passage in the translation. I must not forget my predecessors, who cleared the way for the present edition. The greatest praise is due to the late Dr. K. Marx, of Leh, who showed for the first time that the *Rgyal-rabs* contains a coherent and intelligible account of the past, and is not a mere jumble of words.

LA-DVAGS-RGYAL-RABS

TIBETAN TEXT

ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བསས་ནི།

I

(*L* MS.) ལེགས་བྱས་མཆོད་སྤྲིན་བརྒྱ་སྤག་བཅུ་ཕྱི་བསོད་ནམས་འབྱས།
དྲྭ་གསུམ་མཐོང་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འཇེག་ཅེད་སྐྱོང་གེས་བརྒྱན།
ཐེ་(ཤག་)ཁག་སྟེང་ཐ་སྐྱེགས་ཀྱི་མེ་བཙོང་སྐུ་བརྒྱའི་ལན།
ནམ་མཁའི་རལ་བས་བསྟེན་བས་མཐུ་སྐྱེགས་དགང་ཡོས་མཛོད།།

(*S* MS.) མཆོད་དུ་དངར་བའི་མཆན་བའི་ཁེ་སངར་ 5
གཤེག་ནུའི་ལང་ཚོའི་ལུགས་ཀྱུ་ཡིས།
ཆོས་ཀུན་རི་དྭགས་མིག་ཅན་མ་ཡི་
སྐྱིང་ལ་བསྒྲུན་བའི་རངང་དགང་དུ།
འདུ་འཛལ་རྒྱོས་གང་རི་མོའི་སྐྱང་བཏུན་
ཆོས་ཉིད་མེ་ཚོང་གཙང་མའི་ངོས། 10
རྗེན་བར་འཚར་བའི་ཅེད་ཡོ་རྒར་སྐུར་
ལྷ་བ་མཁྱེན་པོའ་རྒྱན་དུ་བཞུགས།།

II

(*A* MS.) **བོད་ཁ་གའི་ཚག་རབས་ནི།**

།། སྤྱི་ངོ་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བཞིན་ཀྱིས་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་། གཉིད་པའི་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེའང་། གང་ཟག་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱིན་པ་དང་། མ་སྐྱེན་པའི་དགང་གིས་། ཀུན་ཇོ་སྐུ་མའི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་པ། སྐྱོང་བཅུད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དཔེའམས་དང་ 15
ཁ་དོག་སྣ་ཚོགས་སུ་སྣང་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ལགས་ནའང་། མཇོད་ལས།

ཉེ་བྱ་ཅེ་བ་ལྷག་བརྒྱ་རྣམ་ཅེ་བའི།
སྒྲིང་བཞིའི་བདུ་ཚལ་ཐེང་འབྱམ་དཀྱིགས་པ་ལས།
འཁོར་ཡུག་རྒྱམ་པོས་བསྐོར་བ་བཙོང་པ་སྟེ།
ཤུག་ཐུབ(ཀྱུ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ)་མིང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་རྣམས་སྣང་བཞུགས་

ཞེས་དང་། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་གང་ཚེན་མཆོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཐུགས་གི་ལྷུང་བཟེད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་སྐྱོང་གསུམ་མི་མཇེད་འདི་ཇི་ 20
སྙེད་ཚགས་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། གཤུང་ལྷང་མང་དུ་གཤགས་ཀྱང་། མདོར་སྡུ་ན། ৬৬ । ཡོན་ཏན་བསྡུད་པ་ལས། མཁའ་ལ་བྱང་རྟེན།

ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲང་པོ་རྣམས། དེ་ལ་ས་ཆེན་འདི་རྣམས། དེ་ལ་འཕྲོ་བ་རྣམས། སེམས་ཅན་ལས་ལ་སྡུག་བའི་རྒྱུ་དེ་འདྲའོ། ཞེས་བ། དེ་ལ་དང་པོ་ནས་མཁའ་སྟོང་བར་བསྒལ་བ་ཉིད་ཐུབ་སྟོང་ས་ནས་གནས་བའི་དུས་སུ། གཡོ་འགྱལ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དགྲེལ་འཁོར་ཤིས་མས་བཅིག། དགའ་བའི་རྒྱ་ཡི་དགྲེལ་འཁོར་ཤིས་ཀུན་བསྡུས། རྟོགས་སྟོང་མེ་ཡི་དགྲེལ་འཁོར་ཤིས་དོད་བཅ། སྐྱང་བ་ནམ་མཁའི་དགྲེལ་འཁོར་ཤིས་སྐོ་ཕྱེ། དབང་ཆེན་གཞེང་ཤི་ས་གཉེ་ནི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལ་འཁོར་སྟོམས། ཁོང་ཡངས་ལ་མཐའ་མེད་བའི་དགྱང་སྟོན་པོས་གཡས་སྐབ། དོགས་མི་འགྱངས་བ་དགྱས་ཤི་ས་གཉེ་ནི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལ་འཁོར་སྟོམས། རྣམ་རྒྱ་དང་བྱས་ཆོད་བའི་མི་འགྱངས་བ་སྲིད་བའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་བའིས་ཆོད་བཅུང་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་དམྱལ་བའི་བར་དུ་ཚགས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ། དེ་ཡང་འཛམ་ཐུ་སྒྲིང་བའི་ཆོ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཁྲི་བའི་ཆོ་ན། དམྱལ་བར་སེམས་ཅན་གཅིག་རྒྱེས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་སྐད་བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ཚགས་པའི་ཡུན་ལ། བར་སྐབས་བཅུ་དགུ་འགོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་གང་དང། གང་གི་སྐྱང་བ་དང། ཚད་ཅི་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་དང། སྒྲིང་བའི་སྒྲིང་བརྒྱུད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་བཤད་མདོད་བའི་མཛོད་ལས་ཤེས་པར་རྒྱའོ། དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་སྟོང་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་མར་ནས་ཡར་ཚགས། ནང་བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་[ཅན་]ཡར་ནས་མར་ལ་བབ་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། འདུ་གསལ་ཀྱི་ལྟ་ཚོར་དང་དབང་ཐང་ལས་ཤེས་པར་རྒྱའོ། དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་ནང་ལ་བབ་པའི་ཚུལ་ལས། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་ཟབ་པོ་ཡེ་མཐའ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐ་བ་ལགས་སྐད། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་སྟེད་མེར་ཆེན་པོ། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་ནམ་མེར་ཆེན་པོ། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་འོད་གསལ། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་ཀར་གསལ། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་ཆར་སྐེད། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་བར་ལྟ་བཅུད་ཆོགས། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་ཚུལ་སྟེད་ཐ་ལ་ས་ཐ་བཅུད་སྐྱེས་པའི། དེའི་ཐ་ལྟ་ཀུན་སྟེད་ཐ་ཡ་ལ་ཐ་བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཤར་ལྷས་འཚགས་པོར་བབས། དེའི་འོག་མ་འོད་ཆེན་དང་འོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཐང་སྐྱ་མེ་སྐུན་བ་བབས། དེའི་འོག་མ་སྐབ་ཐ་དང་སྐབ་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ནུབ་བ་སྐང་སྟོང་ལ་བབས། དེའི་ནོད་མ་ཐོད་ཆེན་དང་ཐོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཤང་ཁྱབ་འཚགས་པོར་བབས། དེའི་ཐོག་མ་ཐོད་ཆེན་དང་ཐོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཐང་སྐྱ་མེ་སྐུན་བ་བབས། དེའི་ཐོག་མ་སྐབ་ཐ་དང་སྐབ་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ནུབ་བ་སྐང་སྟོང་ལ་བབས། དེའི་ནོད་མ་ཐོད་ཆེན་དང་ཐོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཤར་ལྷས་འཚགས་པོར་བབས། དེའི་ཐོག་མ་ཐོད་ཆེན་དང་ཐོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཐང་སྐྱ་མེ་སྐུན་བ་བབས། དེའི་ནོད་མ་ཐོད་ཆེན་དང་ཐོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཤར་ལྷས་འཚགས་པོར་བབས། དེའི་ཐོག་མ་ཐོད་ཆེན་དང་ཐོད་ལ་རོགས་གཉིས། ཐང་སྐྱ་མེ་སྐུན་བ་བབས། དེའི་ནོད

མེས་ཨོ་སྐྱིང་ཤེར་ཐང་རྩེ། དེའི་འོག་མ་ཏོང་གསུམ་བའི་མེས་ཨོ་རིང་རྩེའུ་རར། ཐང་རྒྱང་ལྷོང་མོ་ཤག་གི་མེས་ཨོ་སྐུ་རྩེ་ཁྲག་ཅ་དང་བཞིའོ། ། བའི་ཨོ་དེ་ལས་མི་རིགས་ཐལ་ཆེར་ཀྱེས་སོ། སྐུ་རྩེ་ཁྲག་ཅ་ལ་སྦས་བའི་སྟེ། སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏ་དང་། སྨུད་མ་རྩེ་དང། གུར་གྱ་ཆི་དང། ཀལ་རྩེ་དང་བའི་སྟེ། སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏ་ཐ་གསུམ། ཆེ་མི་དང། རྩེ་དང། རྩེ་མི་དང་གསུམ། སྨུད་ཅ་(མ་)རྩེ་ལ་ཐ་ལ། ཁ་མོ་དང། ཆོགས་མི་དང། དྭག་རྩེ་དང། ཟས་རྩེ་དང། ཤང་རྩེ་བཅོན་དང་ལྡ། གུར་ཐ་ཆི་ལ་ཐ་ལྡ་སྟེ། ཡང་རྩེ་རིང་རྩེ་དང། སྨྲེན་རྩེ་དང། ཡ་ཡ་དང། ཆོ་དཀར་རྩེ་དང་ལྡ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཡིན། ཁྲོན་རིགས་ལ། ལྷོང་ཨོ་ཆེ་ཡོངས་ཏུ་དང། ཡ་ཆེན་ལྷོང་དང། ནམ་ཆེན་ལྷོང་དང། ཐོག་རྒྱུད་ལྷོང་དང་བའིའོ། རྩེ་རིགས་ལ་ཐོག་རྒྱུད་ལྷོང་གིས་ཆུང་མ་བྱངས་པས། ཐ་བཅོ་བཏུད་སྐྱེས། རེ་ལྷོང་རྩ་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང། ཤེས་ལྷོང་ལ་ཚོགས་པ་མི་རིགས་བསམ་ཀྱིས་མི་ཁབ་པ་འཁྲི་ཚད་དོ། རེ་ཡང་སྐྱིར་འཛོམ་ཐ་བྱིང་ན། ཡུལ་ཆེན་ཨོ་ལྡ། མཐའ་འགྲོས་རྒྱ་བཏུ་རྩ་གཉིས། ཡང་འགྲོས་རྒྱ་བཏུ་འཚོག་ཆི་མི་སྟེ་ཆེན་ཨོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་སྤ་མོ་ཉི་ཐུ་རྩ་བའི། འོ་སྐོལ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་འཛོམ་ཐ་བྱིང་ན་མཆེས་སོ། རེ་ཡང་དགུས་རི་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་སྟོགས། འཛོམ་ཐ་བྱིང་སོགས་ཁའི་ཡུ་བ། རྒྱ་གར་རྩོ་རྩེ་གདན་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་སྐྱིང་ཨོ་ཅན་ངེར། བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་ཡིའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཕེས་མཛད་པ། འཁོར་ཚོ་སྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཨོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་ཅ་དཔེན་ཚམ་འཁྲི་རྩོ་ན། འཁོར་ཚོ་སྐྱར་རྒྱལ་རིན་ཨོ་ཆེ་སྐྲོ་ང་ལ་ཤིང་གནས་ནི་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ཁོག་ཅ་ལ་གནས་བྱས་ནི་རི་སྐུ་ཁྲུང་འཛིན་ཀྱི་རྩེ་ཁོག་ལ་གནས།

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བདུད་རྩི་ཟ་ཤིང་བཅུད་ལ་སྐྱེད། མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱབས་གནས་ཀྱི་མི་ནི་དཔག་བསམ་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་ལ་རྩེས་ནས། ཤིང་ཐོག་ལ་སྐྱེད། བདུད་རྩི་བཅུད་ཤེ་མི་ནི། ཤེ་ཇོག་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཨོ་ཅན་ངེར། ཇི་ཙམ་རྟེ་ལ་ཤིང་ཤ་ཁྲག་ཏུ་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། ཇི་ཙམ་ཅི་ཡང་ཁྲག་གི་འཐུས་ཤཇེད་པ། ཁོང་ཤེ་ཤེས་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ཤ་ཁྲག

མོངས་པ་རྣམས་རྩོམ་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཕིན་ནོ། དེ་དག་ཀྱང་ང་རྒྱལ་དེའི་རྣམ་སྨིན་ཀྱིས་སའི་བཀུར་དེ་ནུས་པ་ཀུན་འདུ་སྟེ། ཐུ་ངན་ཐམས་པས། སེམས་ཅན་ཀྱི་སྡུ་མཐུན་ཀྱི་ལས་ཀྱིས་ཚེན་པོ་འདིའི་སྟེང་དུ་སྐྱུ་གྲའི་ཚལ་ཞེས་ཅ། ངོ་སྤྲང་རྩི་མ་སྐོལ་བ་ལྟ་བ། ཁ་དོག་ཀ་དམ་སྲ་གཤི་མེ་ཏོག་ལྟ་བུ་ཅི་བྱུང་ངོ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་བ་དང་ཚང་བ་ནས། ཁྲུ་སོང་ཐུངས་བཞིན་ཆས་པས། དེ་ཡང་ནུས་པར་བྱུང་ཏོ། དེ་ནས་མི་རྣམས་ཚོགས་ནས། ཐུ་ངན་ཆེད་པ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སྐུགས་རྟེ་དང་སྐྱི་མཐུན་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ལས་སྐུས་པའི། མ་སྨོས་པའི་ཚོ་ཏོག་འབྲས་སྦུ་ལྷའི་ཚལ་ཞེས་ཅ། སྐུན་དང་ཟེག་མ་མེད་པ། ནང་ངན་ནས། ནུས་སྐྱེས། འབྲས་སྐྱེ་མ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡུལ་མ་གཅིག་ཟེ་བའི་བའི་ཡོད་པ། རོག་ཏོ་རེ་རེ་ལ་སོང་བའི་བའི་ཡོད་པ། དེ་ལ་ཡུན་རིང་ནུ་ཚོངས་སྐྱེད་པར་ཆེད་པའི་ཚེ། ཟས་དེ་སྐྱ་མ་བས་ངགས་པ་ཡིན་པས། ཤང་གཅེ་དང་སྦྲབས་ལྷད་ལ་སོགས་སྐྱང་བས། སྐྱེས་པ་དང་ཟུང་མེད་ཀྱི་དབང་ཏོ་དག་སྐྱང་ངོ། དེ་དག་གིས་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལ། མིག་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་སུ་བཤུས་པས། ཚོག་བར་ཁྲགས་ནས། དེ་སེམས་ཅན་གཉན་དག་མཐོང་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཚོག་པར་ཁྲགས་སོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཞིང། རོ་དང་སེག་མ་འབེད་པར་ཟེར་པས། དེ་མི་མཐོང་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། ངོ་ཚ་ཁང་ཐ་བཙེགས་པས། ཁིམ་ཚེག་བའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཕིན་ནོ།།

དེ་ཡང་ལྷ་མིའི་རྗེར་གྱུར་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ལ་ཡང་བར་ཟེ་ན། གསུམ་བརྒྱ་རྩེག་བཅུ་ཡོད། དེ་ལ་བསྟན་པ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་བཤད་དེ། དག་པ་སངས་ཀྱས་རྗེ་དང་མ་དག་སེམས་ཅན་རྗེ། སངས་ཀྱས་རྗེ་ནི་སྐུ་གསུང་འབྱོ་དོན་མཛད། སེམས་ཅན་རྗེ་ལ་རྣམ་པ་ལྔར་ཟེ་ནས། སྐྱོང་གསུམ་དབང་ཟེད་སྡུ་སྲུ་ཀྱལ་པོ་དང། རིགས་རྩ་ཀྱལ་པོ་འཛམ་གླིང་ཀྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྟ། དེ་ཡང་སྐྱོང་གསུམ་མི་མཇེད་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་པོ་སྐྱ་ཀྱ་སྤས་པ། སྐྱོང་སྡུ་སྲུ་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ཚངས་པ་ཐོགས་སྐྱོང་ཀྱལ་པོ་ཀྱལ་ཚེན་རིགས་བའི་དང། རིགས་རྩ་ཀྱལ་པོ་གཤེན་རྗེ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ཐོ་སྐྱེས་ལ་སོགས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལུགས་དང་སྐྱར་ཀྱལ་པོ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་དགྲས་དེ་དག་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཐོགས་འཛམ་ཟ་གླིང་ཤོག་ཁའི་ཡུ་བ། ཀྱ་གང་དོ་རྗེ་གདན་ཁང་ཀྱི་སྡོང་པོ་རེར། བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་སངས་ཀྱས་སྐྱོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཕེས་མཛད་པ། འཁོར་ཡོས་སྐྱར་བའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ཁ་དཔེད་ཙམ་ཞིག་རྗོང་ན། དེ་ཡང་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འཕྱང་རྣམས་དང། ཀྱལ་དབས་ཚེ་ཁྲང་རྣམས་ལས་ཀྱལ་དེགས་གསུམ་བཀྱ་རྒྱ་བཅུ་ཡོད་བཤད་ཀྱང། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་དང། མ་འདས་པའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་སུ་འདུས། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པ་ནི། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་དབ་ཐམས་ལ་དགང་ཟེད་ཅིང། སྲིད་པ་ལ་དགང་ཐོབ་ནས། འཇིག་རྟེན་རྒྱས་པས་ན་ཀུ་ཀྱ་སྐྱབ་པ་ལྟ་སྟེའོ། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་མ་འདས་པའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ལྟ་སྟེ། སེམ་པོའི་ཀྱལ་པོ། རིགས་ཅན་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་པོ། བསྐྱེས་པའི་ཀྱལ་པོ། ·····། སྐྱ་ཀྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྟའོ། དེ་ཡང་སེམ་པོའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ལྟ་ནི། རིའི་ཀྱལ་པོ། ཤིང་གི་ཀྱལ་པོ། ཆུའི་ཀྱལ་པོ། མེའི་ཀྱལ་པོ། རླུང་གི་ཀྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྟའོ། དེ་ལ་དང་པོ་རིའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་རི་དག་ལྷུན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་སྐ་ལྟ་ལས་གྲུབ་ཅིང། སྐྱེད་ནས་འོག་ཏུ་དཔག་ཚད་འབུམ་ཕྲག་ཡོད་ཅིང། བར་ལྟ་སྐྱེན། འོག་འཆེ་བདག་ཀྱལ་པའི་ཚོ་སྐང། ཐོག་ལ་ཀྱལ་ཆེན་བའིའི་བཤུགས་གནས། གཟའ་དང་ཟླ་གྲགས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་སྟེ། ལྟ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དགའ་བའེ་ལ་སྐྱོང་ཅིང། ཤིང་གི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ནི་རྣམས་ཚོ་ཏོག་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ཡིན། ཆུའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ཀྱ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཆུ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཆུ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དགའ་བའེ་ལ་སྐྱོང་ཅིང། མེའི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ནི་བསྐལ་བའི་མེ་དཔུང་ཡིན་ཏེ། མེ་འབར་བའི་དུས་ན་བསམ་གཏན་གཉིས་མདུ་ཚོད་བསྟེག་པར་ཟེད། སྐར་དུ་འབར་བས། དཔུལ་བའི་ཁམས། གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི། ཆ་དང་རླུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་སྟེག་ཅིང། རི་རབ་ལྟུན་པོ་ཡང་འཇིག་ནུས་པ་རེ་རེ་མེའི་ཀྱལ་པོ། རླུང་གི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ནི་སྐྱོང་གསུམ་ལེགས་ཟེར་ཏེ་རླུང་ཡིན་ཏེ། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་དབང་སྐྱས་ཅིང། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་འདེར་གནས་ཏེ། དེའི་ཐམས་

སྲུ་དཔག་ཚད་ས་ཡ་རྒྱ་འགྱམ། རྒྱང་གྲགས་མེད་བྱུང་གི་སྐོབས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱའི་འགྲོད་ཡང་འགྱད་ལ་མི་འཇིག། ཐོགས་ལ་མི་གཡོ་བས་ན་བྱུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཉིས་པ་རིགས་ཅན་ཐུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཏེ། མེ་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་མིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མེ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལ་ལྟ་སྟེ། ལྟ། ལྟ་མ་ཡིན། དུད་འགྲོ། དམྱལ་བ། ཡི་དགས་དང་ལྷའོ། དང་པོ་ལྟའི་དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱེད་ཀྱི། གཞན་ལས་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས་ཤིང་མིག་སྟོང་དང་ལྡན་པ། སྐོས་དང་རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ། ཉེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞི། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གླུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབྱངས་ཕྱེར་ཅིང། བསྟུང་བར་ཕྱེར་པ་དེ་ལྟ་སྟ་ནི་ལྟའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཉིས་པ་ལྟ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐག་བཟང་རིས་ཡིན་ཏེ། རིན་ཆེན་སྒོ་བཞིའི་གོ་ཚ་ལུས་གོད་ཏེ་ 5
. . . . . [ལྟ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཞོ་] ||

ཐམས་ཅད་གོས་ཅན་ནས། དཀྱི་འོ་སྐོལ་གྱི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཕེགས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཤེན་ཉམ་ཐུབ་པ། བཙོན་འགྲས་དང་སྐྱིང་སྐྱོས་ཆེ་བ། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཅམས་ཤེད། སྡུ་བགོད་ནམས་ཆེ་བ། སྡུད་པ་སྐྱ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང། ཆོད་རིག་པ་ཅིག་ཤེད་དཔོན་དུ་སྐྲི་དགོས། ཟེར་ནས། ཤེད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཐོག་ཤས་ཟུལ་ནས། སྐྱེ་བཞིའི་ཆོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བཀུར་བས། དེ་ལ་མང་ཙམ་བཀུར་བ་ཤེས་མཚན་གཞོལ་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་བདེ་ཤེད་སྐྱིད་དོ། དེ་ཡང་མཛོད་ལས་ 10

ཉེ་ཚོས་བསོགས་འཇོག་ཅས་ནས་ནི།
འཇོན་ཚགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤེད་དཔོན་སྐྱབས།
ཤེད་དང་ས་ལུ་མ་ཅིན་པར།
ཉེན་པ་རྣམས་ལས་སྐྱོས་པར་ཅེད།

པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་རྣམ་། རྗེ་རིགས་དང། ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱེ་དགུ་སྐྱོང་བའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དང། ཤེས་རབ་ཤམས་སུ་ཤྲང་སྐྱེ་ཁནས་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ 15
པོ་ཤེས་སྐྱས་སོ། མཚན་ཡང་མང་ཐོས་བཀུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤེས་ཅཉོ། དུས་སྐབས་ཤའི་ཅམ་ནས་མི་རིགས་བཤེ་ཤམ་ལྟར་གྱུར་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་ཤཁྱོར་ལོ་སྐྱ་བདུན་ལས། སྐྱོན་ནི་ཤའི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཅ་བཤེ་ཁྱད་པར་ལས་རིགས་ནི་བཤེ་ཤམ་ལྟར་གྱུར། ཤེས་པ་ལྟར་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དག་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྐྱོང་ཅིང། ཁུས་དང་གཅོང་སྤྱ་ལ་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ཐྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་སུ་གྱུར་ཏོ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྐྱོང་ཅིང་ངོ་ཚ་ཤེས། ཤེས་རབ་ཆེ་བ་སྐྱིང་རྗེ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་རྗེ་རིགས་ཤེས་ཅཉོ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ཤབས་ཤཆོལ་དུ་སྐྱོང་ཅིང་ངོ་ཚ་ཤུད་པ། སྐྱེ་གཡ་ལ་མི་ཤེཤ་པ་རྗྭེ་དུ་སྤྱ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་དཔང་རིགས་ཤེས་ཅཉོ། དེ་དག་ལས་ཁེལ་དང་ཤོད་ཤྲུང་ཤེ། ཡང་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཁོ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པས། སྐྱེ་ཁོ་སྐྱེས་ཤེས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་ 20
ལ་སོགས་པ་ཤཇིག་ཅེས་ན་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཁུ་སྤྱད་པའི། དམ་པའི་སྐྱོང་པ་དང་ཤགལ་བར་ཅྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གོངོས་པའི་རིགས་ངན་ཤེས་ཤེས། མི་རིགས་སོ་སོར་རྩོམ་པའི་སྐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། ||

རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་བཀུར་བའི་སྐས་ཁོད་མཛོས། དེའི་རིང་ལ་གཟའ་དང་སྐར་མ་བྱུང། དེའི་སྐས་དགེ་བ། དེའི་རིང་ལ་ཁོད་དམར་པོ་བྱུང། དའི་སྐས་དགེ་མཚོག། དེའི་རིང་ལ་སྐྱ་སྐྱན་དང་སྐག་ཚ་བྱུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚོ་ལོ་དགུ་ཕྲི་ཐུབ། དེའི་སྐས་གསོ་སྐྱོང་འཐགས། དེའི་རིང་ལ་འཆྱག་གི་སྐྱ་ཐུང། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལྟ་ལ་བཀྲལ་བ་དང་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐྱེ་ཟེར་ནོ། གསོ་འཐགས་ལ་སྐས་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱུར་བའི་ 25
རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་འཕྲུངས་པའི་ཐ་ལྟས་ཤྱེ་ལོང་ཤ་ཆེས་ཅིག་བྱུང། དེ་ནོལ་བའི་ནང་ནས་ཁེཏ་གཅིགས་བཟང་ན། མཛོས་པ། ལྟ་ན་སྐྱག་པ། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཅམས་པ། མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཅིག་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཁོ་ལས་ཀྱིས་ཤེས། སྐྱེ་ཁོ་སྐྱེས་ཤེས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་དེན་ཁོ་ཆེ་སྐྱ་བདུན་དང་ལྡན་ཏེ། དེན་ཆེན་སྐྱ་བདུན་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ་དེན་ཆེན། བཙུན་མོ་དེན་ཆེན། བློན་པོ་དེན་ཆེན། ཁྱིམ་པོ་དེན་ཆེན། རྟ་མཆོག་དེན་ཆེན། དམག་དཔོན་དེན་ཆེན་[དང་]དེན་ཆེན་སྐྱ་བདུན་དང། གཞན། དམག་དཔོན་དེན་ཆེན་ཀྱི་ཚལ་ཏུ་ཁྱིམ་བདག་དེན་ཆེན་ཤེས་སོ། འདིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དེན་ཆེན་སྐྱ་བདུན་དང། ཟས་གོས་ཀྱི་ཚངས་པ་བས་ 30

སྐྱེ། འཇམ་ཐ་གྲིང་དུ་ཡོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྱི་ཡོད་ནས། གཉིད་སྐྱེད་ལྟ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་བསྐུལ་ནས། འཁོང་ཡོ་དེན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་དང་ནས། བཙུན་མོའི་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་སོང་ནས། ཤར་དང་། ནུབ་དང་། ཛང་དང་། [སྟོ་]རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞིའི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཐུས་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟ་ནའང་འདོད་ཆེས་ཀྱིས་གཏུབས་ཏེ། སྐྱག་བསྟལ་བས་བརྒྱ་ཕྲེད་ཙམ་ཤི་མ་ངེས་ལ་ངན་སེམས་སྐྱེས་པས། བསོད་ནམས་ཟད་པས། ལུས་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ས་ལ་ལྷུང་སྟེ། བྱོངས་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་བརྟག་ཅིང་། བཟོ་བའི་གནས་དང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་ཆུང་མང་པོ་ཐུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྱི་སྐྱས། སྲི་བོ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་པ་གཡས་སུ་ཤ་རྩི་རྐྱེ་ལས་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་བྱུང་། མིང་མཛེས་པ་ལེས་བྱའོ། གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་པ་སྤྱིད་བའི་ལ་དབང་ངོ་། མཛེས་པའི་ལྷག་པ་གཡོས་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་བྱུང་། མིང་ལེ་མཛེས་ལེས་བྱ་སྟེ། དབུལ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་པ་སྤྱིད་གཞན་ལ་དབང་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཉེར་མཛེས་ཀྱི་བློ་ལག་གཡས་པར་ཤ་རྩི་ལས་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་བྱུང་། མིང་མཛེས་ཅན་ལེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ཟངས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་པ་སྤྱིད་གཉིས་ལ་དབང་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། མཛེས་ཅན་གྱི་བློ་ལག་གཡོས་པར་ཤ་རྩི་ལས་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་བྱུང་། མིང་མཛེས་ལྡན་དུ་བཏགས། ལུགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་པ་སྤྱིད་གཅིག་ལ་དབང་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བདུན་ཁྱི་སྐྱས། དེ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟེ་ལྟ་ཟེར།།

མཛེས་ལྡན་གྱི་སྐས་རྒྱལ་ཅེར། དེའི་སྐས་མཛེས་དགའ། དའི་སྐས་མི་སྐྱེ་བ། དེའི་སྐས་བཏང་བཅྱང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་རྒྱ་ཁྱི་སྐྱས། དུས་ཚོད་དགེ་བ་རྣམས་དེའི་དུས་སུ་སྐང་རྒྱལ་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། ཁྱོ་ཡིས་ཁྱོ་ལ་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་ཕུལ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏོ། དེའི་ཀུང་བ་ཟངས་སྐྱོང་ལྷག་དགུ་དག། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཅེར་ཚེས་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་བ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་རྒྱ་ཁྱི་སྐྱས། དུས་ཚོད་དགེ་བ་རྣམས་དེའི་དུས་སུ་སྐང་རྒྱལ་ཁྱེའུ་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཅེར་ཚེས་ཁོང་ཁྲོ་བ། དེའི་ཀུང་བ་ཟངས་སྐྱོང་ལྷག་དགུ་དག། རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་སྟེ་ལྕགས་ཁྱེས་བ་སྐྱང། དེའི་ཐ་དད་ཚོ་བོ་བརྒྱ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀཱཾ་ཅིར། རྒྱལ་དཀྱིས་མངའ་ཐང་དུ་མ་ལ་དབང་བྱས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བཞི་ཁྱི་སྐྱས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱོབ་པར་བྱེད། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁམས་ཁྱི་སྐྱོན་པར་བྱེད། ཚོས་སྐྱེད་རྒྱུད་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་གཏུང་རྟགས་ཟ་མ་ཏོག། དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམ་དུ་སྐྱང་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་གསང་མཚོན། དཔལ་ལེའུའི་མཚོས་རྒྱན་དུ་སྐྱང་བའི་བསྐལ་བ་བཟང་པོ། འདིའི་འདེན་མཚོག་སྐྱེས་བཅུ་མངའ་བ། སྐྱོང་གི་མི་ལྷུང་འཕྲང་བའི་དབྱེ་ནས་ཀ་ཆུ་ཤེལ། དཔང་པོའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། ཤ་གང་བ་ལྟ་སྐད་མཚོད་པར་འབགས་ཤིང། མངའ་ཡིས་བཅིངས་པའི་རྒྱས་པོ་ཆེའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་ཀྱི་མཐུ། རྒྱལ་དུ་སྐྱང་བའི་བདེན་སྐྱེས་དྲི་མ་མེད་པས། བར་དུཀའ་ལྟ་སྐད་སྐྱོད་པའི་དབུགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་མོའི་ངང་ཚུལ་ཁོ་ན། ཡིན་ཏེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྷ་ཡི་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཚ་ལགས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་འཇུང་ཞིང་འཚེལ་བ་དང་། ཡར་ལྷན་དུ་རྒྱས་པའི་ཆེད་པོ་ནི་ཡངས་པའི་ཀོང་འཕྲོན་ཀྱི་ཁྲོན་

III

(*S* MS.) ཤིས་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་དགྱངས་ཀྱི་ང་རོའི་ཉམ་ས་རའི་རྒྱུད་ལས་ཉེ་བར་སྟངས་ཏེ། ཏྲ་ད་མེད་པའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི། ཟད་མི་ཤེས་པའི་འཕྲུང་གནས་ཟ་མ་ཏོག། དཔང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམ་དུ་སྐྱང་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་གསང་མཚོན། དཔལ་ལེའུའི་མཚོས་རྒྱན་དུ་སྐྱང་བའི་བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོ། འདིའི་འདེན་མཚོག་སྐྱེས་བཅུ་མངའ་བ། སྐྱོང་གི་མི་ལྷུང་འཕྲང་བའི་དབྱེ་ནས་ཀ་ཆུ་ཤེལ། དཔང་པོའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། ཤ་གང་བ་ལྟ་སྐད་མཚོད་པར་འབགས་ཤིང། མངའ་ཡིས་བཅིངས་པའི་རྒྱས་པོ་ཆེའི་སྐྱོན་ལམ་ཀྱི་མཐུ། རྒྱལ་དུ་སྐྱང་བའི་བདེན་སྐྱེས་དྲི་མ་མེད་པས། བར་དུཀའ་ལྟ་སྐད་སྐྱོད་པའི་དབུགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་མོའི་ངང་ཚུལ་ཁོ་ན། ཡིན་ཏེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལྷ་ཡི་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཚ་ལགས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་འཇུང་ཞིང་འཚེལ་བ་དང་། ཡར་ལྷན་དུ་རྒྱས་པའི་ཆེད་པོ་ནི་ཡངས་པའི་ཀོང་འཕྲོན་ཀྱི་ཁྲོན་

ལ་མངའ་སྐྱེད་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉེགཀ་ལ་རགཔ་ཤས་ན། དོ་སྐོལ་ཅི་སྟོན་པས་ཀྱང་རིགས་དང། ཡུལ་དང། དུས་དང། བརྒྱུད་དང། ཐུབ་མེད་དེ་གཟིགས་པ་ལྟ་ལ་གཟིགས་ནས། ཟས་གཙང་གི་སྒས་སུ་བཟླམས་པར་མཛད་པས། ཐོག་མར་ཉི་ཤེར་གྱི་གདུང་རབས་ཁུང་ཟད་བརྩེད་པར་ཆུ་སྟེ། འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་མི་ཟལ་ཆེ་བ་འཆི་མེད་ཀྱི་གནས་ནས་ཚད་པས། གཉན་བྱ་མེད་པའི་ཚོ་དང། འདོད་དགུ་ལ་མོད་སྲོད་ཅིང་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་བྱ་མ་ལ་དཔང་འཕྲོར་བའི་ཚོ། འབར་རྩོལ་ཀྱི་མཐུ་ལ་དཀ་མ་ལུས་པའི་བདུད་རྩི། ནམ་མཁའ་ལྟ་བུ་མི་གནས་ཤིང་། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞུགས་ཤིང་། ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞུགས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་ཐོགས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྟོགས་ཤིང་། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོས་ཀུན་ལ་ཕྱོགས་མེད་པར་ཉེ་བའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་ཡང་དག་པར་གྲུབ་པ་ལ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞུགས་ཏེ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡང་ཡང་ཞུགས་པས

བདེ་བའི་ཤམས་སྐྱེས་ནས། ཁ་ས་ཕེགས་ཅ་གཅིས་ཁག་དང་འདྲེས་ཅ་སྐྱང་བས། ཐ་རམ་ཤིང་གི་ཙོ་མ་གཅིས་ཐུ་བཞག་ཅས། ཤི་མའི་དྲོད་དང་། ཟླ་བའི་བཆུད་ཀྱིས་སྐྱེས་ཅས་ཁེཉ་གཅིས་སྐྱང་དོ། དེ་གཅིས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་ཐ་རམ་ཤིང་ཅ་དང་། ཤི་མའི་གཅེན་བུ་མིང་བཏགས་སོ།།

ཤི་མའི་གཅེན་རབ་ཏུ་སྐྱང། ཐ་རམ་ཤིང་ཅ་རྒྱལ་ཙོ་ཐས་ཅས། ཐ་རམ་ཤིང་ཅའི་བཆུད་ཅེས་མང་བུ་གཞས་ཏེ་གང་བར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེའི་ཐ་བཆུད་བཆུ་ཐམ་ཅ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཙོ་འབས་ས་སྐྱེས་ཙོ་ཐ་ཅ་སྐྱང་དོ། དེའི་བཙུན་མོ་ཆེ་ཅ་ལ་སྐས་བའི་སྟེ། ཁྱང་ཅ་ལ་སྐས་མོ་བའི་སྐྱང་ཅ་དང། བུས་གཞན་ཞེག་ན་དེའི་བཙུན་མོ་གཅིས་ཁོངས་ནས། ཅ་རོལ་རྒྱལ་ཙོ་ཞེག་གི་ཐ་མོ་བྱངས་ཅས་དེ་ན་རེ། ཁྱེད་ལ་ཐ་ཡོད་ཅ་དེ་དག་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མི་དགང་བར། གཙ་ཏེ་ང་ཡི་ཐ་མོ་ལ་ཐ་སྐྱང་ན། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བཞག་དགོས་ཟེར་ཅ་དང། དེའི་རྒྱལ་བློན་ཁོས་ཁས་ནས། ཁོའི་ཐ་མོ་ལ་ཐ་ཡོད་མི་ཡོད་མི་ཤེས། གཙ་ཏེ་སྐྱང་རྩང་གསོན་མི་གསོན་མི་ཤེས། གསོན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བཞག་དགོས། ཐུ་ཁྲོས་ཐས་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་བྱང་ནས་སྐྱང་སོ། དེ་ལ་སྐས་ཁྲངས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དགའ་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་བློན་ཙོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བསམ་ཅ་ལ། ཐུ་མོ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ལ་བཞག་ན། ཐུང་ཚད་ཆོག་ཐལ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དགའ་བཞག་ན་ཞེ། ཐུ་མོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོ་བསྡུངས་དགོས་ཅས། དེ་ནི་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཐུ་མོ་རྣམས་སྐྱུག་ཅང་ཅ་སྐྱམ་ནས། བློན་ཙོ་གཡོ་ཅན་ཞེག་གིས་སྤྱ་མ་ཞུས་ནས་སྐྱུགས་སོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་མོ་རྣམས་ཁྲིད་དེ། ཆུ་མོ་བསྐལ་ལྡན་ཤིང་རྟའི་འབྲམ། དྲང་སྲོང་གསེར་རྒྱའི་གནས་དང་རྟ་ཅང་མི་རིང་བའི་ནགས་ཁྲོད་ སྐྱེལ་བའི་གནས་བཏབ་ནས་འཁྱུ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏོ། དེ་ནས་དེ་དག་ལང་ཚོ་རྒྱས་བས། ཐུ་མོ་སེང་སེང་ཙོར་སྐྱར་ཅ། དྲང་སྲོང་གིས་ཟ་ཐེ་ཚན་ཐེ་རིང་བའི་ནགས་ཁྲོད་ སྐྱེལ་བའི་གནས་བཏབ་ནས་འཁྱུ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཏོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་མོ་རྣམས་ཁྲིད་དེ། ཆུ་མོ་བསྐལ་ལྡན་ཤིང་རྟའི་འབྲམ

ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་ཆེན་ཡོ་བའིར་རྒྱལ་སྤན་བའི་བཙས་ཏེ། མ་ག་ཏད་པ་སྐྱ་ཆེན་ཡོའི་ཟ་གཟུགས་ཅན་སྐྱིང་ཡོ། ཀོ་ས་ལང་ཚངས་སྤྱིའི་ཀུ་གསལ་རྒྱལ། བད་པ་ལང་དམག་བརྒྱ་བའི་ཟ་ཤར་བ། འབགས་རྒྱལ་དུ་ཐུ་ཐྱུད་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱི་ཟ་ཏུམ་ཟ་དབ་སྐྱང་ངོ། གཤེག་ཡང་ཡ་དབས་ཀྱི་རིགས་པྲ་བརྒྱ། བྱགས་འཇིའ་མ་ལ་སོགས་ཟ་མོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ། མདུན་པ་ལ་སོགས་ཁན་པྲ་བརྒྱ། རྐིཀ་ཁི་དང་། རྐིཀ་མོ་ཁི་དང་། བལ་སྐང་ཁི་ཡང་སྐྱེས་སོ། བསྐྱེད་མོའི་ཚལ་པྲ་བརྒྱ་དང་གཉིར་པྲ་བརྒྱ་ཡང་སྐྱང་ངོ། དཔལ་ཟ་ཨང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་ཤིང་སྐྱེས་པས། སྤས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱས་པ་ཁེས་ཆ་བར་བཏགས་སོ ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཟ་དེ་ཚེར་སོང་བ་དང་ ། ཡི་གེ་དང་ཆོས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ 5
རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྔ་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང་། སྨྲོགས་དང་སྐུ་རྩལ་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་སྐྱེས་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོ་བྱགས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱས་པ་ཁེས་བཏགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་སྤས་ལ་བཙུན་མོ་བློང་བར་ཞུས་པས། གཤེགས་ཏུ་ན་རེ།

འདོད་པའི་དོན་ནི་བདག་གི་མཐའ་ཡས་རིག
འཕགས་མོ་ཁོན་བྱས་རྒྱལ་དུན་སྐྱག་བསྟལ་ཙ།
འཇིགས་ཉེར་བྱག་གི་ལོ་མ་འདྲ་བ་སྐྱེ། 10
མེ་དང་འདྲ་ཤིར་རལ་གྲི་སོར་དང་འདྲ།

ཁེས་ཆིམ་ཀྱི་ཁེས་པ་མང་པོ་གསྱང་ཞིང་ ། འོན་ཀྱང་ཟ་མོ་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་བྱང་ངོ ། ཁེས་ཐུད་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡི་གེ་གྲི་སྐྱེ་སྤལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཡི་གེ་འབྱེན་ན་འདོན་ལ་བཏང་ངེ།

རྒྱལ་རིགས་སྤམ་ཟེའི་ཟ་མོ་དང་ ।
རྗེ་རིགས་དམང་རིགས་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ། 15
སྤ་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་འདི་ཡོད་པའི །
ཟ་མོ་དེ་ནི་འདིར་ཆལ་ཞིག །
ང་ཡི་ཟ་རིགས་[དེ]་དང་ནི །
རྒྱས་པ་མངོན་པར་འཇོན་པ་ཡིན །
ཡོན་ཏན་བདེ་བའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གནས། 20
དེ་ལ་འདི་ནི་ཡིད་དགའ་ཚོ ॥

ཁེས་བའི་ཡི་གེ་སྤམ་ཟེ་ལ་བཀྲངས་ཏེ་བཏང་བས། སྤམ་ཟེ་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་བཙལ་བས། རིམ་གྱིས་ས་ཚོ་མ་མཐོང་ནས། དེ་འཕྲོམ་ཞིང་ཡོན་ཏན་དེ་བདག་ལ་ཡོད་ཅེའོ། དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གསོལ་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ན་རེ། ཟུད་མེད་འདི་བཕྲུན་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་མེད་པའི། ཁག་བདུན་རྩོན་ལ་ཟ་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྡུས། གཤེགས་ཏུ་རོད་ཅི་འདོད་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱེད། ཁེས་སྐྱགས་པ་དང་། ཟ་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱང་ནས། ཡོ་ཟད་འགའ་ཞིག་ཟད་པའི་སྐྱས་སུ། ས་ཚོ་མ་བསྟེལ་ནས་འཕྲོམ་བྱས། བདག་གེས་ཅི་རིངས་པས། མ་དགེ། དེ་དག་ལ་ཡོ་ཟད་མེད་ 25
པར་མཚོད་ཀྱས་པས། གཤེགས་ཏུ་ཡང་འཕྲོམ་ཞིང་། ཀྱག་གེ་སོར་དུག་སྤད་བཙུ་སྐྱོང་རི་ཁ་དེ་གནང་ངོ། ས་ཚོ་མ་གཤེགས་ནུ་ལ་བྱངས་སོ། གཞན་ཡང་གྲགས་འཇིའ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཙུན་མོ་བཙུ་ཁྱི་བའི་སྐྱོང་ཁས་ཀུ་བཞེས་སོ། དེ་ནས་གཤེགས་ནུ་ལོ་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚ་དག་ཚོད་ངོ། ས་ཚོ་མ་གཤེགས་ནུ་ལ་བྱངས་སོ། གཞན་ཡང་གྲགས་འཇིའ་མ་ལ་མངལ་གྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལ་རྒྱི་རྟན་[ན་]འཚེའི་སྤྱག་བསྟལ་བཟོད་ལགས་སེད་པ་རྣམས་གཟེགས་ནས་དབ་ཀུ་བྱང་ངོ ॥

དེ་ནས་དབུང་ཚོ་གཐམ་བཅུ་སོ་ལྟ་ཞེས་བཞེ་ཆོ། སཀ་བ་ཟླ་བཞི་ཆོས་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་བདུད་བཏུལ། དབུང་ལོ་མཉམ་བར་ཞག་ཐོ་རངས་མདོག་བར་ཙོར་གས་བར་སངས་ཆུས་སོ། དེའི་ཏུས་མོ་ཁོ་ན་ལ་གགས་འཇིན་མ་ལ་ཁེཉ་ཞིག་ཀྱི་སྐེ། ཟླ་བ་ཡང་སྤུ་གཅན་ཀྱིས་བཟང་ནས། ཁེཉ་མིང་ཡང་སྤུ་གཅན་འཇིན་ཞེས་སོ། དེའི་ཆོ་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཟས་གཙང་ན་རེ། ཀླུ་ཀུ་ཐུབ་པ་དང་ཏུ་ཟུང་ནས་ལོ་རྒྱ་སོང་། གུགས་འཇིན་མའི་ཐུ་འདི་ཀླུ་ཀུ་ཐུབ་པའི་ཐ་མ་ཡིན་སྨོས་པ་དང་། གུགས་འཇིན་མའི་ཡུས་ཀས་ངས་ནས། ཁེཉ་དེ་ཇིད་ཀི་ཁ་སོང་ཞེག་ཀི་ཀར་སོང་ནས། གཡ་ཏེ་འདི་ཀླུ་ཀུ་ཐུབ་པའི་ཐ་མ་ཡིན་ན། ཆུའི་སྐེད་དུ་ལྷེད་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག། ཀླུ་ཀུ་ཐུབ་པའི་ཐ་མ་ཡིན་ན། ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་ཕྱིང་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག། ཅེས་རྗོད་པའི། ས་སོང་དེ་ཤིང་གི་འདབ་ལྟར་ཇིང་གི་གཏིང(སྟེང?)་ན་ཡོད་པ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཟས་གཙང་ཀེས་གཟེགས་ནས། ཁོས་དང་བཅས་པ་ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་ཞུགས་ནས། སང་བར་སྐད་སྐེ་གཅེས་པར་བསྐྱངས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་ངས་ཀུ་ཟུང་སྐེ་སྲིད་པའི་རྒྱུན་ཆད་དོ། སྲིད་མང་ཁོས་བཀུར་ན་ནས་སྤུ་གཅན་འཇིན་ཡན་ཆོད་ལ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་འཆམ་ལྡག་བཅུ་དང་ཟུག་ཁི་ཟུག་སྐོང་ལྟ་བཅུ་དང་བཅུ་གཅིག། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཡབ་སྲས་དང་བཅུ་གཐམ་བྱུང་ངོ།།

IV

(*S* MS.) ༡༨། རིགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ནི་སྤྱི་ཆུལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། འདི་བཤད་ལུགས་མང་དུ་མ་མཆིས་ཏེ། ཆུལ་དགས་སྤུན་ཁོ་གཐམ་ཁྲག་ཐྲོན་ཁོའི་ཆུལ་མཚོན། གསང་བ་འམ་འབྱུ་བདུན་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བསྟན་ན། གཉིས་ལེགས་སྐད།

བསྟེགས་པ། ལྷ་དགས་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་།
གསང་བ། མི་དགས་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོ།།

གཞུང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ནས་དེལེ་ཙམ་ཞིག་བཙོངས་ན། ཚོ་སྐོལ་སྤྱོ་འཛམ་ཐ་སྐྱིད་གི་ཕྱེ་ན། ཡུལ་ཀྱི་དབུས། སཀེ་སྐྱང་། གངས་རིའི་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐོང་བའི་རྟ་ན། གངས་ཏི་ཁེ་ཤེལ་ཀྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཀྱི་ཙ། མཚོ་མ་བང་གཡའི་མཐུལ་ཀྱི་འགམ། རིན་ཆེ་ཆེ་གསེར་བྱང་ས། ཆུ་ཚོ་ཆེན་ཆེ་བཞིའི་མགོ། ཡུལ་ཚོང་ཀ་སྐྱིང་ཟུག །ེ་མཚོ་མའི་གཙང་གཉན་འདི་ལ། དང་ཆེ་དགང་ཤེར་བའི་དབུ་འབྱུང་ཁེས་གཏམ་བརྒྱུད་རྣམས་ལས་བཤད་དགའོ། ཚོང་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ནས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཀྱི་མ་ནས་བའི་བྱས་སུ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་གདུང་བཀྱུད་ཡུལ་ཀོ་ས་ལའི་ཆུལ་ཁོ་གསལ་ཆུལ་ལ། སྲས་ཐུ་མངའ་བའི་བར་ཁ་སྲད་རྒྱ་ཤི་རེ་ཁེས་ཁ། མིག་ཐ་ལྟད་ཡས་འགེམས་ཁ། ཤང་ལས་ངང་ཁ་ལྟད་ལ་ཁེས་ཁ། སྲས་ཐུ་མངའ་བའི་སྲིན་མ་ཤ། སྲས་ཐུ་མངའ་བའི་སྲིན་མ་སྐྱེས། བདུད་རྩིའི་ཁ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ཐ། ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཆོ་ག་སྐྱིད་ལ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཟས་ཀྱི་ཚེ་ཐ། ཡིད་ཀྱི་ཁོང་བར་མཐོང་ནས། ཚོ་སྐོལ་རྗེ་མེད་ཀྱི། རྗེ་

ཉར(*L* MS. རྗེ་ཉ)་སྐྱན་འབེབ་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས། བཙན་ཁྲོང(*L* MS. བཙན་ཁྲོང)་དང་སྐྱམས་གཉིས། གཉའ་ར་རྩེ་དང་གཙོ་གཉིས། ཁ་སྐེགས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འབངས་རྩལ་རྒྱ་གོས་སྐྱན་དབས། ར་སངས་དར་བ་དང་། ཁྲོང་པོས་ཁོད་པ་ཐུས། མེ་ཤག་གི་བཤེས་གཉེན་བློན་པོར་བསྐོས། དེ་མགོ་ནག་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་ཏེ། མཚན་ཡང་གཤའ་ཁྲི་གཏོགས་པ་ལ། རྩེ་གཤའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ་འཕེལ་མཚན་གསོལ་ཏེ། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱན་དམ་པ་ཡུལ་ཡར་ལྷང་སོགས། སྐུ་མཁར་ཕྱེ་དགང་སྐྱག་རྩེའི་རྣང་ན་བཞུགས་ཏེ། མངའ་ཐང་དང་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་བརྒྱན་མཛད། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཚོར་བའི་ངུ་བསྐྱངས་པས། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བའེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད། སྐུ་སྲུང་སྡེ་བའི་སྐུ་སྲུངས། ཁོད་ 5
ལྷོད་སྡེ་མི་བའི་བཅུ་ཙ་བའི་ཚེ་ཕྱིའི་དགྲ་འདུལ། གཡུར་ལྷོད་སྡེ་བའི་བཅུ་ཙ་བའི་ཚེ་རང་གི་ཚ་ཀ་སྐྱོམས། སོ་ཀ་བའི་ཅ་ཞོ་འཇུགས། ཁོམ་ཀ (*L* MS. ཁོམ་ཁ)་བརྒྱུ་ཀྱིས་ཀི་སོ་ཀའི་དགྲ་འདུལ། རོད་རོད་ཀ་ས་སོ (*L* MS. ཀས་སོ)་ཤི་རྒྱ་ཙ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བང་མཛོད་འཇེངས། ཚོང་འདུས་བཙུ་གཉིས་ནས་ནོར་ཀྱི་དཀྱིག་འཆལ། ཅེགས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཆ་དགའ་དཔའ་མཛངས་ཀྱིས་ཤན་འཇེད། ནོངས་ཀྱི་ཚད་བའི་དན། གཡོའི་ཁྲངས་སྐྱབས། མཛངས་སྐྱ་ལྕའི་གསེར་གཡུ་དང་ཡིག་ཚང་གིས་སྐྱོད། དཔའ་སྐྱ་ལྕ་སེང་གེ་དང་ཀུང་སྐྱ་གིས་བརྒྱན། མཁྱོགས་སྐྱ་ལྕ་མཆིམས་(ཕྱེམས)(*L* MS. ཤྱིམས)་མཛོད་ནས་རྒྱགས་སུ་སྩོ(*L* MS. སྩོ)། རྩེའི་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ནི་གངས་ཀ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་ 10
བ་དང་འདྲ། མཛོད་ཅ་ཡས་སུ་ཚོ་ཟང་ཊི་ཅ་བྷ་སྐང་བཅིགས། ཀུ་འཕྲིག་དང་། བསྟན་སྩོད་ཅིང་། ཚོང་དང་ཀེ་སྩོགས་ལ་མི་ལྟ། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བའེ་ཞིང་། མངའ་ཐང་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱིད་པས། དེ་ལྟར་ཚོ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཁྲངས་བཙུན་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེ་ཡི་སྐས་རྒྱ་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ།

དེ་ཡི་སྐས་དིར་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ (*L* MS. དིང་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ)།

དེ་ཡི་སྐས་སོ་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ། 15

དེ་ཡི་སྐས་མེ་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ།

དེ་ཡི་སྐས་གངགས་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ།

དེ་ཡི་སྐས་སྲིབ་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོ།

(འདི་) བདུན་ལ་གནམ་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་བདུན་ཟེར།

དེ་ཡང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱ་བདུན་ལས། 20

ཁྲི་བདུན་བང་སོ་གནམ་ལ་བཏབ (*L* MS. དབང་པོ་གནམ་ལ་བཏབ)།

ལྷ་ལུས་ངོ་མེད་འཇའ་ལྟང་ཡལ།

ཞེས་དེ་དག་ལ་དཔྱ་ལ་འོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དག་ཡོད་པས། དགྱང་ལོ་མང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། སྐས་འོག་མ་མཆིམས(ཕྱེམས)་ཀ་ཐུབ་ཙ་ན། ཡབ་ཁོང་མ་རྟམས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཇའ་ཡལ་བ་[ལྟར]་བའེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།།

སྲིབས་ཁྲི་བཅོན་པོའི་སྐས་ཀྱི་ཀུམ་བཅོན་པོ། དེའི་སྐས་ཤ་ཁྲི་ཉ་ཁྲི་ཐུམ། ཐ་ཁྲི་ལ་སྩུ་དེ་ཀུང་ཆུལ(སྩུ་སྡེ་ཀུང་ཆུལ)་དུ་ 25
མཚོན་གསོལ་ནས། ཡུལ་ཡར་ཀླུངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཁར་ཆེན་མོར་བཞུགས་ནས། ཆུལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ་ཡུང་རྩང་ཀི་པོན་ཐུང་ངོ། གཉན་ཡང་ཤིང་བསྒགས་པའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་སོལ་བ། ཀོ་བ་ཞུ་བའི་སྐྱིང་པོ་ལ་སྩི་ན(སྩི་ན)་ཐུང་། ལྷགས་རྡོ་ཟངས་དོ་དབྱལ་དོ་གསུམ་རྩེ་ནས།

སོལ་བས་དོ་གསུམ་ཞུས་ནས་
དབྱལ་ཟངས་ལྷགས་གསུམ་སྐྱོན།

ཤེང་ལ་ཟག་པ་ཟུད་ནས་
ཀོལ་དང་གཉའ་ཤིང་བཅོས །
མཐུན་གཉིས་གཉའ་རྩ་སྐེབས་ནས་
ཐང་རྣམས་ཞིང་དུ་ཆོས །
ཆུ་མཆོ་ཡུར་ལ་དྲངས་ནས་
ཆུ་ལ་ཟམ་པ་འཇུག་གས ||

དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལས་ཐབས་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ । དེའི་སྐས་ཙ་ཀོ་ལེགས । དེའི་སྐས་ཙི་ཀོ་ལེགས । དེའི་སྐས་ · · · · · । ཆུལ་ཁོ་འདིས་ཁོ་ཐད་ཕྱི་དབང་སྐྱ་རྩེ་བཅིགས । ཁོ་ཐང་རླུ་མཁར་ཅིགས་པའི་སྐྱ་ཀོགས་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ । དེའི་སྐས་དེ་ཀོ་ལེགས । འདིའི་རིང་ལ་བླུ་དང་ཐྲོ་དར । དེའི་སྐས་ཀུ་རུ་ལེགས । དེའི་སྐས་འཕྲོང་རྩེ་ལེགས । དེའི་སྐས་ཁོང་ཀོ་ལེགས । འདི་རྣམས་ལ་སའི་ལེགས་རྒྱ་ཟེར ||

དེའི་སྐས་ཟིན་ལ་ཟིན་ལྡེ་དང་ । ལྡེ་འཐུལ་གནམ་གཤུང་བཅོན । ལྡེ་ཆུལ་ཁོ་བཅོན । སེ་སྐྱོལ་ལམ་ལྡེ । སེ་སྐྱོལ་ཁོ་ལྡེ । ལྡེ་ལམ । ལྡེ་སྐྱོལ་ཁོ । སྐྱིན་བཅོན་ལྡེ । འདི་རྣམས་ཅི་སའི་ལྡེ་བཆུད་ཅོ ||

དེའི་སྐས་ཁོ་ཁོ་རི་ཁོང་བཅོན་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ । ཡབ་ཡན་ཚད (*L* MS. མ་ཚད) · ཡུམ་ལྷ་མོ་དང་ཀླུ་མོ་ཡིན་ནོ । འདི་མན་ཚད་འབངས་དང་གཉེན་སྐས་དེ་ཁོ་ཁོ་རི་ཁོང་བཅོན་གྱི་སྐུ་ཚོ་ཀླུ་ཆུལ་ཞེས་བའི་སྐས་ཁྲི་བཅོན । འདིའི་རིང་ལ་སྐང (*L* MS. བསྐྱངས)་དང་ལྡེམ་དང་ । དེའི་སྐས་ཁྲི་ཁོག་རྩེ་ཁོག་བཅོན । དེའི་སྐས་ལྷ་ཁོ་ཁོ་རི་སྐྱེན (*L* MS. སྐྱན) · བཤལ་ཞེས་པ་འཐགས་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་སྐུལ་པ་དེས །
དབུང་ཚོ་རྒྱ་བཙུ་རེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཆུལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱང་སྟེ । མ་བཅིགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་ཁོ་གྲང་ཆེན་ཁོ་ཁྱམ་སུ་རྩངས་མཁར་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ । ཁོང་དུ་སངས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱན་པ་དང་བའི་སྐུ་ལྷུས་ལ । ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་ཟ་མ་ཏྐོག་ཅིག་བབས་པས । ཟ་མ་ཏྐོག་གཅིར་བའི་མིད་དང་ । པང་ཀོང་ཐུག་ཆུ་པ । སྐྱིང་ཁོ་ཕི་གེ་རྒྱ་པ । གཞེང་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཁྱུ་གང་ । ཚེན་རྩ་མ་དེ་ཚོ་ཚོ་དང་ । སུ་ཏྲའི་ཐུག་ཆུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མའི་ཁོད་ཟེར་ལ་འགྲོགས་ཏེ །
ཀུལ་ཁོའི་ཁོ་ཐང་དུ་བབས་པས । ཁོན (*L* MS. ཁོད)་ནམ་ཆོས་བསམ་ཅི་ཕིན་མ་ཤེས །
གཞེང་སྐྱེམས་དང་གཡུ་ཐུང་ཀྱིས་མཆོད་པས । སྐྱིན་བྱས་ཐུབས་སྐྱང་སྟེ । དབུང་ཁོ་བཆུ་དང་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཐུས་ཁོ । ཆུལ་ཁོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་དམ་བའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བཟུང་ཐུབ་པ་ཕིན་ནོ ||

དེའི་སྐས་ཁྲི་སྐྱན་བཟུང་བཅོན (*L* MS. ཁྲི་སྐྱན) । དེའི་རིང་ལ་འཁོག་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་ । ཞིང་གི་ཐུལ་སྐྱེབས་དང་ ।

མཆོ་ལ་སྐྱར་ཀ་ཆས་ནས ।
ཡུར་བར་དྲང་བ་དང་ ।
ཐུ་ཆུ་རྩིང་དུ་སྐྱིལ་ནས ।
མཆོན་ཆུ་ཀྱེན་ལ་དྲང་ ।

ལ་སོགས་དེའི་དུས་ཐུ་བྱུང་ངོ । དེའི་སྐས་འཁོང་སྐྱན་ལྷེ་ཅ (*L* MS. འགྲོང་སྐྱན་ལྷེ་ཅ) । དེའི་སྐས་སྐྱ་རི་སྐྱན་གཟིགས । ཆུལ་ཁོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་མཉོ་དང་རེཉ་སེ་བ । དོར་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་གཅོད་པ । རིའི་རྩྭ་བ་ཆུན་ཁོ་ཆ་བ་སོགས་བྱུང་ངོ । དེའི་སྐས་གནམ་རི་སྲོང་བཅོན । ཆུལ་ཁོ་འདིའི་དུས་ཐུ་ཐག་ནས་སྐྱན་དང་རྩིས་བྱུང་ । ཆུ་གང་དང་གྲུ་ཀུ་ཏུབ་ཕྱོགས । གཤེལ་ཁྲུང་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཀུལ । ཐང་ནས་ཁྱ་བཅྲེད । སྐུ་མཁར་ཁྲི་བཅོགས་འབྲམ་གཅུགས་ཆ་པ་བཅོགས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྐས་ཐང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སྤྱན་དས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱལ་པ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ (*L* MS. སྲོང་བཙན་ཀམ་པོ) ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་སྲིད་ལ ། མཐའ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ ། རྒྱལ་སྤྲན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཞོ་ནས་སྐུ་སྐྱེས་འགྲན་ཞེང་ ། འཕྲིན་ཡིག་བསྐུངས་ངོ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་མཛོད་པ[འི]་ཐུགས་རྗེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་མཛོད་ཀྱང་ ། ཁྱོགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལན་བཀླངས་པ་ལ ། བོད་ན་ཡི་གེ་མེད་པ་དང་ ། མེས་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་སྐྱེན་བཤལ་ཀྱི་མཚོད་གནས་སྐྱན་པོ(གཉན་པོ)་གསང་བ་ཡང་ ། རྒྱ་གར་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེར་འདུག་པས ། བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་ཐ་སྐྱེ ། བསྒྱུར་དགོས་པར་དགོངས་ནས ། ཐོན་མི་ཚ་ནུའི་ཟ་ལ་གསེར་ཟེ་གང་བསྐུར་ནས ། ཡིག་འབྲིང་བཅུ་རྩག་དང་བཅས་ཏེ ། ཀ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེར་སློབ་ཏུ་བཏང་ངོ ། དེ་དག་གིས་ཐུམ་ཟེ་ལི་ཀྱེན་ལས་ཡི་གེ་བསྒྱུབས ། པཊྚི་ཏ་སེང་གེ་སྒྲ་བསྒྱབ་སྟེ (*L* MS. པཊྚི་ཏ་སེང་གེ་ལས་སྒྲ་བསྒྱབ་སྟེ) ། བོད་སྐད་དང་བསྟུན་ནས ། གསལ་ཅེར་ཉི་ཤུ་རུ་བའི ། རྒྱ་རིངས་བཅོས་ནས ། གསུམ་བཅུ་མཛོད ། གཤེན་ཡང་ཀ་ཆེ་ནུ་ཀ་རའི་ཡི་གེ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་བསྒྱུར་ངོ ། དེ་ནས་ཐོན་མི་བོད་དུ་ཕེབས་དུས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷུ་རུ་བསྟུན་མོ་ཚལ་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་མཉམ ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས ། ཁེད་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྐུ་ཕོབས་སམ ། སྤྱན་དས་གཟིགས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱིས་ཤེས་གསུངས་པས ། ཐོན་མི་ས ། 1 5 10

གཤེལ་དས་གསལ་ལ་ངད་མདངས (*L* MS. ངོ་མདངས) ་གང་བ་བཟང་ ।

ཞེས་པའི་ཐུ་ཚོ་ག་ཐི་སྟེ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིན་དུ་མཉེས་ཏེ ། ཐེག་ཀྱི་ཁོད་མངོ་རྟེའི (*L* MS. ཐེག་ཀྱིས་ཐོག་མངོ་རྟེའི) ་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་བཙུགས་སྟེ ། སྤྱན་དས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་མདུན་དུ་ཕི་གེ་འདི་རྣོ་ལ་ཐེ་སྟེ་བཤད་ཀོ ། བོད་དུ་ཕི་གེ་དང་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་(ལ) ་སྐྱ་བ་དེ་གཉིས་ཡིན་ནོ ། དེ་ནས་བལ་པོ་ནས་ཁྲོ་གཉིར་མའི་སྤྲུལ་པ ། བལ་མོ་བཟའ་ཁྲི་བཅུད ། ཟློན་པོ་ཐོན་མི་སམ་སྦྱོ་ཏས་གདན་ཟངས ། དེའི་རྗོངས་ལ ། ཇོ་མོ་མི་སྐྱོང་རྣོ་རྩེ ། ཐུམས་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ ། ཙནྡན་ཀྱི་ཇོ་མོ་སྐྱལ་མ་རྣམས་སྐུབ་དྲངས ། རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྐྱལ་མའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཟའ་ཁྲིས་ཁྲོ་གཉིས་གདན་ཟངས ། དེའི་རྗོངས་ལ ། ཇོ་བོ་མི་སྐྱོང་རྣོ་རྩེ ། ཐུམས་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ ། ཙནྡན་ཡི་ཤིང་ལས ། ཕྱག་རྟེན་ལྔ་ཡན་ཆད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་མཉམ ། ཐོན་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྐུ་ཕོབས་སམ ། སྤྱན་དས་གཟིགས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱིས་ཤེས་གསུངས་པས ། ཐོན་མི་ས ། 15

ཟས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་ཚོང་པ ।
འོ་མ་ཉོ་བྱ་བསྐྱེད་པ ।
ཁེ་ལ་མངར་དང་དུ་བ ། 20
དུ་བ་ཐུད་དུ་བསྐྱེད་པ ।
ཁམས་[ནི]་ཇ་བྱ་བསྐྱེད་པ ।
བངང་ཐག་ཆུ་[ཡིས་]བསྐོང་[བ] ।
ཐགས་ཁྲི་ཐགས་[པ་]དང་[ནི་] ।

བཟའ་ཁྲིའི་རིག་པ་མང་དུ་སྐྱངོ་ངོ ། གཞན་ཡང་ ། ལྷ་སྐད་ད་མོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཉེན་ལས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པ་གཞི་དབྱེ་བ་བཞིངས ། དམངར་ཡོ་རྡེ་དང་ཕྱགས་སོ་རྡེ་ལ་སོ་སྐང་བཅུ་བཅུ ། རི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁ་བངང་ན ། ལྷགས་ཐག་ཅིས་སྐྱེལ་བའི་ལྷེམ་བཅུགས ། གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་མཁར་དབུ་བཅུ་ཙམ་བཅིགས་སོ ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་གར་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུ་མ་ར་དང་ ། བལ་ཡོའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤཱཀྱ་ཤྲཱི (*L* MS. ཤ་ས་ཀ)་དང་ཀ་ཅུ་ཀ (*L* MS. ཀྱ་ཅུ་ཀ)་དང་ ། ཐམ་རེ་ལི་ཀྱེན་དང་ ། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤ་ཀྱ་མ་དྷ་རྡེ་བ་རྣམས་སྐུབ་དྲངས ། ཚོ་རྩེ་བ་ཐོག་མི་དང་ ། རྡུརྩ་ཀོ་ཤ་དང་ ། ལྷ་ལུང་དབལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆོས་ཅི་རིགས་སུ་བསྒྱུར་ཅིང་ ། ཀཱཤ་ 25

ལ་སབབ | རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ | ཤར་ཙ་མི་དང་ཤིང་མི | ལྷོ་བྲོ་ས་དང་ཁང་ཤུང་ | ཐང་ཀོར་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དབང་བྱ་བསྟུས་ནས | དམ་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྒོལ་གཏོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ ||

རེའི་སྐས་མང་སྟོང་མང་བཅོན |

རེའི་སྐས་ཀུང་བཅོན (*L* MS. ཀུང་སྟོང་ཀུང་བཅོན) |

རེའི་སྐས་ཀུང་སྟོང་འབུ་རྩེ (*L* MS. འབུ་སྟོང་འབུ་རྩེ) | རྒྱལ་པོ་རེའི་དུས་སུ | ཤར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞུ | ལྷོའི་བལ་པོའི་ཤིང་ཁྲན (*L* MS. ཤེང་ཀྲན) | ཐང་ཀོར་ཀྱི་ཀ་ཀགས་དང་ཆེན | ནུབ་ཨོ་མོ་རྒྱན་རིངས | སྤལ་ཀྱིའི་སྐང་གི་ནང་གོང་ | སྨྲུང་ཀྱི་ཤི་དཀར་ཚྭ་ཆར་མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ | རྒྱ་ནས་ཇ་དང་ | སོར་ངུ་མལ (*L* MS. རོ་ངུ་མན) | སྐར་ན | འབྲར་ཆོང | རྒྱ་ཐྲིང་ལ་སོགས་ཐུང་ངོ | གཤེན་ཡང་ | ཙལ་པོ་ཆེའི་མི་བདུན་ཐུང་སྟེ | ཁི་བདུན་ཡུལ་ཅིན་ཀྱིས (*L* MS. ཁི་བདུན་ཡུལ་ཀྱིས) | ཐག་ཤོངས་འདོམ་དགུ་ལ་མཆོངས(འཕྱོངས)་ནས | གསལ་སྣང་དུང་གཤགས་ཀྱིས་གཡག་ཆོད་ཀྱི་ཀོང་པ་ནས་སྐྱས་ནས | ཇ་ཐོག་ཆོད་བཅོན (*L* MS. ཆོད་བཅོན)་ཀྱིས་འདི་སྐོང་གེ་ལྟག་སྐུ་ནས་བཟང་ནས | ཅོག་ངོ་ཀླུ་ཁོང (*L* MS. ཀླུ་ཀོང)་གིས་ཤེང་སྐྲོམ་འདོམ་དོ་ལ་མདའ་ཡིས་འཕེགས་ནས | འཁྲོམ་ལྟག་བཟང (*L* MS. སྐྲག་བཟང)་གིས་མཁར་རྫུ་ཚུས་འཕེགས་ནས | འགོས (*L* MS. གཡོས)་གཡག་ཚུང་གི་ཐ་བའི་ཐུང་ཁུ་ཐག་རིང་ཡིན་ནོ ||

རེའི་སྐས་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་གཙུག་བརྟན་མེས་ཙཱག་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་པོ | རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ | ལྷ་ས་ཀ་སྐག་དང་སྒ་ཀར (*L* MS. ཀ་སྐག་དང་སྒ་ཀར)་བཀབ | མདོ་སྨད་སྐང | ཐྲིད་བཅུ་ཁྲི་རྩེ | སྐག་དམར་རྩ་གུ་ཚུ་ཤར་སྐྲོ | བང་ཐང་ཀ་མེད | ཀ་ཆུ་བཏུ་ཚུབ (*L* MS. ཀ་ཆུ་བཏུ་ཚུང་) | སྐག་དམར་མཐིལ་བཟང་ (*L* MS. འཕེབ་བཟང་) | ལ་སོགས་བའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས | སྐག་ཀ་སུ་དབུ་ཤོ་ཀ (*L* MS. སྐད་ཀ་དབུ་ཤོ་ཀ)་དང་ | སྐྱེགས་རྩྭ་ན་ཀུ་མ་དས་ལོ་རྩེ་ཅུས་ཏེ | མདོ་གསེར་ཁོད་དམ་པ་དང་ | ལས་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་བསྐྱངས | ཡི་ཁྱ་ཪྀའུ་སྐྱང་བྱུང་དང་ (*L* MS. ཡི་ཁེ་ཪྀའུ་སྐྱས་སྐྱུ་དང་) | ཚེས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསྐྱངས་ནས | ཆོས་སྒོལ་ཆེན་ཞོ་བཙུགས་སོ ||

རེའི་སྐས་ཐུང་ཆུས་སེམས་དཔའ་འཇམས་དཔལ་གྱི་སྐུལ་པ | ཁི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཅོན | རྒྱལ་ཞོ་དེས་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་མཁན་ཞོ་ས་དཔེ་ཏ་ཀ(སྐ་ཀ)་སྐུ་ན་ཟངས་ནས | ཁ་ཆེ་ཡ་ནས་ཀུས་ཞོ་བཅུ | ཁམས་བཅོ་བཅུད | རེས་འཛེལ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ཡུག་བཟང་པས | ཁོང་ཞི་ལྟ་རིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས | ཆུ་གར་གྱི་ཚོ་ཀ་[སྒ་]རེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་དབེ་ཐུས་ནས | བསམ་ཡས་མི་འགྱུར་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས | རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པཎ་ཊི་ཏ་མང་པོ་དང་ | ཚོ་རྩེ་བ་སངས་མི་བདུན་ཞིས་སྟེ་སྒོང་ངམ་ (*L* MS.) | གསང་སྔགས་རྒྱུད་སྟེ་དང་པོ་གཤམ་དང་ (*S* MS.) | མདོར་ན | རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡོན་མཆོད་གཤམ་ཞིས་མོད་རྒན་བའི་བློངས་འདུ་བར | དམ་ཆོས་གཅོད་ལ་མ་ཏོང་བ་དང་ཁེང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛོད་དོ | འབངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་སངར་དས་ཏུ་སྐྱང་བ་ལགའང་ | འབས་ཁོག་གི་རེཊ་དགྱའི་གཙུག་ཏུ་ཁྲངས་བའི་ཁྲིམས་མཛོད་ནས | བསམ་ཡས་ལ་བཤད་ར་དང་ | འཆིང་ཐ་ལ་སྒོམ་ཐ་བཙུགས | ཚེ་གང་བློ་ཚུགས (*L* MS. བློང་ཚུགས)་སུ་གོང་ཁེར་ཀྱིར་བའི་འགྱུང་གནས་དང་ | ཚངས་བའི་འགྱུང་གནས་གཀྱིས་བཤད | རེའི་དུས་སུ | སྒོས་དགོན་པབློས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རིག་འཛིན་གྱི་ཆོ་ཚུ་གནང་བས | ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ | མོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་ཚ་དུག་ཡིན་པས | མི་གསོལ་བར་ཞུ་ཞུས་པས |

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་ཟེ་ཚོམ་དུ་སྐྱར་ཏེ། མ་གསོལ། ནང་དུ་མཛོ་མེ་ཡོང་བའི་ཕྱིར། ཀླུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་དོས་ཟིལ་ཆེན་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས། རེ་རྗེ་སྐྱབ་བས། ཟིལ་ཆེན་ཁེཉ་འཁྲིག་ཏུ་སྐྱལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གྲོགས་པོ་བཅོལ་ནས། ཅི་འདོད་པའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་གཏེར་བར་ཁས་ལྷངས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀླུ་དོ་ཆེན་མཛད་པས། ཐུགས་དམ་བླངས་ནས། དེ་ནས་སྲོག་དབོན་ལྷོ་ནུབ་རྩ་ཡས་ཏུ་སེལ་ཁ་འབྲུལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་སོང་ཐམས་ཅད་བའེ་ཤིང་སྐྱིར་པ། སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་མང་བ། ཁོ་ལེགས་པ། དུས་ཀྱི་ཁྲག་པ་མེད་པ། མཐའ་བཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་མནག་ཏེ། ཤར་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་། ལྷོ་རྒྱ་གར། ནུབ་སྤྱ་ཀེ་བའང་། ཇང་རྟོང་ཀྱི་ཁའི་ཚོ་ཡོར་དོན་ཀས་དཀའ་རྣམས་དབང་ 5
བ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། ཚོས་ཁིམས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁིམས་གཉིས་ཀ་ཤིན་ཏུ་བཅོན་པར་མཛད་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། སོན་སྐྱབས་ཤིང་། དམ་བའི་ཚོས་དང་ཤིང་། རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས།

རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དམ་པ་ཉི་མ་འཚོ།
སྔགས་འཆང་བླ་མེད་དགེ་སྦྱོང་པདྨ་འབྱུང་།
མཁས་པའི་གནས་རྒྱུན་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤི་ལ། 10
ཁི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙན་ལྷག་པའི་བསམ་པ་ཅན།
སོད་ཡུལ་སྐན་པར་ཤེས་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན།
དམ་ཚོས་སྐྱང་བ་ཡོ་གས་མཐར་རྒྱས་མཛད་པ།
བཀའ་དྲིན་འཁོར་མེད་དམ་པ་བཞི་ཀ་ལ།
སོད་རྣམས་རྟག་ཏུ་གུས་པས་ཐུག་འཚལ་ལོ།། 15

ཞེས་ཁ་ཉེ་ཡང་ཐུས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྐས་སུ་ཁྲི་བཙན་ཡོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེས་བའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། བསམ་ཡས་སུ་འདུལ་བ་མངོན་པ་མངོ་སྐེ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་མཚོད་པ་བགྱིན། ཚོས་ཅེད་པ་འཚོ་བ་བླ་ནས་སྐྱབ། སོད་ཀྱི་ཐུག་ལྷོག་ལན་གསུམ་སྐྱོམས། རྒྱ་དང་གཉིས་ཀའི་ཚ་ནས། ཡབ་ལ་འདུད་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་དང་མ་ཐུང་ཀྱང་། བཟང་མངོད། རྒྱ་དང་སོད་ས་སྐོས་ཐུས་ནས། སོད་དགང་བའི་རྟ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཙེ་མོ་སོད་དུ་ལྷུས་ནས་སྐྱབས་སོ།། 20

དེའི་སྐས་ནང་ན་ལེགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱ་སྐྱེའི་སྐད་ཆུང་ངོ་དཔེངས་ཀྱི་གཅུག་ལགས་ཀྱང་བཞེངས། ཁཉྱེ་ཀ་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤེ་ལ་སོགས་གདན་དུངས། (*L* MS.) གཉེགས་སྐྱོ་ན་ཀྱ་མ་ངས། (*S* MS.) ལོ་སྟོ་ཐུས་ཏེ། སྔར་མེད་བའི་ཚོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྲུངས་ངོ།།

དེའི་སྐས་གཙོང་མ། ངལ་བ་ཅན། ཐུང་དང་མ། བཙུན་མོ་ཆུང་ན་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་རྩེ་དང་། ལྷུན་གྲུབ་གཉེས་དང་ལྡ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། སྐས་ཆེ་ན་གཙང་མ་ཚོས་ལ་དགའ་སྟེ། ངག་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས། མེ་ཚོས་ལ་གདམས་པས། བསྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་ཀུང་མཛོད། དང་མ་ཞི་སྐྱེག་ལ་དགའ་སྟེ། རྩེའི་འོས་མ་ཡིན། བདུ་བ་བ་ཤེས་པས། ཚོས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤཱཀྱ་གཙུག་ཕུད། (*L* MS. ཤ་ཀ་)རོའི་གླིང་ཁེར་བཏབ་ནས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆུ་ཤེལས་གཡུ་སྐྲོན་རུན་བཞེངས། སྐྲོན་ཡས་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་ཆུ་དང་ལེ་དང་། ཟ་ཧོར་དང་། ཁ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐུ་ཚོགས་ནས་ཚོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྲུངས་པས། བརྟ་མི་འབྲ་བ་མང་པོ་འབྱུག་པས། ཚོས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤཱཀྱ་གཙུང་ལས། ཆུ་གང་ཀྱི་བརྟེ་ཏ་མི་ཏ། ཤྲི་ལེན་ཏ་གོ་རྟེ། དྲ་ན་ཤེ་ལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གདན་དྲངས། སོད་ཀྱི་ཚོ་རྩ་བ་གཉན་ཅོག་གཉིས་དང་། བན་དེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐྱེ་རྣམས་ཅང་ཀྱི་ཀྱི། གཏན་ལ་སབས། ཐ་ན་སྐེ་སྐང་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་མཐུན་པར་བཅས། རབ་སྐྱང་རྣམས་དེ་དེ་ལ་འབངས་མི་ཁྱིམ་བདུན་བདུན་སྐལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དགེས་ལ་བཏུགས་པ་ལ། དབུའི་རལ་པ་གཡས་གཡོན་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ལ་དང་ཡུགས་བཏགས་ནས།

དབ་ཏུ་བྱང་ན་རྣམས་ངེད་བཞུགས་བཅུག་པ་དང་ | གཡས་གླལ་གཡོན་གླལ་དགུང་གླལ་དང་གསུམ ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ལ་འདུས་ཤང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ | རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ | ཤར་ཕྱོགས་སོ་ཙོན་ཤེར་ཅི་བརྒྱུད་དང་དཀར་ཅི་ཡོལ་བ་འདུ་བ་རྒྱ་ནག་པོ་ཟད་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ལ་བཏུག་སྟེ་དབང་བྱ་བསྡུས | དེར་རྗེ་རིངས་བཙུག་སྟེ | འདི་མན་ཆོད་དབང་བ་ཡིན | ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་ཟེ་སྟེ་བཀག | ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དང་མོན | རྒྱ་གར | ཕ | ཟ་ཧོར | གངྒཱའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷུགས་ཀྱི་ཀ་དུ་གཏོང་ཚུན་ཆོད་དབང་བྱ་བསྡུས | བྱང་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱ་ཟེག་གི་ས་
5 མཚམས་འཐུ་ཤལ་སོགས་དབང་བྱ་བསྡུས | ཐང་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་བྱ་བསྡུ་སྟེ | ལྷོ་འཛམ་གླིང་གསུམ་གཉིས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ཅིང་ | མཐའ་དག་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་བཞེངས་སོ | འདི་ཡན་ཆད་བསྟན་པ་སྔར་དང་ན་ཡིན་ནོ ||

V

(*S* MS.) དེ་ནས་མངའ་བདག་དང་མ་དཔེག་བྱང་བཙན་གྱི་སྐྱའི་རིང་ལ | ཆོས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་སྐྱབས་པ་ལ | སོད་ཡུལ་བྱ་མངའ་བདག་དལ་ཅ་ཅན་གྱི་བརྟེ་ཏ་མང་ཡོ་སྐྱན་བྱང་བ་དང་ | གསེར་ཕེས་ཟུམ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བསྟན་པ་དང་བ་ལ | སྐུ་སྐྱེགས་ཀྱི་ཟློམ་ཟེ་བའི་མ་ཐེག་ནས | སོད་ཡུལ་ཟུང་བའི་ཟུང་འགོད་བཞིད་རྒྱུ་བར། སྐྱོན་ལམ་བཏབ་ནས | ཕྱེབས་པས་འདོད་པ་
10 གྲུབ་སྟེ | མངའ་བདག་དང་མ་དཔེག་བྱང་བཙན་དང་ | ཅོག་རོ་(*L* MS. ཅོག་སྐྱོ་)ལེགས་སྐྱ་དང་ | དབས་དོ་ཅེ་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་དང་ | འབལ་འཁོར་(*L* MS. འབངས་འཁོར་)ཞེས་ལེགས་པ་དང་བཞིའི་ཐུགས་ཡིད | ཟུང་འགོད་ནག་ཁོ་དང་ | གནམ་རེཏྟ་དཀར་ཁོ་དང་ | ས་རེཏྟ་ནག་ཁོ་དང་ | ཐང་རོང་ཁེས་ཏེ་བཞིའི་གདོན་ཤུག་སྟེ | དབ་ཀྲ་ཀྱ་ཤ་ཅ་ཐཀལ་བ་ལ་སྐྱལ་ཡང་མ་ནུས་པས | ས་འོག་ཏུ་སྐྱས | ཐམས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ཁོ་ཆེ་མའི་འོག་ཏུ་སྐྱས | པ་ཐ་སྐྱ་ཤ་ཐ་སྐྱལ་ཡང་
15 ངེ་ཤིང་དང་ | མདའ་གཞུ་དང་ | ཉི་མཏང་སྟེ | ཕིངས་ལ་མཏང་པས | ལ་ལ་ཤན་པ་མཉེལ | ཕྱེས་ཆོས་ཆེད་པའི་སྒོལ་མ་བཙུགས | འབངས་རྣམས་ལའང་མ་གཏོངས་པའི་བཀའ་ཚད་སས་པས | བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་མཁོ་ནས་བཤིག | མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་ནས་འབྲས་པ་ཕིན་ནོ | རེའི་ཆོ་ཙུ་ན་གོང་དབང་གའི་ཡོད་པ་བརྡེབ | གོང་ནས་རྒྱ་ལ་འབས་པའི་ཆུ་གོ་ཆེན་པོ་རྨ་ཆུ་སྐྱུར་(*L* MS. རྨ་ཆུ་སྐྱང་)ཐ་ལ་
ཡར་ལ་འགག་གསུམ་གོག | རེ་ལ་གོགས་པའི་ལྷས་ངན་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ངོ |

རེ་ནས་རིང་ཞིག་ནས | ཡེར་བའི་(*L* MS. ཡེར་པའི་)ལྷ་རི་སྐྱིང་ཁོ་ལ | ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་སྐོམ་ཐྲེན་ཡོད་པས | ཚོར་ཏེ་
20 བཙན་ཡོ་ལ་སྐྱིང་རྗེ་ཐུང་པར་ཅན་སྐྱེས་ནས | དགྲོངས་སྐབ | རེ་ལྷར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བསྐྱབས་པ་[ཡི]ན ||

VI

(*S* MS.) བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་གྱི་ཚུལ་ནི | གྲང་དར་མའི་སྐས་འོད་སྲུང་ | ཁོང་གིས་ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ནས | སྐུ་བློའི་མཚོད་ཡོག་ཕྲུག་ནས | སྐྱོན་ལམ་བཏབ | སྐུ་བློའི་ཕྱིན་བྱང་ཆུབ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱང་ འདི་ནི (ཟེད) | མེས་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལྟར | ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་ | ཆོས་ཅིག་དམ་བྱ་བའི་ཉེས་ཏེ | མངའ་རིས་ཆོས་བའི་བྱ་བསྒྲུབས་སོ | གནས་ཡང་ | ཆད་རབ་གསལ་དང་ | ཡོ་གེ་འབྱང་དང་ | དགེ་བ་རབ་གསལ་དང་ | སྐུ་རབ་(*L* MS. སྐུ་རབ་)སོགས་བཙུས་བསྐྱེན་པར་རྫོགས་ནས | སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་
25 དར་ཞིང་ | རྒྱས་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ | གནས་ཡང་ | གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐབ་མ་ལྟ་ཅི་བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟེ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། སྟོང་མདའ་རིས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སོགས་པ་གཙུག་ལག་[ཁང]་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས་སོ། འཕྲམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གསུང་རབ་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་ནས། ཆོས་ཅེགས་ཀྱི་དཔུང་སྟེང་ཡིན་ནོ།།

(*A* MS.) དེའི་སྐས་སྐྱིད་ལྟེ་ཀྱི་མ་མཉེན་དང་། ཁི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཅེགས་དཔལ་(*L* MS. ཁི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཅེགས་པ་དཔལ་)དང་གཉིས། སྐྱིད་ལྟེ་ཀྱི་མ་མཉེན་ནི་བོད་ཁྱིང་(*S* MS. ཅིང་)ཡོག་ཅེ། འབལ་མ་རྟག་བཙན། ཁྱང་མོ་ཀུག་པ། ལྷ་ཀ་བརྟེ་གཤམ་ཀྱིས་གཏོ་ཆས་ཐའི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ། (*S* and *L* MSS. དཔལ་མ་རྟག་གང་། ཁྱུང་དཔལ་ལྟེ་བྱས་དང་། མེ་ཀུག་པ་ལྷ་ཀ་བརྟེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཏོ་ཆས་ཐའི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ།) སྟོང་མདའ་རིས་སུ་ཐོན་ཐའི་ལམ་ཁར། ཀ་དང་སྐོ་ང་གསོལ་དགོས་བྱུང་ནས། དེར་རས་ཀྱིས་སྐད་ནས། དྲང་པས། དཔལ་ཁས། དཔལ་ལྟེ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུགས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་ད་ལའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་མེའམ། རྟའི་ཙེ་ལ་ད་ལ་མཁར་དམར་ཅེགས། ལུགས་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཅེ་ཤེ་རྒྱ་རི་(*L* and *S* MSS. ཅེ་ཐེ་རྒྱ་རི་)ཅེགས་ནས། དམ་ཚག་གི་གཏུང་རྟམས་ལ་ཡུལ་དང་ཐྲོང་ཁྲེད་མང་པོ་བཏབ་དགོངས། མར་ཡུལ་ལ་གཏོད་པ་མ་མཛད། དེའི་དུས་སུ་མར་ཡུལ་ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གེ་ཁར་ཐྱི་བཀྲུད་པས་འཛིན། སྨུད་རྟམས་དང་དགའི་སེམ་རྒར་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་ཚེ་དགེ་བཤེས་བཙན་(*L* MS. དགེ་ཤེས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་)ཐྱིས་སུ་རྟངས་སུ་ཞུ་སྟེ། འཕོ་ཟ་འཁོར་སྐྱིད་བཙུན་མོར་སུལ་ས་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། སྐས་གསུམ་བྱང་ཞིང་། སྐུ་མཁར་ཉེ་རྩངས་ཅིག་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་ས་བཏབ་ནས། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཚས་ཧོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཚོས་བཞིན་བྱ་བསྒྲུབས་སོ།།

སྐས་གསུམ་ནི། ལྟ་ཆེན་དཔལ་ཀྱི་མཉེན། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཉེན། ཞུང་པ་ལྟེ་གཙུག་མཉེན་དང་གསུམ་མོ། དེ་ནས་སྐས་གསུམ་ལ་མངའ་རིས་སོ་སོང་གནང་སྟེ། ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་ཀྱི་མཉེན་ལ། མངའ་རིས་མང་ཡུལ། འབངས་གཞུ་ནག་ཅན། ཤར་རྩ་ཐོག་དང་། གཞེར་ཁ་འགོག་ལང་ཀྱི་ལྟེ་མཆོག་དཀར་ཡོ། མཚམས་ཀྱི་ང་པ་དམར་ཡོ། ལྷམ་ལེ་ཡི་མིག་གི་ཁ་ཐོང་ལ་མགོ་བར། (*L* MS. གཡག་ལྟེར་) རྒྱབ་ཁ་ཆེའི་ལ་ཙ། རྡོ་རྒྱ་པ་ཅན་ཡན་ཚན། ཐང་གཞེར་ཁ་(*L* MS. མགོན་ཡོ་)འགོག་ཡོ་རྩྭ་ཚང་ཀྱི་ས་རྒྱ་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ནོ།། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཉེན་ལ། ཐུ་གེ་ཐུ་རྟངས། ཆེ་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛོད། རྒྱང་པ་ལྟེ་གཙུག་མཉེན་ལ། ཟངས་དཀར་སྐོར་གསུམ། སྲིད་ཀྱི། སྲིད་ལྟོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛོད།།

ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་ཀྱི་མཉེན་ཀྱི་སྐས་འབྲོ་མཉེན་དང་། ཚོས་མཉེན་གཉིས།།

འབྲོ་མཉེན་ཀྱི་སྐས། ལྟ་ཆེན་གཐས་པ་ལྟེ།། (*S* MS. ཐ་ཆེན་གཐས་པ་ལྟེ་)

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་ཐང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་དཔའ།། (*S* MS. ཐ་ཆེན་ཐང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་དཔའ)

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ། ཀླུ་འཁྲིལ་(*L* and *S* MSS. ལི་ཀྲིར་)ཀྱི་དགོན་པ་བཏབ་ནས། དགེ་འདུན་ཀྱི་སྟེ་བཙུགས། གང་རི་མཆོ་གསུམ་དུ། མང་དུས་ལྟ་བརྒྱ། ཁང་དུས་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་དེ་སྐྱབས་པ་མཛད་པ་ལ། འཆོ་བའི་ཡོ་ཐང་སྐྱིད་དུས་མེད་པར་ཡུན་དེད་དུ་མཛད་དོ།།

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་ཞུཏ་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོང་གཤམ་(*L* MS. ཤམ)གཉིས་ཀྱི་དམག་བསྟོངས་ནས། ཁྱང་ཀྱི་ལ་བརྒྱབ། ཁྱང་ཀྱིའི་རྒྱལ་པོའམ། ཀྱི་སེ་ནམ་ཤུ་དང་། མ་གམ་(*L* MS. མ་གང་)ནམ་སྐྱམས་བར་དུ། མཛོང་དང་ལྷགས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཁལ་དང་དཔྱ་འབྲལ་བའི་མནའ་ཐས་ནས། དུས་དང་ལྡན་ཞིང་ཤོད་དོ། གཉན་ཡང། བྱི་ཙེ། ཐུ་རྟངས་(*L* MS. ལྟོ་ཙེ་ཐུ་རངས་)མནའ་ཚོང་ཁྲིད། རྒྱལ་ལྟ་བྱ་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་དོ།། ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཁལ་ཁལ་སོགས་འབྲལ་ཞིང་། ཤལ་ལྟ་བྱ་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་དོ།།

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་ནག་ལྷག ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་སྐྱག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ལྷན་ལང་མཁར་རྩིགས ། འབྲག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་རྩེ་རྩིགས་སོ (*L* MS. ཁ་ལ་ཅོ་མཁར་བརྩིགས་སོ) ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་དགེ་སྦྱོ་(*S* MS. ཏྲ་ཚེན་དགེ་སྦྱོ་)དང་ ། དགེ་འབྱམ ॥ (*L* MS. དགེ་བ་འབྱམ ।)

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་ཇོ་ལྷོད ॥

5 དེའི་སྐས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན ॥

(*S* MS.) དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་རྒྱལ ། (*A* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་རྒྱུད་རྩོ་རྩེ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་ ། ངན་སོང་སྟོང་བའི་རྒྱུད ། རྒྱུད་འབྱམ་ཚོང་བ་གཅིར་ལ་བཞེངས་སོ ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་ཇོ་དཔལ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་ ། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མཛོད་པ་མཐར་སྐྱེན་བར་མཛོད་དོ ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་དཀོན་གྲུབ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ ། དབུ་ཀུ་སྒྲུང་བ་དབུས་གཙང་དུ་འཕྲོ་བའི་སྒོལ་བཙུགས་ནས ། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་
10 གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྣམས་ཤིག་བསོས་མཛད་པ་དང་ ། ཁར་བར་དུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འཛིག་རྟེན་གཐམ་ཀྱི་མགོན་པོའི་རྟེན་བྱ ། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ཀྱི་རྟ་སྐུ་ཉིག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བརྒྱ་འབྱལ་དང་ ། བཀའ་འགྱུར་ཚར་གཅིག་དང་ ། གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་སོ ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་བྱ་རིན་ཚེན ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་ཤེས་རབ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དོང་ལ ། ས་རྒའི་ཉང་རྩེ་མོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁ་ལ ། སྒོང་ཁྲེར་སེང་གེ་སྐུང་ཞེས་པ་རྩིགས་ནས ། 15 མར་ཡུལ་ས་ཐུ་སྒྲུང་མཁར་དུ་བཏགས་སོ ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྡེ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱལ་དུ་(*L* MS. རྒྱས་བྱ་)མཚོད་རྟེན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཞེངས ། ས་ཐུ་རྩ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་གཉིས་བཞེངས་སོ ॥

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཚེན་གྲགས་འབྱམ་ལྡེ་དང་ ། གྲགས་པ་འབྱམ་གཉིས ། གྲགས་འབྱམ་ལྡེས་རྒྱལ་(*L* MS. རྒྱ་)ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ནས ། རྒྱ་མ་ཐུག་རྗེས་ཐུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་(*L* MS. མང་པོ་)དམར་པོ་བཞེངས་ནས ། རྒྱལ་པ་ཐུམས་པ་མགོན་པོ་དཀྱུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་
20 བའི་སྐུ་ཚད་དང་ ། གཡས་གཡོན་གཉིས་ཐུ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཐུགས་ཀ་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཉིས་ཐོག་ཚད་དེ་བཞེངས ། ལོགས་སྡེས་རྣམས་ལ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འདུ་སྐུ་དང་ ། རྗེ་གཏེན་བརྟན་བཞུགས་དང་ ། དང་ཉིད་མོས་བའི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཚང་བ་དང་ ། ལྷ་ཁང་གཐམ་རྩེགས་མཐོ་བཀྲིས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བཞེངས ། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་ལ་ཉེ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡང་གཤེགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་བཞེངས ། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ལ་ཉེ་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པས ། གཏུམ་ནས ། ཕྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཀྱི་རྩེ་ཚུལ་ལ ། ནང་ལྷ་ཁང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་
ཡོད་པ་བཞེངས ། མཚོད་རྟེན་ཀྱི་མིང་ཉིད་(*L* MS. ཉིད་)བཀའ་ཤིས་འོད་འཕྲོ་རེར ། གཞན་ཡང་ । སྒྲིའི་མདོ་རེ་ན་ཉིད་གྲང་ཡོ་ཚེ་འདུ་བ་
25 ཡོད་པ་ལ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རི་མ་གི་ལ་དགེ་སློང་བའི་སྡེ་གཅིག་བཙུགས་ནས ། ཤི་ཡང་ । འཕྲོ་བ་མེད་གསུང་བ་ལ ། སྐྱེགས་དུས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཨོང་ཁ་བ་ཚོན་པོ་བྱོ་བཟང་གྲགས་པས ། རང་གི་ཤུངས་ཁྲག་ལ་འཁྱངས་པའི་ཚེ་དཔག་མེད ། མཐེབ་ཚེགས་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ ། ཐུ་སྐལ་གཉིས་ལ་བསྐྱངས་ནས ། ཡང་ག་ཐུགས་པའི་མཚོན་ཅན ། ཡང་ག་སྒྲིའི་མཚོན་ཅན་ཐུགས་ཀ་ལྟ་ཤག་ཀུ་ཤུལ་གསུང་བ་ལ ། ཁོང་གཉིས་མར་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྒྲེབ་ནས ། ཅབ་ར་ན་གྲགས་པ་ཞེས་ཐ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ལ ། ཁོང་གི་རྒྱང་དུ་ཕྱེད་པས ། ཐ་སྐལ་གཉིས་ལ་སྐྱ་མེག་ཙམ་ཀྱང་མ་གཟིགས་པར ། སྒྲིལ་དུ་ཡོངས ། དེའི་ཐོ་རངས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས ། ཐ་སྐལ ། སྒྲི་དེ (*L* MS. སྒྲི་དེ་ས) । མོད ।
30 ཅི་ཤི ། སྐ་ཡང་མ་བཀག་གསུང་པས ། ཐ་སྐལ་གཉིས་སྐྱང་བར ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞེངས་ནས ། ཐ་སྐལ་གཉིས་ལ་བསྐ་མ་མཛོད ། ཐ་སྐལ་

གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་སྐུ་སྐྱེས་ཟློག་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགེས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དཔེས་ནས། དཔེ་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་དགོད་པ། མ་རྟོགས་ལྟུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ། རྟེགས་ནས། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་མང་པོ་བསྡུགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྐབས་བློ་གོས་མཆོག་ལྡན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ། ཀུ་ཤེ་ནས་དགྱེས་ཞིས་པ། མ་མོའི་ཐུན་སྐྱིས་ནས། ཁས་ཆུང་དཀའ་ཆུ། ལྟ་ཁས་དཀའ་པོས་གཏོང་བས་བཙོ་བཆུད། ནམ་མཁའ་ཁེག་ལྟག་འགྲོང་རྟེ་རིངས། བློག་དམར་མེ་གསོད་ལ་སོགས་བའི་རབ་ལ་གྱི་བཙོ་བཆུད། བདུད་ཀྱི་ནག་པོ། དམ་གྱི་གཞུང་བཆུད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མགོ་ཐུས་བའི་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་བཙོ་ལྟ། ལྟ་གཡུ་འོད་ལྟན། ལྟ་གཡུ་དཀར་པོ་[གཉིས་ཀྱིས་]གཙོ་ཐུས་གཡུ་བཙོ་ལྟ། སྐ་མ་ཎི་ཁི་སྟེངས། བཀུ་ཤིས་འོད་ལྟེ་སོགས་སྐུ་ཤེ་ཐུ། ཆེབས་གྲོ་བོ་ལྟ་བཅུ། ངང་པ་ལྟ་བཅུ། འོལ་བ་ཤེ་ཐུ། ཁ་སོ་གཅུམ་བཅུ། འཕྲེ་ཟལ་མོ་ཤེ་ཐུ། གཡག་ཁམ་པ་ཤེ་ཐུ། ལུག་ལ་སོགས་བའི་ཁལ་དུམ་འབྱལ་བ་མང་པོ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གཅུམ་ཚས་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། དང་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཕིན་ཏོ།།

VII

(*A* MS.) ལྟ་ཆེན་གཏས་པ་འབྱམ་ཀྱིས། རབ་བརྟན་ལྟ་ཆེ་དང་། གཅེ་ཡ་(*L* MS. ཅེ་བ་)སོགས་ལ་མངའ་མཛོད། རྒྱལ་སྲས་གཅིང་སྐང་ཅིག།། 10

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་བྱུ་ར།།

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་ལྟ་གནོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་འཕྱགས་པ་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའ་བ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པས། ཤེལ་པ་(*L* MS. ཤེས་པ་)དང་བསྟོད་ནས། སྤྲེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཏམ་འབྱམ་ལྟེའི་སྐས་ཐ་བློ་གོས་མཆོག་ལྟུན། རྟུང་པ་ཙ་ལི། སྤྲས་བསྟན་དང་རྒྱལ་རྟམས་(*L* MS. སྤྲས་བརྟན་རྟམས་) 15 བས་ནས། མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས།།

དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་ལྟ་དབང་རྟམ་རྒྱལ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས། ལྟ་དབང་རྟམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་སྐུ་སྐྱེས་དང་སྐྱུ་རྩལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། རྒྱང་བ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟམ་རྒྱལ་གཡོ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པས། རྩོ་གོའི་སྐྱུ་བའི་ཁྲོད། གཏུང་བཏུབ་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར། བཙུན་མོ་དང་བཅས་ནས། ཕིངས་སྟེང་བུ་བཞག་གོ། དེའི་སྐས་ལྟ་ཆེན་ཆོ་དབང་རྟམ་རྒྱལ། རྟམ་རྒྱལ་མགོན་པོ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྟམ་རྒྱལ་དང་གཞུམ་འཁྱངས་སོ། སྐས་གཞུམ་པོ་དེ་སྐུ་སྐྱེས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས།

གཞན་གྱི་ལོ་སྐྱེད་པས།
ཁོང་གི་ཟླ་སྐྱེད་ཆེ། 20
གཞན་གྱི་ཟླ་སྐྱེད་པས།
ཁོང་གི་འགག་སྐྱེད་ཆེ།

བར་བྱུང་ངོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྟམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལྟེ་ཤེས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཟབ་མོ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་ཐུགས་དམ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཤིང་། ཤིན་ཏུ་ཟབ་པའི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ཐུགས་སུ་ཆུད་ཅིང་རྟོགས་པ་ལ་ཐུགས་དམ་བསྐྱེད་ཅིང་། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་ཡིན

ཡུལ་དགས་བཙུན་ཁལ་བཏབ་ནས། བསྐུལ་རྒྱུར་གྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཙུགས། དགོན་པ་མཐོང་བའི་མཚམས་སུ་དང་ཆེན་འགྱུར་ནས། འདིའི་མདུན་དུ་ཀུན། ཇུན་མ། མོར་ན་རྒྱལ་ཡིའི་རྒྱུ་སྐོག་ལ་བསྟོས་པའི་མེ་ཡོང་ཀང་། དེའི་མདུན་དུ་ཆུང་ཁ་ཙམ་ཀྱིས། གནག་ལས་ཐང་བང་མཛད་དོ། གཉན་ཡང་། འཕེ་ཁྱང(L MS. འཕེ་ཀྱང)་། ས་རྒྱུ། དགེ་ལྟུན། ལྷ་ས། བསམ་ཡས་རྣམས་སུ་གདུན་བཞུགས། གསེར་ཚལ། དང་ཆེན། མང་ཐ། བརྒྱ་འགྱུར་སོགས་དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར། བསྟན་འགྱུར། གཉན་ཡང་ལྷག་བསམ་བམ་མང་
5 པོ་དང་། མཆོད་རྟེན་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་སོ།།

དེ་ནས་སྐུལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆོ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་ནས། སྐུ་ན་གཞོན་དུས་དམག་མཛད་པས། ཤར་(L MS. ཐང་)ངམ་རིངས་མན་ཚད། ཐོ་བོ་དང་། ཐ་རྩྭས། ཀུ་གེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་འཇོམ་ལང་། ཀྲང་ཀི་གཉིས། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཤི་དགར་དང་། ཀ་དགར་(L MS. ཀས་གར་)ཙོག་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས། ཐང་ཀོད་ལ་དམག་རྒྱས་གསུངས་པ་ལ། ནུབ་ངུ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞུ་བ་ཐུབ་ནས། མ་མཛད། གཉན་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཇོ་ཀུན་(S MS.)དང་། ངན་མེད་པའི་བཀའ་
10 ཐབ་(A MS.)གཏེ་པ་ལ་ཐོངས། མཁར་རྣམས་ལ་སྐུ་ཚབ་བཞག་ནས། མར་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ལྡེ་། རྒྱལ་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཀུ་གེ་ནས་ཁལ་དང་དཔྱ་འབྲལ་བ་ལ། ཨོ་རེ་ལ་གསེར་ཞོ་གསུམ་བཏྱ། (S MS.) དངུལ་དང་། ཚོར་མོ་བཏྱ་དང་ ཆིབས་གཅིག། (A MS.) ཏྲ་ཐོགས་ནས་གསེར་ཞོ་ཉི་ཤུ་བཏྱ་དང་ཟུག་བསྟ། ཚོར་མོ་བཏྱ། ཆིབས་གཅིག། བཅོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་བསྟ། འཁར་ཨོ་ལྷོད་དང་། ལྷེད་དང་ ཆེན་དང་ཆུང་རྣམས་དང་ । གཤེན་ཡང་ཁལ་དཔྱ་ལ་སོགས་ཐྱོགས་ཐྱོགས་ནས་འབྲལ་བ་བསམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ཁྲལ་ལོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རེའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ། ལྷ་ས་དང་། ཀུ་གེའི་མཐོ་སྒྲིང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་ཚད་ཅན་ནས། སྔར་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་པོའི་གདུང་
15 ཡང་རྙེ་མོར་བཞག་པས། མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐའ་ཁ། ཐུག་མཚོར་བ། སྐོར་བ་སོགས་མི་འགྲོ་བ་འདུག་པས། (S MS.) འགྲོ་བ་མེམས་ཅན་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ། (A MS.) ད་ངས་རེའི་ཚོལ་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་ནས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་མེས་རབ་ཁ་ཅན་ལྟ་བུ་ཅི་གེ་ཅིར་ཡང་དོགས་དོགས་པ་ལ། མེམས་ཅན་ཀྱི་ལས་ཟད་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་སྐུ་བའི་བར་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རྣམས་ཐྱོགས་ཐྱོགས་
ནས་ལངས།།

དེ་ནས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། རྒྱལ་པོ་རེའི་དུས་སུ། སྤྱ་རིག་གི་ཤོད་ཀྱིས་མ་མཐུན་ནས། ཆོ་རིང་མ་
20 མེག་རེར་བ་ཅིག་གི་དབྱང་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཁེར་བས། དུས་ཀྱི་འགྲིལ་དུས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་དུས་ལ་བབ་པས། ནང་གོང(S MS. སྐང་རྡོ་)དམག་དཔོན་ཙ་ཕེ་མེར་ཀྱི་དམག་རྟོལ་བ་དང་ཐུག། ཁོ་ཕེས་གཡོ་ཐུས་ནས། འག་ཅི་འགྲོ་ཐུས། དེ་དང་ལ་ལུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁ་བས་བཀག་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དམག་དང་བཅས་པ་གར་ཕོག་ལ་ཡལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྐལ་ཉི་ཞུགས་ནས། གཤུང་དབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས། ལ་ལ་ཚབ་ལ་བཀལ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་བཤིག་ནས། དང་ཁི་ཡུལ་ལ་ཕོག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཙ་
ཕེ་མེར་ཤེར་ཅན་ཀྱི་སྐས་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུབ་(L MS. རྒྱལ་ཀ་ཐུབ་)ནེས་པ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོའི་རྣམ་སྐྲལ་པ་དེ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
25 ལ་བཙུན་མོར་ཐུལ་ནས།

(B MS.) བཞུགས་པའི་རིང་ཕོ་མ་ཚོན་པར།

ཙཱ་ཕེ་མེར་ཀྱིས་རྒྱི་ལམ་དུ།

ཁོང་དང་གི་མཁར་ཡོག་གཅོང་ཕོ་ལས་སེང་གེ་ཅིག་ཐོན་ནར་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུབ་ལ་[ཐིམ་]པར་མཐོང་བ་དང་། དུས་མཚུངས་རྒྱལ་ཁ་
ཐུབ་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་ཙཱ་ཕེ་མེར་ཀྱིས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲི་སྐྱིང་དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ། དམག་རྣམས་
30 ལ་སྐྱོན་མོ་ཅུང་དག། རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུབ་ཀྱང་རྒྱན་དུ་མས་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། ཙཱ་ཕེ་མེར་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་བ།

ཁ་སང་ང་ཡིས་རྐྱེ་ལམ་བྱ།
(མདུན)་མཚོ་ནས་སེང་གེ་(ཅིག་)ནང་ཐྱིས་མཚོངས་(ནས)།
རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ལ་ཐེམ་བར་མཐོང་།
དེ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་ཐ་མི་འདི་(ལའང་)།
སེམས་ཅན་དང་[ནི]་ལྡན་བར་སྣང་། 5
འདི་ལ་ཐུ་ཞེག་དེས་བར་སྐྱེ།
མིང་དུ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིགས།

ཟེར་ནས། ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་བཅས་གཤད་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་དོ། (*A* MS.) དེ་ལ་སྐས་གཉིས་འཁྱངས་ཏེ། སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། དོར་ཐ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ། འཇམ་དཔྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ། དང་ཁོ་ངས་ཐ་དེག་ཚོ་དེང་མ་ཡིག་གི་དཔྱང་ལ་དམག་ཁེངས་བའི་ལན་ལ། ལ་དྲགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཤིག །དཔལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དང་བའི་ཐམས་ཅིག་ 10
ཅི་ཐུབ་ནས། དང་བར་ཐ་དགོངས་པ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་མི་སྡེ་ལ་རག་ལུས་པ་ཡིན་པས། དཔལ་མི་སྡེ་ལ་ཁྲལ་ཐུབ་སོགས་མེད་པ། ཐ་བའིན་བསྐྱང་དགོས་སྙམ་ནས། སྤུག་ལྷོགས་ལན་གསུམ་སྐྱོམས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་ཐ་དེག་ཅེན་ཚད། ཐང་རྩེ་མགོ་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ཅི་སྲོན་དུ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་སྐས་མོ་ཚོ་དེང་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁས་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། སྐས་ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། བསྟན་འཛིན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་འཁྱངས། གཞན་ཡང་། སྐས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབུས་གཅངས་དུ་ཐོ་བོ་རིན་ཐོ་ཆེའི་ཤྭ་དུ། གསེར་ཚབ། གདན་བཞུགས། འཐས་སྒྲུབས། ར་ཐུང་རྣམས་སུ། གསེར། དངུལ། ཆུ་ཀིག། ཅི་རྟ། སྲོག་ཤིང། ཅས་དང། 15
མང་ཐ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བརྒྱ་འགྱལ། དེ་རྣམས་སུ་དང་ཆེན་དང་། འབྲག་པ་སྒྲུལ་སྐུ་གདན་འབེབ་པའི་ཚོ་ཀ་སོགས་ཀྱང་བརྩངས་སོ། སྐྱབས་རྒྱ་མར་རྒྱ་ཀྱི་གསེར་གསུམ་དང་། དཀར་རྒྱུད་གསེར་འཕྲེང་སོགས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས། རྒྱ་མ་ཐུག་རྩེས་སུ། ལ་དྲགས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཤིག་ཏུ་ཐུ་ཞེག་ཏུ་ཐུག་ཏུ་ཐུག་ཏུ་ཐུ

ཀྱི་འགྲམ་ཚངས་དང་ | དཔལ་ཀྱི་འགྲམ་ཚངས་ | སྒོས་ཤེལ་ཀུ་ཐུ་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ | དེ་བས་ལྷ་ན་བརྒྱ་ཙ | ཀྱེ་རྡུ་ཐུ་མོའི་སྐོ་ང་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ | ཐུ་ཀིག་ཀྱུ་སྦན་བརྒྱ་ཙ་དང་ | གཤེན་ལྷ་མོ་མང་པོ་དང་ | (*B* MS.) (one word illegible) ལྟ་ས | ཁ་འབྲུག | བསམ་ཡས་སོགས་ལ་སྐྱོང་མཚོད | དགེ་འཕགས་སེར | འབྲུག་ར་ལུང་ | ས་སྐྱ | གཤེན་ཡང་དགོན་སྡེ་ཆེ་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ | བརྒྱ་འགྲལ་མང་སྐྱལ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་ས་དང་ | (*C* MS.) ལྷམ་ལེ | ཆོང་ཡུལ | ཁ་ནག | གཙང་དམར | སྐྱ་དམར་ནང | མེ་རྡ | དར་རྩེ | སོགས་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་གང་པོ་དང་ | 5 གཤེན་ཡང་ | ལ་དྭགས་སྐྱོང་གཤམ་དང་ | མངའ་ཤས་གང་ཡོད་ན | མཚོང་གཉིས | ས་ཐུང་དུ་བསྐལ་བ་ནམ་གནས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཐུལ | (*A* MS.) ཐུབ་ཁོབ་སྐྱ་ཚང་དས་ཆེན་དེ་ཉིད་ལ | དང་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཁག་སོ་སོ་ནས་ས་ཐུང་མཚོང་གཉིས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་འབྲལ་ནས | སྐྱ་ཚང་དས་ཆེན་གྱིས་(*S* MS.)དེ་མི་ཐུང་ཆུབ་བསམ་གྲིང་དགོན | ལྷུ་བདེ་ཐེག་མཆོག་དགོན | ལྷམ་ལེ་བདེ་ཆེན་དགོན་བཅས་དགོན་ཆེན་གསུམ་ཀྱི་གཙོ་ཐུབ | གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དཔག་མེད | (*A* MS.) བཀའ་ཤིས་ཟྭང་སོགས་བཞི་དགོན་སྡེ་རྣམས | ཡབ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་ཀྱལ་བཀྲིས | ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྐྱེ་བྱང་དང་ | སྲས་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་ཀྱལ་གཉིས | སྲས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྐྱོང་སྐབས་སུ | ལེགས་པར་བསྒྲུབ་ནས | སངས་
10 ཀྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་ཀྱས | (*C* MS.) སྐབ་ཐོབ་ཚེན་པོ་སྐྱ་ཚངས་ཚེན་མཚོག་ཏུ | ཏོ་༡༠༠ | གཡག་༡༠༠ | ཐྲག་༡༠༠ | ལུག་༡༠༠༠ | ར་༡༠༠༠ | དངུལ་༡༠༠༠ | གསེར་ཁྲི་༡༠༠ | འབྲུ་ཁལ་༥༠༠༠ | ཐུ་ཀིག་གི་ཞེང་བ | ཀྱི་རྡེའི་ཞེང་བ | གཡུའི་ཞེང་བ | མེ་མདའ་ཐུང | མདུང་ཐུང | རྟ་ལ་གྱི་ཐུང | ཁྲབ་༡༠ | གོས་ཆེན་ཡུག་ཐུང | ཆུན་ཁབ་ཡུག་༡༠ | མེན་ཞྭིང་ཡུག་ཐུང | ཁ་བཏགས་ཙ་ཤེ་ཡུག་ཐུང་བཅས་འབྲལ་བ | བསམ་ཀྱིན་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཐུལ | དེ་དག་སྤེ་ཆེན་དཔལ་མཁར་དབུ་ཐོག་ལོ་ངོ་གསུམ་ནང་བཞེངས་བསྒྲུབས་
15 ནས | ནང་ཏེག་གསེར་དངུལ་ལ་ཆུ་བཅས་མང་པོ | གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་དང་ | གཤེན་ཡང་ | ཀྱེགས་བམ་ཕོ་ཉེ་མང་པོ་བཞེངས || (*S* MS.)གཤེན་ཡང་ | ཐོག་ཚོད་རྒྱག་གི་ཀྱུ་གདུང་ཚོས་འཁོར་གསེར་ཟངས་ཅན | སྤེ་རྡ་མན་ཐང་གསུམ | ཟངས་མཁར་དུ་གཅིག་བཅས | སྤྱོམ་དུ | མ་ཉེ་དུང་ཐུབ | སྤྱོས་འཇོག་ལ་དཀར་ཆུང་གསེར་ཞེང་གི་ཀྱུ་དང་ | ཤེལ་ཐུབ་ཚེན་བཅོས | སངས་ཀྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ཀྱེ་དགུ་ཡོངས་[ཀྱི་དོན་དུ] | ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན་མཛེད་དོ || (*B* MS.) ཀྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་
དགེ་བཅུའི་ཁིམས་ཀྱིས་འཚོ་ཞིང་ | འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀྱི་ཁམས་སུ་ཡང་ཆུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་འདུ་བ་ལ | ཏྲ་མ་སྐྱ་འདུ་བ | མཚོང་ཡོན | ཀྱི་ཟླ | ཟུང་གཅིག | ཅེས་གླགས་བས | ས་སྐྱེང་ཁབ་བར་ཐུང | དེ་དག་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་ཀྱལ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་ལ | ཡབ་ཆེན་ཆོ་དབང་རྣམ་ཀྱལ་ཀྱེས་
20 ཤར་ཟུང་ངམ་རིངས་ཚུན་ལ་མངའ་མཚོང་ཀྱང་ | སྐུ་ཚེ་ཟུང་བས | ཡབ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་ཀྱལ་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ | ཀྱལ་སྡེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལངས་འདུག | སྲུང་ཡང་ | ཟུང་ངམ་རིངས་སྤྱག་ཤམག་ལ་ཚས་བས | ཤེ་རི་དཀར་མོར་ཚགས | དེ་དག་གོང་དག་ཡོ་ཤ་འཕྱོངས་དག | སྡུར་ཀྱི་གཅོར་མཚམས་ན་དབུ་གཅོང་ཤོ་ཚུན་མངའ་ཤས་བསྒྲུབ | ཕྱིར་ལེག་ཅེས་སྐྱ་བའེ་བར་གཤེགས་ཤོ || (*L* MS.)གཤེན་ཡང་[ཀྱལ་པོ་དེས་]སྡེ་མོ་མང་པོ་དང་ | ཀུར་ཀུས་ཁལ་དང་ | ཁུར་དས | ཅས་དར་ཤོགས་ཀྱི་བཀྱ་འབྲལ་མང་པོ་དང་ |
གསྲང་གི་ཏེག་ཏུ་སྐྱོང་ཟག་བཀྱ་བ | མདོ་སྡེ་བསྐལ་བཟངས | ཀྱམས་ཚོས་སྡེ་པྲ་ཚོད་པྲ | བཀྱ་ཉོག་གསེར་གསུམ་ཚོད་གཉིས | ཀྱག་
25 ཚོངས་དས་ཆེན་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར | མཀུར་འབྲལ་རྣམས་གསེར་དངུལ་བཟངས་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས | མ་ཉེ་དུང་ཐུབ་ཤོགས་མང་དུ་མཛད་ཅིང་ | དེ་རྣམས་ལ་བཀྱ་འབྲལ་དང་སྐྱོང་འབྲལ | གཤེན་ཡང་སྐྱ་སྡེ་[ལ་ཤོགས་པའི་དགོན་པ་]མ་བཅིགས་ཕྱུན་ཀྱིས་ཐུབ་པ་དེ་བཅིགས་ནས | བསྐྱབ་ཀྱུང་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཙུགས | ཀྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ་སྐལ་ཀྱི་ཀྱལ་པོ་ཇ་དམ་མཁན་ཀྱིས་པདཀ་ཨ་འཇན་ཀྱི་དམག་
ཁྱོང་ནས | མཁར་ཐུ་ལ་འཐབ་མོ་མང་པོ་ཤོང་ནས | དོན་མང་པོ་བསད་ནས | དགྲ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་ཀྱལ་བ་ཡིན | གུ་གེ་ལ་དམག་
ཀྱལ་ནས | ཇོ་པོ་བདག་པོ་ཐབ་ནས | གུ་གེ་ཙ་ཐང་དང་ཡོས་ཡོང་ཐུག་ཏུ་བཞེས | ཏུ་ཁྱིག་གི་ཡང་པ་ཡང་ཐབ་ནས | ཏུ་ཁྱིག་ཡང་
30 ཐུག་ཏུ་བཞེས | དབུས་གཙོང་ལ་དམག་མཛེད་ནས | ཤེ་རི་དང་ཀུར་ཀུར་སྐྱང་ཚག་ལ་བཏང་ནས | དབུས་གཙོང་གི་ཀྱལ་པོ་སྡེ་པ་

གཙོང་ཁས་གསེར་དངུལ་རྡ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྡེབ་ཅི་སྣལ་མང་པོ་སྐལ་བ་ལ། སྐགས་འགྱུ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་བཅས་ཐེར་ཟེགས་ཀྱི། ལྷོ་མོ་སྐྱང་མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བཅུག །ཐ་རང་ཀུ་གེ་ཟངས་དཀར་སྐྱི་ཀེ་ཐ་རེག་ཨན་ཆོད། ཤར་ཕྱི་མར་ཡུམ་ལ་མན་ཆོད། རྟ་ཐོག་དང་གསེར་ཁ་ཟན་ཆོད་མདའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུམ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་དང་ཉེད་རྒྱབ་པ་ཡིན ॥

VIII

(*B* MS.) རེའི་སྐས་བརེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཞིན་ཏ་སྐྱོ་ཀེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། བརེ་མཆོག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསུམ་འཁྲངས་ཤོ། བརེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐྲད། (*S* MS.) གཉོན་ཏུ་ཀེང་ན་དགེ་བཅུའི་དཔལ་ལ་སྐྱིད་ཅིང་། ཚབ་འབངས་རྣམས་ཆོས་བའིན་བསྐྱངས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཚུལ་བའིན་མཛད་ནས། གནུན་དྲིང་མི་འཛིག་པ། དཔའ་བའི་རྟུལ་སོང་ཆེ་བ། (*B* MS.) ཞིན་ཏ་སྐྱོ་ཀེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་ཆོས་རྗེ་སྐྱབ་འཛིན་ཀྱང་དུ་དབ་ཏུ་སྐྱང་། སྐྱག་ངས་ཀྱི་སྐྲོབ་མའི་གཙོ་བོར་སྐྱང། རེ་མེ་དང་ཐེག་མཆོག་བཞེད་དུས། བཀའ་གཏོད་ལ་བཏུགས། བསྐྱེ་བ་གཅེས་པའི་བཙུན་པའི་མཆོག་ཏུ་སྐྱང། (*L* MS.) དབོན་སྐྲོབ་སྐྱག་ཚང་གི་བཀའ་གནང་བའིན། (*B* MS.) ཀུ་གེ་ལ་མངའ་མཛོད། སྲས་ཆུང་བ་བརེ་མཆོག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སྐྱི་ཀེ་དང་། ཟངས་དཀར་བཏང་ནས། མངའ་མཛོད། རེ་ནས་བརེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དཔུང་དུས་ཆ་ཐོག་དང་། དབུག་ཐོག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཏུགས། ཐ་རིག་ནས་[ད]མར་ཡུལ་(*L* MS. མར་ཡུམ་)ཐུག་ལ་མངའ་མཛོད། (*C* MS.) མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ། ཀུ་གེ། ཆ་ཐོག། མང་ཡུལ། སྐྱི་ཀེ། ཟངས་དཀར། ཐ་རིགས། ཅེམ་བབ། སྐར་རྩེ། ཤེ་གར། སྤུ་ཁྲི་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་ཆ་འབྲུག་གོ། ཐ་ལྡར་བསྐྱངས་ནས། བརེ་བར་སྐྱབ། (*B* MS.) ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་ཚྭགས་ལ། ཤེལ་ཐུབ་བའི་སྐུ་གཉེར་ཟངས་ལ་ཐོག་ཚད་གསུམ་བཞེངས། གདུང་རྟེན་ཐོག་ཚད་ལྟ་ཡོད་པ། བཅུ་གསུམ་འགོངས་ཚེ་དང་། གདུགས་ཟ་དར་ཚོག་རྣམས་གཉེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། ཡུམ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་ཚྭགས་ལ། (*C* MS.) ཁྱེ་བར་རོང་འགོའི་ཐང་ལ། མ་ཏྲི་རིང་མོའི་རིང་ལ་གོམ་པ་ལྟ་བཅུ་ཡོད་པ། (*B* MS.) མགོ་མཐུག་གཉིས་ལ་ཀདུང་རྟེན་ཐབ་ཆུབ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་རེ་བཞེངས། སྤེལ་མཁར་བ། ཐག་ཏུ་ཐུག་སྐོབ་གཉིས་གཉེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་སྐོབ་སྐྱང་། ལྷམ་ར། ཟངས་དཀར། བ་མགོ་(བབ་སྐོ) । གཉིང་སྐང་གོགས་ལ། མ་ཏྲི་བྱང་འཕྱར་འདོན་པའི་དགེ་སྐྱོང་ས་རྒྱ་རེ། ཚེ་རེ་ལ་ཆགས་མེད་མངོན། གཏན་ཡང་། ཟངས་དཀར། ཐ་རིགས། ཅེམ་བབ། སྐྱེ་བོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས

དེའི་སྐབས་བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སངས་ཤེགས | དེ་སྐབས་སུ | ལྷོ་འབྲུག་པ་དང་ | མོད་པ་འཁྲུགས་པར | ལྷོ་ཤྲཱི་འབྲུག་ལ་དཔུགས་རྒྱལ་ཡོའི་དབུ་ལྟ་ཡིན་པར | དེའི་རྒྱབ་ཙ་ཁ་བར་མོད་ལ་ཡི་གེ་བཏང་མས་པས | མོད་པས་ཏོག་དམོད་ཐུས་པར | རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དབྱང་སྲོན་དུ་འདིར་སྐྱང་ན | མིང་དང་མཐུན་པར | སྲེ་བརླགས་འགྲོ་བས | དེས་ཀྱང་སྲོན་དུ་དམག་སྐྱགས་དགོས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་འཆམས | སོག་པོ་དཔའ་ལྟན་ཀྱི་ཀུ་ཁ | མིང་ལ་ཆོ་དཔང་ཟེར་ས་དེ | ཚིས་སུ་བཏ | ཀུ་ཚོག་བྱས་ནས | སོག་པོའི་དིགས་དང་ | དམག་རྡོས་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་ཡོངས་ཁའི | ཐོག་མར་ཞུ་དམར་ལྷིང་དུ་འཐབ་ཁའི | རིམ་པ་བའིན་སོག་དམག་ས་མགོ་ཐུག་བསྒེས | དེ་སྐབས | རྒྱལ་པོ་གཏིང་སྐང་མཁར་དུ་བཞུགས | ལ་དཔུགས་དམག་དཔོན་འདེད་དམག་ཁ་ཤས་ས་མགོའི་མཁར་བཙུང་ | ཚོ་ངོ་གཐུམ་འཐབ་ཀྱང་ | སོག་དམག་མ་ཚོག་པར | ལ་དཔུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིས་ཁ་རྒྱབ་ལ་ལོ་ཅ་བཏངས་པར | དེ་ནས་དབྱང་དམག་གཡོང་ཆེ་བ་ཐོན་ནས | ཐ་མགོའི་ཐ་རྒྱལ་ཐང་དུ་འཐབ་པས | སོང་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོང | ཁས་དང་མདའ་གཞུ་མང་པོ་ལུས | དེའི་ཐུབ་ཐུག་རིམ་ཀྱིས་བཅག་བས | སོག་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོང་ནས | བཀུ་ཤེས་སྐང་དུ་བསྡེབས | དེད་མཁར་བཅས | མཐའ་ལྷགས་རི་བཅད | ཆུ་ཡིས་མཐའ་ནས་བསྐོང | གང་དུ་དམག་གིས་མི་ཆོགས་པ་ཅུས་དེད་བསྡུད | དེ་ནས་ལ་དཔུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དབྱང་དང་བཅས་པའི | དེ་བཞིན་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱང་ཐུབ་པ་མེ་འབམ་དབང་པོ་ལ | བཟང་བསྒྲིགས་པར་འཚེས་དགོས་ཀྱི་ཤཀཱ་བའིད | འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་གཏིང་སྐང་སྤྱི་མེས་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱང་ | དེ་མཉམ | གཤེན་ཡང་བོད་པའི་ཚོ་ཀ་སོགས་བྱུང་ནས | (C MS.) ལ་དཔུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བླ་རྩ་ཙ་བའི་བླ་མ་སྐྱོང་ཤེས | ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ཅི་གསུངས་བྱུང་ནས | ཐོག་མར་ཀྱི་མ་མགོན་ཀྱི་སྐས་སོ་སོ་ལ་ཡུལ་ཁང་གནང་བ་ལྟར | ཚ་བཤད | (B MS.) བོད་ནང་པ་དང་ | ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཐྲི་པ་སོགས་ནི | ཐྲི་ནང་གི་ཚོས་ལུགས་སོ་སོར | དགུ་ཡིན་པས | ས་མཚམས་སུ་ལ་དཔུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་བདེ་ན | བོད་མི་བདེ་པ | བོད་པའི་ཡིད་ལ་དགོངས་ནས(སྲོངས་ནས?) | དེ་བར་ཅི་ལྟར་ཤོང་ཀྱང་ | ཐལ་ཚད | རྗེས་སུ་ཐྲི་ནང་གི་ས་མཚམས་སྲུང་བར | རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡ་ཁ་ཤ་ཁ(?)ཅེས་ཀྱང་ | ཐབས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡ་ཁ་ཤ་ཁ་ཤ་ཁ་ཤ

རྟ་ཐབས་ཡོངས་མེ་གསུམ། དེར་རྟ་ལ་ཁ་རྒྱ་བཀག་མེད། འཕྲིག་སྟེ་འགོ་མིན་༡། བཤགས་ཐབས་མཛོད་བཅས་ལ་གྱུར། རྟ་ཁལ་རྣམས་རྟ་ཟམ་ (C MS.) རྟ་ཇམ་ཐོག་དང་། ཐོང་རྒྱལ་གང་ཕྱིར་དང་། (B MS.) ལོ་ཐུག་དེ་དང་། མངའ་དོས་སྐོང་གསུམ་དེ་ (C MS.) མི་འགམ་དགང་ཡོར་ (B MS.) བསྟེགས་རྒྱ་ཐབས་ཀྱང་། མི་འགམ་དགང་ཡོའི་ཐག་བཅིག་མ་ཤུས་ཀྱང་། སྟེ་བ་གཤུང་ནས་མི་འགམ་དགང་ཡོ་ལ་མངའ་དོས་སྐོང་གསུམ་ཚོས། སོད་ནས་ཇོང་ཁག་གསུམ་སྡུལ་ཆོ། མངའ་དོས་ལ་སྐུད་མེད་ཤུས་པས། སྟེ་བ་གཤུང་ནས་གཅིས་ཁ་གསུམ་མི་འགམ་དགང་ཡོར་ཐུལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། (C MS.) གཤུད་རྒྱ་ཐོག་ཀྱ་གེ་སོགས། ལྷ་ས་མཆོད་མེ་དང་། སྐྱོན་ཚམ་ཐུན་ཀྱུ་རྒྱ་ 5
སྐྱར་ནས། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ན་ལྷགས་དམག་དཔུང་ཀྱང་ཐྱེར་ཚོག་བཏང་། ན་ལྷབ་དང་ལ་རྟགས་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་གཉིས་མཛོད་ཚོ་ཞི་ཚུལ་བཟུང་ནས། (B MS.) ལ་རྟགས་རྒྱལ་ཡོས་ལོ་གསུམ་བར་ལ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་ཐུ་སྟེ་གཏོང་རྒྱུ་མཉམ། རྟ་ཐོ་ཡོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། ཐུ་རྩེ་ཁྲེ་ཁ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། གཡག་གེ་ངུ་མ་དཀར་ཡོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ (C MS. ཚོ་ངེ་ལ་རྔག) ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུ་ཐུས། ཁ་ཆུལ་ནས་ན་གུ་ཤ་རུངས་ངེ་ལ་རྟགས་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ལ་ཀ་གིར་བྱ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ཐུ་ (C MS. ཚོ་ལྷངས་འབྲས་ཀྱིག་ལྷ་བརྒྱ།) ། ཚོ་ལྷང་བྱ་ཡོངས་རྒྱུ་ཡོངས་ཐུས་ནས། དུས་འབྲས་འདེ་དག ། ལ་རྟགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སིངས་བ་ལ་ཡལ་དུས་ཐུ ། མིན་པ་མེད་པ་(མ)་སོང་ ། འཛམ་བདེ་འཇིག་ཏུ་ ཐུང་ནས ། 10
རྒྱལ་ཡོའི་མཛོད་དགོངས་ཐུ་ནས་མཆོས་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དང་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ ། ། (S MS.) བདེ་ཤེགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཐུགས ། སོག་ཡོ་དགའ་ལྷན་ཚོང་ ། ཐ་མིག་ཅན་ཀྱིས་དམག་རྩདས ।

རྒྱལ་ཡོ་བབ་ཐྱོད་བཤུགས་ཤིང་ ।
ཁ་ཆུལ་(ཀྱི)་དམག་དང་བཅས ।
སོག་ཡོ་[རྣམས་ལ་]བརྒྱབ་པས ། 15
སོག་ཐྱོས་ཐབས་སུ་སོང་ ।

སྐུང་ཡང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཐུང་བཞིན(ཞིང?)་དང་རྒྱས ། དེས་བདེའི་དཔལ་དམ་བཅའ་ཐུབ ། ། (B MS.) རིའི་སྟས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། (L MS. ང་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ) ། དབང་ཐུག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། (L MS.) དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། (B MS.) དགའ་ལྷན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ ། སྐུ་ཆེད་བཞི་(ཐུ་)ལས ། ཀྱི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱེས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་བའི ། (S MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་ པའི་ཐུགས་སྨྲེན་ལམ་ཆེན་པོས ། སྐུ་གཤུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ལ་སོགས་འགྲོ་བ་ 20
ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་བཞིན་དུ་མང་ དུ་བཞེངས ། (B MS.) མེས་པོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམ་ཐར་ཞུལ་བཞིན་འཚོང་བ་ཅིག་ཅེད་དགོས་ གཐུང་བ་བཞིན ।

བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་སྨྲོད ।
ངན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱང་གཏའ་མཚོན ।

རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རང་བྱོ་ལ་གང་ཤར་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་ཡེ་ནས་མི་གནང་ཞིང་ ། སྐུ་དྲག་སོགས་དང་བཀའ་སྩལ ། ཡུལ་ཡུལ་ནས ། བྱོ་ 25
སྩལ་ཟུན་ཟུམ་ཆོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བཏགས་ནས ། ཞིང་ཁང་གི་བཀའ་ཤོག་སོགས་གནང་དགོས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཞུ་དོ་དང་ ། ཐོགས་འཁེངས་བའི་དབང་མ་བཏང་བར ། སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམ་གཞུམ་ཅས ། རྟེན་གཞུམ་དཔང་བྱ་བའཕྲག ། སྡང་ཆྱི་འབྱུང་ཁངས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་བཅད ། ཕྱེས་སུ་བཏོང་ཐུ་ འབྱུང་རྒྱུའི་རྩ་བ་ཟུང་ནས ། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་རིམ་ཐོག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཙའ་ཤོག་བཅོས་ཡོ་ཡིན་ནོ ། ། 30

(C MS.) བཟང་ཡོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་སྨྲོད ।
ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ལ་རྩིས་འཇུག ।

རྒན་དབ་རྣམས་ལ་བཀུར་སྟེ །
ཟླ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་མོས་པ །
ངན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གཏུའ་གཏོད །
བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་[རྣམས་ལ]་གཙོང་བ །
སྐུ་དྲག་(རྣམས་ལ)་ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པ །
འབངས་(རྣམས)་ལ་ཐུ་ལྡུང་བཙེ་བ །
ཐྱོགས་མེ་རྣམས་ལ་བདག་ཉིད །
ཡང་དགོན་མཆོག་ལ་མཆོད་པ །
མང་ངན་སོང་ལ་སྐྱེན་པ ॥

སོགས | རྒས་རྒྱུན་ཚད་མེད | རྟེན་ཅིང་མཆོད་ཅིང་ལ་སོགས་པ་གྲངས་མེད་དང་ | ལྷ་ས་ཟླ་ཆེན་ཁག་ལ་བརྒྱ་འབྱལ་དང་ | སྐོར་དུ་དང་ | དང་འབས་ཀྱི་དགོན་ཁག | སྟེ་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་མེད | ཐུགས་རྗེ་བདག་ཉིད | ཕྱིས་སུ་བརྗོད་ཐུ་ངན་ཁ་འབྱུང་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་ལ་འཇུག་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག (*B* MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས | ལྷ་ས་བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་ཡིན་ཁའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གསེད་ཚབ | དགའ་མེ | ཟླ་མ་རིས་མེད་སྐྱབས་རྗེ | དེས་འདུན་སོགས་ལ་མང་སྐོལ | རང་འབས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་སྟེ་ཅི་ཚུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ | བསྟེན་བཀུར་རིས་མེད | གསེར་དངུལ་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལས | རང་མོས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་སྐུ | གསུང་དབ | རྡ་རྟང་གི་མ་ཉེ་རིང་མོ | སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་བཞེང་རྒྱའི་གཟུང་བར་རྒྱས(བར་རྒྱབ ?)བསྟུས | འཇམ་སྟུད་བཟང་གསུམ | འཇམ་དཔལ་བསྟོད་པ་གང་ཟོ་སྐྱོན་ལམ | ཤེས་ཐ་ཀ་དཔྱིའམ | གསེར་འོད་གཡང་སྐྱས | བཀའ་སྩལ་རོ་ཅོག | ལེ་བདུན | བར་ཐུས་ལེགས་བར་བསྒྲུབ་ནས | སྐུ་ཤེར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཆོས་སྦྱིན | གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་ཀྱི་མ་ཉེ་ཐེག་སྐོར | (*C* MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཟུང་བར་སྡུ་མང་བསྒྲུབ | མང་ཡུལ་ཀོ་ཕྱུང་ཚགས་བའེ་བར་བྱུར | (*B* MS.) གཤེན་ཡང་ | མདའ་འབར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འཕྲུགས་སྒོང་དགྲ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གསུམ་མེད་བར | མ་གཅིག་གི་ཐུ་བཞིན | བཞེ་བའི་དབལ་ལ་སྐྱིད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ | རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་བཀུན་མོ་ལ་སྡུག་ལྟ་ཚེན་བཞེ་སྐྱོང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བསྒྲུབ་ནས | ཡུམ་སྐུ་འདས | དེ་ནས་ཐུ་རིག་ནས་ཟི་ཟི་ཁ་སྐྱེས་ཤུ་བའི | སྡུག་བཅུ་གཅིག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་ | གཅེས་མ་བཅུ་གཅིག་བཙུན་མོར་སྡུག་ཡུ་ཚེན་བཞེ་སྐྱོང་ཁ་ཅིག་ལ་ཐུ་ལྡུང་ཞེང་ | ཟླ་མ་མཛེད | དེ་མེན | གཏིང་སྐང་མཁར་དུ་བཞུགས | ཞབས་ཀྱི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དུ་སོང་ | སྡུག་བདེ་སྐྱོང་[གི་ཡུམ་]་ཐུ་མོ་ཤེ་བའི་ | ཆེ་ཆེ་ཁ་དུན་ཀྱིས་གཅེས་པར་བསྐྱང་ | དེའི་ཀྱི་མ་ཡིས་ཇི་གསུང་ལ་བཀའ་མི་བློག | གཤུང་བཟང་ | དེ་ནས་མ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁ་དབང་གིས་བཀུ་ཤེས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཁོ་ཉོག་ལ་ནས | ཐུ་རིག་ཡོངས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད | སྡུལ་ལྟེ་དབུལ་མཛེག་མཁར་ལ་ཟབ་སྟ་བཅུས | ཉོག་བ་བཀའ་བློན་ཀྱི་ཐུ་མོ་ཞེག་བཙུན་མོར་སྡུལ་ཡང་ | སྡུག་མེད་དོ | གཅེས་མ་བཀུ་ཤེས་དབང་མོ་འདི་ཀས་ ད་ལྟར་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁོའི་ཁ་ཅིག་བཙུན་ | ཐ་མི་སྐད་ཆོས་མི་གཅེག་བཙུན | མ་གནང་ | ཞུས་ཀྱང་ | ཐུའི་ཁྲིམས་བདག་ཐ་མ་ཡིན་ཟེར་[ཏེ] | རྒྱལ་མོ་མ་གསན་བར་

བཏང་ན། ནང་ས་དགའ་ཞེལ་ཕྱི[ས]་གཙོ་བཅས་འབས་ཆེ་བཏང་། ཀེ་མ་མི་མཐོང་ཉུག་རེར་ཤེང་། ཐ་མི་ཅིས་ཀྱང་འཚོང་དགོས་ཤེས་དམག་བཏང་། ཀས་ ང་ལྷར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་མོ་གཉིས་ཤེན་ཏུ་མཛའ་བའི་ཐ་མི་ཁིར་ཚེ། བང་ཡང་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་འགྲོ་རེར་ན། དོགོ་འཁོར་དག་བསྡུས་འོངས་པས། འདི་ནས་རི་རི་ཀ་ཏུན་ཀྱིས། ཀས་ ང་ལྷར་རྒྱལ་པོ་འོང་ཚེ། ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱིས་མ་བསད་ད། ང་ཡི་ཐ་བཀ་ཤེས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ལ་གཙོར་དོ་ཤེས་ཐག་བསྐྱབ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཤ་ནས་སོང་བ། གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་རྒྱུས་མེད་བཏང་། ཀས་ ང་ལྷར་དང་པ་ལྟར་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་ཟམ་པ་ཤེག་ལ། འབས་ཀྱི་ཞུ་བའི་ཚུལ་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུ་ལ་བསྐྱུར། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཏམ་ངན་ཀྱིས་ཐུབ་ཅན། དེ་ནས་བཀའ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། སྐས་ཆེ་བ་ས་སྐྱོང་མཁར་ཀྱི་བདག་འོས་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། མ་སྐོ་སོ་སོ་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་ནུབ་ཤུན་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་མ་ཡིས་གཡོ་ཅན། དེ་མི་བྱ་མ་མཛད་བཅུག ||

ཞུན་ཆོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱངས་ཤོ། ཙ་ཁུ་བཀའ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ཆོང་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་འབས་ཀྱི་མི་ཤེད་ལ། འཇམ་རྡུང་དབང་འཕྱོག་མཛད་ནས། (*C* MS.) ཆོ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་ཞུན་ཆོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་(*B* MS.) མ་ཐུན་པར། ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁྲུགས་ནས། བོད་ལ་ཐ་དམག་འཕེན་པའི་རྒྱུ་ཆེས་གནས་ཆུལ་རྒྱལ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་ལ་ཤུས་པར། དེ་ བའིན་ཡིན་ཆོ། ནང་སྒྲིག་ཅེད་མི་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཐུ་མ་སུ་ལ་བཀའ་བས་ཡོད་པའི་དགོངས་གཞོད་མཛད་སྐབས། ཁམ་ནས་བཀའ་ཐོག་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཆོ་དབང་ཏོར་བ། བས་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོའི་སྒོག་ཤིང་སྒྲི་བར་ཞེས་སྐབས་དང་། དུས་མཆུངས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པས་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར་བཀའ་གཟིང་ཀྱིས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྒྲིག་ལ་ཁྲིད་ལ་ལས་བཀའ་ཡོད་པས། འཕྲོ་དགོས། ཞེས་པར། དེ་བའིན་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་མངོན་པར་བསྟོད་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཞེས་པར་འལ་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁངས་གཞུང་གྲྭས་ཐོག། ཐུབ་ཅན་ཁ་ཆུལ་ཆོང་པ་དེ་བའིན། སྐྱབས་མགོན་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར་ཞེས་པ་སྐབས་སུ་སྐྱལ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གཤམ་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཤེས་ཀྱས། དེ་ནས་སྐར་དགོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་སྡུ་ཁངས་ལྷམ་ལེ་དགོས་པར། ཆོ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཤེས་ཀྱས། ཤ་ཁ་གཅོད་མཚམས་ནི། ལ་དྭགས་མཁར་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཙམ་གནས། ཆོ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཤེས་ཀྱས། ཤ་ཁ་ཁོད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེ་ཚོ་སོགས་ལ་བློ་མ་མངོད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མེ་བཏུགས། ཐང་དགའ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐ་མཚམས་སོང་གཤེས། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲད་ལུགས་བཞིན་དུ། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེ་ཚོ་ཐག་དང་དམ་གནས། ཤ་ཁ་གོངོ་མཚམས་ནི། ལ་དྭགས་མཁར་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཙམ་ཁོ་ན་ལས། ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེ་ཚོ་ཐག་ཆོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྡུ་ཁངས་ལྷམ་ལེ་དགོས་པ་མཁོ། ཆོ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཤེས་ཀྱས། ཆ་ཁ་གོངོ་མཚམས་ནི། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེ་ཚོ་ཐག་ཆོད

གྱལ་མི་ཙམ་ཡོངས་ལ་ལྷན་བར། ཅིན་ཀྱིས་བརླབས་པས། ཁོ་ཀ་ཡང་དད་དེ་ཆིར་ཁོག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་དེག་འཛོན་ཚེན་ཁོས་ཐུ་ཁྲ་སྒེལ་མཁར་ལ་ཅིན། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཁར་ལ་གཅིག། ཟངས་དཀར་ལ་གཅིག། རྡེ་མི་དགོན་པར་གཅིག། བཅས་གནང་ནས། སོང་བྱ་ཞེས་སོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ཆོར་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བཟང་ལ་མཁར་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་ཤུས་པར། དེ་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་ཡིའི་ཐུགས་ལ་བདུད་ཤུགས། འབས་གྱས་དན་བའི་ཁ་དབང་སོང་ནས། (C MS.) ཚང་རའི་སྲིད་མོ། (B MS.) སྲིད་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཐུ་བ་ཁས་ཀུ་བཞེས། བཟང་ལའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་བཞིན་བཟང་ལར་ཕོག་ཞེས་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་ཡིའི་བཙུན་མོ་མཚོད། ཐུག་ལས་སོགས་སྐར་མེད་བའི་ཡ་མཚོན་དང་། ཆིབས་པ་ཀེ་སི་ཚགས་ལྟ་བརྒྱ་རེ་ལ་ཆིབས་དཔོན་དང་། གཅེམས་ཀེང་སོགས་འབྲོས་ཆེ་བ། ཀེ་སི་ཚག་གི་འབས་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། གསང་སོགས་ལ་ཆི་བ་འགེ་ཆེ་བ་སྐྱང་ནས། འལ་ངོ་དང་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟ་སྟབེ་གནང་མ་གནང་མ་ཐེག་ཆ་ཐུས། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་འབབ་ཚོག་སྟེ་བ་སྐྱང་ནས། (C MS.) དེ་ནས་སྐུ་དག་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་མི་མཛད་པའི་ཤུ་བ་སྐལ་ཀང་། གསན་དགོངས་མ་སྐྱང་བར་རྟེན། ཐབས་མེད་ལ། དམག་མང་དགྲང་ནས། མཁར་ལ་ཚོང་ནས། སྲིད་མོ་བཏོན་ནས་བཙོན་དུ་བཏང་། ཏོག་བ་གཤའ་བློན་གོ་ས་ནས་ཐབས་ནས། བཙོན་དུ་བཏང་། (B MS.) ཐ་དེག་སོང་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྲིད་ཀིམ་དབང་མོ། (སྲིད་ཁིམ་དབང་མོ།) (C MS. ཞི་ཀིམ་དབང་མོ།)ཞེས་བ་བཙོན་མོར་ཤུས། དེ་ལ་སྐས་མོ་གསུམ་དང་། སྐས་གཉིས། ཆེ་བའི་མཚོན་ལ་ལྷ་ཆེན་མི་འགྱུར་ཆོ་བརྟེན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཤུང་བ་ཆོ་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ཤུང་བ་ཁ་ཏུན་ཆོ་ཉིད་ལ་སྐས་གཅིག་བལྟམས། མཚོན་ལ་འཇིགས་མེད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསོལ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཆོ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་གཤེགས། དེ་མི་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་སྐས་དང་། སྐུ་དག་རྣམས་བཀའ་སྩོས་བྱས།

རྒྱལ་སྐས་ཆོ་བརྟེན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བྱ་རིག་བས་ཀུམ་མཁར་ནས་འདུན་མ་ཤུས། དེ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱེད། (C MS.) དེ་སྐབས་སོང་འབྱུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀུན་གཟིགས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྣང་བ་ཤེས་ནས། དེ་མི་དགོན་བྱ་བཞུགས། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཆོ་བརྟེན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ནས་འབྱལ་མཚོན། རྟ་༥༠ | འབྲི་༥༠ | རང་ལུག་༩༠༠ | དྲིལ་ཁ་ཤས | ནེ་ནག་ཤིའི་དངུལ་ཟ༠༠ | གསེར་ཁྲི་༩༠༠ | ཕྱི་བྱ་འཛེང་བ་༧ | ཀིམ་ཁྲབ་ཡུག་༩༥ | སག་ལ་དམར་ཡོ་བ་བྱ་༧ | [གསེར་ཡོ་བ་བྱ་༧] | ཀམ་དག་ཡུག་ཟ༥ | མ་ཐུ་ད་ཡུག་ཟ༥་བཅས་དང་། གཤེན་ཡང་སྐུ་དག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྱལ་བ་བསམ་ཀྱིས་མི་ཁབ་པ་འབྱལ་ལོ | (B MS.) རྒྱལ་སྐས་ཆུང་བ་ཆོ་དཔལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་མིད་དབ་བྱང་བ། ཁ་ཏུན་ཆོ་དིང་ཀི་སྐས་ཁི་ཅེ་རྩ་ཏུ་བྱང་། སྐས་མོ་གཅིག་བས་ཀུམ་མཁར་ལ་བག་མད་གནང་། སྐས་མོ་གཅིག་བཞིམས་ཆུང་ཤས་ཀྱང་། སྐས་ཀྱི་ཐད་ཀར་ཁ་ཏུན་ཆོ་དིང་ཀི་སྐས་ཁི་ཅེ་རྩ་ཏུ་བཀྲོལ། [ཀུ་ཤའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐད་ཀར་ཁ་ཏུན་ཆོ་དིང་ཀི་སྐས་ཁི་ཅེ་རྩ་ཏུ་བཀྲོལ།] ཁ་ཏུན་ཆོ་དིང་ཀི་སྐས་ཁི་ཅེ་རྩ་ཏུ་བཀྲོལ།

དང་འབྲེང་བར། མི་སྡེའི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མཐུ་དམན་པས། དགྱང་ལོ་ཉེར་བཅུ་དང་ཀར་ཐུབ་རྒྱུ་གཅེས་གསུངས། དེ་ནུས་འབྲག་ཁ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཉེན་པ་ཅི་མི་ནུས་བཞུགས་པ། (*C* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོའི་དགོངས་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བ་གྲུབ ॥

(*B* MS.) དེ་ནས་ཅི་མི་ཚེ་དཔལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱ་པ་ལོག་ཏུ་བཙུག་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བསྐོས། (*S* MS.) ཚེ་བ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་སྐུ་ཚེ་མ་བརྟན་པའི། ཚུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་[ལ་མངའ་གསོལ]། (*B* MS.) སྐུ་འདས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བར་ལ་སྲས་མོ་ཉིག་བསྐྱམས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དང་བར་ལ་སྲས་མོ་རྡེའུ་ཚུང་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཚེ་དཔང་རབ་བརྟན་[རྣམ་རྒྱལ་] 5
འཁྲུངས། བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དཔང་དོན་གྲུབ་མཁྱེན་གོ་ཟབ་པས། མཐའ་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་དང་མཛའ་མཐུན་ལེགས་ལམ་ཕྱིས་བན་ཚུན་ཕྱེ་ལྷག་རྒྱལ་དོར་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རེས་མཛོད། མ་གཅིག་གི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བདེ་འཇགས་དགེ་སྡུག་སངས་ཀྱི་ཏོ། (*C* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་སྲས་དམ་འཕྲེད་རེད་བར། གར་འགྲོ་མ་བཙུག། ཐེ་མོ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་བོད་བ་དང་། (*B* MS.) མཁར་ཀྱི་ནང་འཁོར་རྣམས་ 10
མཚན་མོ་གཉིད་ཤལ་དབང་མེད་པར། འགག་ལྟང་གམ་རྒྱ་ལེན། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཡང་མཚན་གང་མི་མནལ། སང་གི་ཉི་དོན་ཁར་གཟིམ་ནས་བཞེངས། སྐ་བར་ཐུག་བསིལ་སྐམས། ཐུག་རུ་བབ་དོ་རུ་སྐམ (*C* MS. རུ་ཁར)་བཙུ་གཉིས (*C* MS. བཙུ་གཉིས་སམ་*12*)་རེ་དང་། དེ་གྲངས་ཀྱིས་འདུག་ཚལ་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་པོ་ནས་བཙུ་གཉིས་པར་ཅི་གྲངས་བགོད་དེ། ཐུག་རྟམས་རུ་བཤལ་སོང་། ཐོག་ནས་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་སྐམས། མཚན་མོ་ཤ་སྐྱག་(ཤ་སྐྱག་)ལ་སྒོན་མེ་སྐྱ་འབར་འདེགས་ཏེ་གཅེགས། ཐུར་ཀྱི་ལས་ཁྲིད་གི་མི་དང་མི་བསྡུན། བགའ་བློན་ཀྱི་ཐུག་སྟེ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་དང་སྐྱོ་བ་མཚོན་པོ་སོགས་ངོ་གསར་རྟམས་དང་གཞུང་གྲོས་མཛོད་པ་ལ། སྐུ་དུག་ངེགས་ལ་ཐུགས་ཕྱིད་མི་ 15
སྐྱོན། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཐུ་རེག་གི་བཀའ་བློན་སོགས་ལ་དུགས་ཐུ་བཅིན་བྱ་བའམ། སྐུ་མདུན་ཀྱི་འགས་ཀྱི་གསར་ངེགས་མཁར་དབོན་བྱ་གནང་གས། ཐུར་སྒོལ་བཟང་པོ་ཤལ་ཆེར་ཞིག ॥ འདི་སྐབས་ཐུ་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཤ་ཁེབ་དང་ཚོ་ཏ་ཁེབ་གཅིག་ཅོར་ཤལ་བཏབ་ཅིང་ཐུ་ཁ་ཤ་ཁེབ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཁ་ཤ་ཁེབ་གཅིག་ཅོར་མང་པོ་བཏབ་ཅིང་ཐུ་ཁ་ཤ་ཁེབ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏ

དཀར་སྐྱེད་དྲང་རིང་ཐུག་བཞིག །ཡུལ་རྣམས་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས །ནོར་ཟུགས་རྣམས་ཚམ་བཟློད་ཉེ་ལོག་སོང་ ॥ རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་ རྒྱོག་ཞིབ་མ་མཛད་པར །སྐུ་མདུན་ཕྱི་ཐུག་ཛས་ཡོད་རིགས་[གཉན་]ཀྱི་དགང་དུ་སོང་ །དེ་སྐབས་སུ་ཐུག་ཛས་སྐུ་མེད་ཟྲུང་ །དེ་རྗེས་ རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐུག་རྗེས་སུ་ཉོག་ཏུ་སྐུ་མཁར་གསར་བསྐྲུན་ མཛད །སྲིའི་ དཀར་ཁ་ཅུ་བསྡུད་ནས་མཁར་དང་ཁ་ཏུན་བན་སོགས །རྒྱལ་མོ་[རོལ]་རྒྱལ་སྐས་ལ་འབྲུན་མ་ཞུ་རྒྱུར་ཨོ་ཤ་ཡོད་ལ་བཛྲངས་ཏེ། སྡེ་པ་ལྔ་[རྒྱ་དེ་]ལ་ཞུས །དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་ཡུལ་ཐྱེད། སྲིའི་སྐྱུན་
5 དས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ཁྲིག་བར་སྐུ་མཁར་སོ་མ་བཙེགས །ཐྱེས་སུ་ལྟ་རྒྱ་དེའི་སྐས་མོ་དེ་རྒྱེན་ དབང་ཞིག་གིས་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་མ་བྱུང་ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ཐུགས་དམ་ཀྱི་རྟེན་དུ ། ཐུག་རྗེད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བཏྱུབ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་སྐུ་དང་མཉམ་ལ ། དཔལ་ཀྱི་མཚེན་ཡན་ཆོད་ གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། དཔལ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་གདུང་ཟ་ར་ཚོག་གསེར་ལ་ཐུས་པ ། དེབ་ཆེན་དུ་མའི་ཁས་བརྒྱན ། ཐོག་ཚད་གཅིག་བཞེངས ॥ ལྷགས་སྐྱག(ཞུ་སྐྱག)་ལོར་སྲིའི་ཟེག་ཆེན་གོང་མར་གུ་ཏ་པ་སྟྲ་འོད་འབར་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བཏྱུན་དཔལ་རྟོ་ཚོད་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས ། ཤེལ་དུ་ ཐུལ་བ་ཆོ་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རྟོ་ཚོད་བདུན་ཀྱིས་ བཞེངས ། ཉིག་ མཁར་ དུ་རྟོ་ཚོད་དགུ་རྩེ་བཙུན་གྱོལ་[དཀར]་ཀྱི་སྐུ་བཏྱུན་བཞེངས ॥
10 དེ་ནས་[ཞུ་བྱང་ལོར]་ཡང་(ཡོང་?)འཁོན་ལྡ་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐུབ་པ ། ཐུལ་སྐས་འདི་ཉེ་མིའི་སྐུ་ཤགས་འབྲེལ་བ་རྟོ་རྩེའི་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པའི་ དོ་འཁོན་མཛད་པར་ཉེན། བཙུགས་ས་ཉེ་མི་ཟེག་མཚོག་གཉིས་སུ་མཛད། སྐུ་དབང་བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་ཀྱི་ཤཱཀ་ལ་ཡང་ཅི་དཀའ་བ་བྱུང་། ཐུལ་ལོ་ནི་སུ་རིག་ལྡུམ་ར་ལ་རྒྱས་ལ་སྐྱོར་བ་ལ ། གཉི་ གཅིག་ ཀུ་མི་བཙུགས ། གང་འཚེམ་མཉམ་དུ་ཐུལ་སྐས་ཀྱང་ཁེས་ཁས་ཞུ་སྟེ་ ཐེངས ། ཐུལ་སྐས་ལ་སྐུགས་གཡེངས་ཐྱེད་ཉིད་མཚོན་གང་དང་ལྡབ་ དུས་གཤད་བ་ཐུས ། ཐུལ་ཙོའི་བཀའ་ལ་མི་ཆེ་བར ། ཐུལ་ལོ་རང་ ཐུག་མཛོད་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ལྡུག་གི་མང་ཞུས་ལ་གསན ། ཐུལ་སྐས་མཆོག་[སྐྱལ་]ཀྱང་དེ་ཐུགས་སུ་སྐུགས་གཡོ ॥ དེ་ནས་སྟོན་དྲའང་
15 ཐུལ་བློན་ཚང་མས་གདུང་བཏུད་ཀྱི་ཐྱིད་དུ་བཙུན་མོ་ཁབ་ཀུ་ཉེས་དགོས་གསོལ་ཀྱང་ ། མ་བཅེས་བར་དེ་མིར་བཞུགས་ ཏུ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་གཤགས་མ་སྐྱང་སྐབས ། དིག་པ་འཛིན་པས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཐུལ་སྲིད་ཚོས་སྲིད་གཉིས་ སུ་མཛད་དགོས ། ཐུལ་བློན་ཆེ་དབང་དོན་སྐབ་ཀྱི་སྐས་མོ་ཆུང་བ་བསྐལ་བཟང་སྐོལ་མ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཉེས ། ལོ་ངོ་གཅིག་ མ་ལོན་པར ། བཙུན་མོ་མངལ་དང་ལྡན་པར་སྐུང་ངོ ། དེ་རྗེས་པ་སྐུམ་མཁར་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་ བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་སྐྱིད་དང་ ། རྩོ་ང་ཁ་ཏུན་བཅས་ལོ་གཅིག་ནང་བཙུན་མོ་གསུམ་ཁས་ ཏུ་བཉེས ། དེ་རྗེས་(ཞུ་ཏུ)་ཤིང་རྟ་ལོ་ལ་སོང་
20 དམག་ཐོན ། (*S* MS.) སྐས་མཆོག་ཀི་སྐྱལ་སྐུ་དེའི་དུས ། སིང་དམག་བདང་ཀི་བློན་པོ་དང་གཅིག་བཅས ། ཐུལ་སྲིད་རྣམས་ཐྲོག་ ॥

IX

(*Cc* MS.) ཪྨ་ཐུ་མ་ཏྲ་རྩ་ཪ་ཀུ་ལྦལ་སིདྡྷ་ཀི་དམག་མིས་ལ་དྲགས་དང་བོད་ལ་དམག་བཏང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནི །

དེ་རྗེས་ནང་ཀང་མ་ཏ་བ་ཪ་ཀུ་ལྦལ་སིང་གི་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཐོ་བ་ལྷར (*Ca* MS. ཀུ་ཚོ་རྡེ་པ་ཐོ་བ་ལྷང་) ། དམག་འགྲོ་ནེ་རྣལ་སིང་ དང་ ། མི་ཡན་སིང་ ། མི་ཡ་ཀོ་ཏ ། བ་སྤྱི་བམ ། ཨབ་དབ་ཡི་ཟབ ། མིང་ཟ་བ་སུལ་ཅེག ། དམག་མི་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་མན་ལྟ་བའི་ཙུ་ སྐྱེལ ། དེ་བྱས་ས་ཐུབ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་ཐུག་ཁ་ཐུ་གཉིས་སུ་ཙུ་དཀར་ཆེ་མཁར་དཔོན་ཚོར་པ ། ཁོང་གིས་ཚོངས་ནས ། སྟེལ་བྱ་ཐུལ་ཙོ་ ལ་གནས་ཚུལ་ཐུལ ། ཐུལ་ཙོ་ནས་ཀོག་པ་ཐགཉ་བློན་རྟོ་ཚེ་རྣམ་ཐུལ་དམག་འགྲོ་ཐུས ། དམག་མང་ཐུག་ནས་བཏང་ ། ས་ཐུང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ དབང་ཐུག་ས་ཐུ་གཉིས་ནས་ཐུ་ཙུ་དཀར་ཆེའི་དམག་མི་ཉི་བཅུ་ཚམ་བཐུས ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཀུང་སྐྱེལ ། ཉི་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ཨཐབ་

མོ་བཀའ་ནས། རྟེན་མ་ཐུབ། ཁོ་རང་ཝ་ཐུ་གཉིས་འཐབ་མོ་ནང་ཨེ། ཏོག་ཙ་བཀའ་བློན་དམག་དང་བཅས་ཨང་གར་ཆོར(ཨང་མཁར་ཆོར)་སྟེལ། འཐབ་རེས་ཆེ་བ་གཐུམ་བཞི་བའ་བཀའ། ཝན་ཚུན་རྒྱལ་བམ་མེད་ཟད་འདུ་བའ་སོང་། ཉི་མ་གཅིག་གཉིས་བའ་ཁ་བ་ཡང་མང་ཁྲབ་ངེ་བའ། ཁ་ཅིད་ནས། ཀས་ཏུ་ལྷར་ཟ་ཚོང་ཟ་ལ་ཐུ་མན་རྒྱ་རོ་རྩེ་རྡམ་རྒྱལ་ཅན། སེར་ཀར་ན་ཟར་སྐྱོང་གཅིག་གཏང་ན། ཕྱིར་ལོག་འགྲོ་དེས་ཟེར་ནས་བཀའ། དེ་ནས་ཏོག་ཙ་བཀའ་བློན་ཀྱིས་སྲེལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ལ་ཁུ་རྒྱ་ནང་། དབྱལ་༡༠༠༠ ན་ཟར་ཐུགས་རྩེ་གཟིགས་ན། ཁོ་པོ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་འགྲོ་བའི། དབྱལ་ཐུགས་རྩེ་གཟིགས་དགོས། དེ་ནས་ཐུགས་རྩེ་མ་གཟིགས་ན། འདིར་ 5
དམག་མི་རེའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཧཱུ་རྒྱ་རེ་བསྡུ་དེས་ཁུས་ནས། སྐལ་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་དང་ཚོ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་དོན་ཐུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བབ་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་མིའི་རེ་ཞེ་མ་གསན། ཏོག་ཙ་བཀའ་བློན་ཁོ་བང་ཚོག་མ་ཆོད་པ་ཡིན། དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། ལྷམ་ད་བཀའ་བློན་གཉིས་སོང་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་མགོ་འཁྱོང་དོག་ཟེར་ནས། རྒྱལ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་མཚན་བཅས་བཏང་། ཡང་མཁར་ཆོར་སྟེལ་བའི། ཀེ་མ་རྩེལ་མ་ལ་ཀེན་ཤར་ནས། ཀེ་མ་རྩེད་ཡོལ་བད་འཐབ་རེས་ཆེ་བ་བཏང་མ། བད་དངོས་སེ་ཐ་མང་བ་འཆི། རེ་ནས་ཀེན་གཅིག་འཐབ་རེས་མེད་པ་འདུག །དེའི་རྩེས་མ་ཀེ་མ་སྲུ་རྩོ་ནས་འཐབ། ཀེ་མ་རྩེད་ཐལ་ཅམ་ལ། ཏོག་ཙ་བཀའ་བློན་རྩོ་རྩེ་ 10
རྡམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་དབྱང་གཡས་སུ་མེ་མདའ་ཐོག །རེ་དང་མི་ཡ་རེ་རྡབ་སིང་གི་འཁུར་བ་དམག་ཤར་ཀེར་ལྟ་ཅམ་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བློན་བསྐྲོད་ཀྱང་། ལག་གཡོན་དུ་གི་འཁུར་ཏེ། ཐ་སོང་ཀེག་གི་ཁར་འདུག་ནས། ཀེ་ཚར་གཅིག་ཏུང་ཡོང་མ་བཅུག །ངོ་ཀེ་ལ་གཅིག་གིས་མེ་མདའ་སྐན་བས། བཀའ་བློན་འཚེ། རེ་ནས་དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཏུང་དམག་དང་བཅས་རི་ཁྲིད་ཅིག་ཏུ་བདེ་(སྐྱེ་)ནས། འཐབ། སེ་བ་ལྟ་བཅུ་ཅམ་འཚེ། ཀེ་མ་མ་སྐྱོང་ཅམ་ལ། དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལག་གཡས་ཚོགས་སུ་མེ་མདའ་ཐོག །ལྷམ་ད་བློན་པོ་དང་ འབྲུང་མེད་དམག་བཅས་ཕྱི་འཁྱོས་ཀྱིས་སོང་། དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཤས་ཕྱི་ཐ་ལུང་(ཐ་ཆུང)་ཚོང་ཚོང་ཐུབ་ལྷ་གཐུམ་ལུས། 15
གཤན་ཡང་ཐབས་མེད་བར། དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཡབ་ བསྟ(སྟོམ་སྟག)་ན་དབུལ་བཅུ་འཐུམ་ཅིག་ཡིད་པ། ཐ་ལུང་ཅར་བཏང་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཅར་མགོ་སྐྱ་བར་བཏང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་ནས་ཀུང་ཡ་ཤ་ཐུས། མེག་སྲུང་ལྷུར་གོང་ས་མཛོད། ལྷམ་ད་བློན་པོ་དམག་མང་ བཅས་ཆུ་ཚར་ཁ་ཐོན་ནས། ལ་ལུང་བསེལ་མོ་རྒྱུད་ཤོང། ཁོ་ཁོ་འབྲུར་མེད་ཀུང་ཇེས་སུ་ལྷ་ཟིང་ས་ཁང(ཚང)་སྟེལ། ཐུབ་སྟེ་ལྷ་ཟིང་ རྡ་མཐིན་གྲ་རིག་སྐྱོང་པ་མི་ ༥༠༠ཀྱོང་འཁིད་ནས། སྲིན་པོ་སྐྱ་འབུགས(སྐྱ་ཁྲང)་ན་ཡོད་པ། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀུང་ རྐུན་མེད་དུ་ཤད་དེ་ལམ་ རྒྱང་ཁོད་བས། ལམ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ལྷ་ཟིང་རྡ་མཐིན་དམག་དང་བཅས་འཐབ། སེ་བ་ལྟ་བཅུ་རྒྱག་བཅུ་བད་བསད། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀྱི་བཙ་ཀྱི་ལ་མེ་ 20
མདའ་གཅིས་ཅམ་ཐོག། མི་དང་ལ་ཀྱོན་མ་སོང་། ཐུག་མཛོངས་དེ་ཡང་ཨེ། དེའི་ཉིན་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཐབ་ཚག་འཚེ་ཐེན་ཐ་ཐུབ། ལྷ་ཟིང་དམག་ མང་མཐོང་བས། ལྷ་ཟིང་རྡ་མཐིན་མཚན་ལ་ཤོང། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་དམག་བཏང་མི་མེད་པ། དཀར་ཀྱིལ་རྒྱུད་བས་ཀུམ་དུ་སྐྱེལ། བས་ཀུམ་མཁར་བཅས། ཇོ་ཐབས། རྒྱུ་ཅོང་ཡོད་ཚོང་ངང་ཀས་ཏུ་ལྷ་ད་ལ་བཀལ། བང་ཁ་ཡིས་གཡོ་ཐུབ། གཤམ་མ་དམག་ མི་སྐུམ་བརྒྱ་བཅས་སོང་ལ་ནས་ཐོག། སེ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཙོ་ལ་བརྟས་ནས། བྱ་ཏུ་ད་མཅོག། སེ་བ་གཅིག་ཀུང་མ་ལྷས་བ་ཐས། ཅོང་ཡོད་ ཚོད་འཛོག་ནས། སྐད་ཅོད་ཤོང། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིང་རིམ་བས་ཐ་སྐོ་སྟེལ། སྲེལ་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཡང་ཞེས་ནས། ས་རྒྱུ་ཚོན་ཐུབ། 25
ཐམས་ཅད་སྲེལ་རྒྱལ་ས་ད་ཞེས། ཀེ་མ་བདུན་འདུགས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ད་དང་འཇགས་སུ་ཟུལ། མཁར་དབོག་ཤེ་བ་སོགས་གཅིག་ཀུང་མ་བཞུག། ཚོ་རེ་ལ་ཞེད་ཀད་ལ་ཉམས་ཀྱི་མོ་སྐྱོང་ཟླ་ལྟ་ཚུ་མེད་ཟུལ་ཟ་ཐུས། ཕྱིར་ཡོག་ཡོང། ॥

རྟེས་སུ་བང་ཀ་བ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་བྱུག་གྲགས་མགོན་ཐོད་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་རྟེས་ལ་དམག་གཏད་རྒྱུའི་གྲགས་ངན་ཐུབ། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་དམ་བྱུ་ཤེ་བ་དང་། ཀ་ཤག་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་ཟག་ཡིག་བཏང་ནས། ཡི་གེ་བང་འདུམ་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཟག་སྐྱེལ་བ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཟངས་དགར་ཐོད་ནས། སྲེལ་སྐྱེལ། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་མཁར་ནས་ཟས། ཏོག་ཙ་ཡོགས་གྱི་མང་རྩྭ་ཤེང་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཐུས། ངོ་གེར་ཀྱིང་ 30

མོ་༡༡༥༩་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༡་༢/༥་བཏང་ནས་བཀྲིགས་བཅུག། སྒས་ཆོ་དབང་དབས་བརྟན་ལྷམ་ད་རྒྱུད་ནས། དང་ཅོ་སྒྲི་ཀིད་ཤོད་ནས་རྒྱུད། (*Ca* MS.) ཐྲ་ས་གཅིག་གཉིས་དེད་བཀྲིགས་ནས། མཆོག་སྒྲུལ་ཕྲིངས་(*Cc* MS.) རྒྱལ་ཚབས་སུ་ད་ཐ་དོངས་སྒབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་བསྐོས། ཀ་ད(དགད་བ)་རྩ་ཀི་ལ་བརྒྱབ། མཀ་ན་ཐ་ན་ལྟད་ལ་བཞག། ཚོ་རེ་ནང་སེད་ཀད་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༤༠༠་རེ་སྒལ་རྒྱ་ཐས། ལྷ་ཟིད་ཞིད་སྒྲུན(ཞིད་ཅན)་རྒྱུད་ཚོག་ནས་སོང་། (*C* MS.) ཐ་ལ་སེབས། ཐི་ཐི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལ་རེ་ལ་སྒས་ཀྱིག་ཐྲུངས། མཚོན་རྩ་ (*Cc* MS.) འཛིག་མེད་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སེང་གེ་མི་འབྱུར་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་བར་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཞུས། (*C* MS.) ཡང་ཟི་ཟི་གཅིག་ལ་ (*Cc* MS.) མད་སྒྲོའི་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་བསྟན་སྐུང་གཡུལ་རྒྱལ་འཐྲུངས། ཁོང་ལའང་གྲོ་མད་རྩྭ་ཤིང་ཚོགས་བཅས་ཐེ་གིར་ཀྱིས་མོ་༡༠༩་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༤་༡/༥ གི་བཀྲངས། དེ་ནས་བ་ཐ་དོངས་སྒབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚེ་དོ་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་ཅས།།

ཚོ་རྒྱ་ངོད་ལྷ་ཟིད་བདང་ཐྲིད་ཚོག་ཟངས་དགར་བྱ་སྒེལ། སྒེལ་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་གདན་བསྒ་ས་ལ་ཚེབས། ཡི་ཡི་ཀིད་བྱ་ལྷ་ཟིད་དང་མཐའ། ལྷ་ཟིད་སྒགས་ཤེན་ཀུ་མཁེན། བ་ཐ་དངོས་སྒབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་ས་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན་གཀེས་འགག་གཅིག་ཀིད་བྱ་ཚེབས། ཟངས་དགར་བི་ཡི་སྒྲིད (ཡི་ཡི་ཀིད)་བྱ་མཐའ། ན་ཟངས་མ་ཚེན། སྒགས་སྒོ་ལྷང་མཚོད་ནས། ཐམས་ཅད་སྒེལ་བྱ་ཚེབས་པ་དང་། བ་ཐ་དངོས་སྒབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ། ཚོ་ངོ་ལྟ་ཡི་འབབ་མ་ཚོད་ཟེད་ནས། སྐྱེ་བཀག་ནས་ཀྱིད་མོ་༡༠༠༠༠། ས་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན་ཀྱིད་མོ་ཐ༠༠༠༠། རྒྱ་ཐ་ཇོ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༧༥༠༠༠། གཤེན་ཡང་ལས་ཅེད་མ་ཚོད་ཟེད་ཐ་མང་ཡོ་བཅད། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་བང་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་བསྒོས། ལྷ་ཟིད་ཀྱི་དམག་ཙོམ་ཡོད་དང་། ལ་རྩྭས་རྒྱལ་བློན་རྣམས་དང་བཅས་སྒལ་ཀི་ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་ལ་སྒྲིད། མཁར་མང་ཇོ་ལམ་རྒྱས་ཐས། སྒར་རྟོ་མཁར་བཅས། ཇོ་ཙཤག་མད་ཁན་སེབས། སྒལ་ཀི་ཡུལ་ཚོང་མ་མངའ་ཁོངས་བསྒོས་ནས། ཅེད་ཚོག་སྒེལ་ཚེབས། སྒུ་བྱུ་རྒྱལ་ཡོ་སྒལ་ཀི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐོངས་པ་བསྒམས་ནས་བློན་ཀྱིས་ཀུ་ཤུས་ཀུ་གདན་ཁུས། དགོངས་རྫོགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ཐ་ཚེབས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐོངས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཚོང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྱབ་ཅུ་དམག་ལ་སྒྲིད། ཁ་ཤད་ཁང་ཁ་ཤད་ཡོངས་ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཚོང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྱབ་ཅུ་དམག་ལ་སྒྲིད། ཁ་ཤད་ཁང་ཁ་ཤད་ཡོངས་ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཚོང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྱབ་ཅུ་དམག་ལ་སྒྲིད། ཁ་ཤད་ཁང་ཁ་ཤད་ཡོངས་ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཚོང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྱབ་ཅུ་དམག་ལ་སྒྲིད།

ཀྱེ་དང་ཡབ་ཀྱིས་ཀྱེ་དང་སྐྱེས་ནས་ཤོད།
ཀྱེ་དང་ད་ལྟ་དུས་སུ་ཚོད།
ད་ནས་ཀྱང་ཀྱེ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཀྱེ་དང་མདའ་གསོལ།

སྒེ་སེང་ཀར་ལ་ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་༧ཅ༠༠༠། དེ་མིན། ལ་རྩྭས་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཡོང་འགོ་རྡེ་ཡོང་། རྒྱལ་ཡོ་དང་ལ་ཡིན་གསུང་།།

དེ་ནས་ཆེད་མ་རྒྱབས། ཡར་ཁེན་དང་ཐང་ཐང་གཅིག་ལ་དམག་གཏང་བའི་གྲབས་དང་། ཡར་ཁེན་ཐག་རིང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོང་གསུམ་ལ་དམག་གཏང་བ་ལ་འཆམ་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིད་དམག་དོའོད་དམག་མི་ཚམ་ཡོང་། ལ་རྩྭས་བ་ཆོ་ཆོ་བསོད་ནམས། བ་སྒྲིའི་བཀའ་བློན། ཁོ་ལམ་ཁན། ཐུག་མཇོད་མཁོན་ཡོས། བློན་ཡོ་ས་ནི། གཤེན་ཡང་ཆེ་གྲས(གྲགས?)རྣམས་དང་། དམག་མི་བཅས་མངའ་རིས་སུ་དམག་ལ་རེབས། (*Ca* MS.) ལ་རྩྭས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཀྱམ་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་ཡུ་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དང་ལ་ཁག་བཀལ་ (*Cc* MS.) རེ་མི་དགོན་བ་ནས་རྒྱགས་འབྲུ་ཁལ་༡ཅ༠༠༠། ཁལ་མ་ཐ༠༠། རྡོ་ཐ༠་བཅས་སྒལ། སྒོན་ཐང་ལ་རྒྱུད། རྩ་ཐོག་བཅག་ནས། ཙ་སྒིན་ལྷོན་ཡོ་ས་ཚེབས། ཐོ་ཁྱི་བློན་ཁྱབ་ཀྱི་ཡོང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྱབ་ཅུ་དམག་ལ་སྒྲིད། ལྷ་ཟིད་དམག་ཁོ་ཁོང་ཆེ་བ་སོང་ནས། མངའ་རིས་སྐོང་གསུམ་དམག་འཐབ་བཀྲངས་ནས། མངའ་ཤས་ཐུ་འབྲུས་སོ། ། སྒར་རྩ་ཀི་ལ་བཅིགས། ཐུ་བཁོ་རྩ་ཡོག་ལ་སི་ཐ་དམག་མི་བཁོ། མཁར་བཁོན་བཤག་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིད་དམག་ཁོ་བཅས་ཕྱིར་

ལོག་སྐད་དུ་སྐྱེལ། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཐ་རངད་ནས་ཕྱེར་ལོག་འོང་ནས། ཀེ་མ་བཞིའི་རྟིང་ན། ཐ་རངད་གོང་པ་མདའ་དཔོག་རྟ་དམག་ ༥༠༠། ཀོང་དམག་ ༡༠༠༠༠ བཅས་ཐོར་ནས། ཐ་རངད་སྐྱག་ལ་མཁར (*Ca* MS. དྭག་ལ་མཁར)་ནང་ཞེ་པ་ ༡༠་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ། དེར་འཐབ་ནས། ཞེ་པ་རྣམས་བསད། ཁོད་དམག་འདུགས། རྒྱབ་དཔུང་དུ་ཐ་རངད་ནས་ཀེ་མ་བཏུད་ཤོང་ནས། གྲོ་ཤོད་དུ་བཀའ་བློན་གཅེག། རྟ་དཔོན་གཅེག། དཔོན་ཁག་གསུམ། རྟ་དམག་ ༡༠༠། ཀོང་དམག་ ༩༠༠༠། བཅས་ཡོད་སྐད། དེ་ལྟག་རྣམས་ཁོལ་དུ་མང་དང་བས་འདུག། མེ་ཏ་ས་སྐྱེ་རྩམ་དང་ཞེ་པ་གསུམ་བཏུ་དོ་ཡོངས་ཡོད་པ། ས་སྐྱེ་རྩམ་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་ཀེན་མཚོན་བཅས་ངར་བཏང་ཐལ། དེ་ནས་ 5
ལྷ་ཟིང་སྐད་དུ་སྐྱེལ་ནས། འག་གཅིས་གསུམ་སོང་ནས་ཡོད་པར། ས་སྐྱེ་རྩམ་ཡི་གེ་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཤོད། ལ་དྭགས་དན་ཐག(དང་འཐག)་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དོན་གྲུབ་མེ་བཞེ་བཅས་ཤོང། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཡང་དེའི་སང་ཀེན། དང་དམག་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་སྐུ་དགུ་དམག་མི་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཞུག་པར། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་ནས། ཐ་རངད་དུ་སྐྱེལ། ར་དེ་ཚོ་ཕྱི་དབང་དོ་དོ་དོན་ལྡན་མཉམ་ལ་དྭགས་སུ་བཀལ། དོ་ཡོ་ནས་ཆུང་ཟད་གྲུབ་ལ་ཡོང་ནས། དམག་སྡང་སྐྱེ་ནས་འདུག་ཟོ། དེ་ནས་འཐབ་རེས་ལྟ་རུགས་ཚམ་ཆེ་ན་དང་། གོང་དམག་མཁར་ནང་ཡོད་པ་ཤེ་ཚད་ཆེར་མ་སོང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཕྱི་ལ་ཡོད་པས། ཞི་པ་མང་པ་ཤེ། དེ་ནས་ཀ་བ་བསས། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀྱི་ཞི་པ་ནས་སོང་རིགས་གྱང་ 10
ངར་ཕྱིས་བཀུམ། ཚོང་ཆེ་རིགས་རྣམས་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་དམག་རྣམས་ཟོ་མཚོན་ཐོག་ནས། ཉིན་མཚན་མ་གཡེལ་བར། ཟོང་དབུ(དོག་ར?)་ཤེར་ཆེ་བ་དང་བཅས་ཡོད་པར། ཉིན་ཅིག་སྐུ་དོ་ནས་མཁའ་ཟང་ཟིང་དང་། སྐྱག་ལ་མཁར་ནས་གོང་དམག་ཕྱིར་ཐོན། རྟ་དམག་ ༤༠༠༠། ཀོང་དམག་ ༦༠༠༠། ཙམ་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག། ཡ་ཡོ་གཅིག། ཆ་དཔོན་ཀྱིས། དཔོན་གཉིས་དང་བཅས་ཡོངས་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀྱི་དམག་ར་བསྒོར། སྐྱ་དོ་དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་ཤར་སྐབ། ས་ཐུན་གཉིས་ཐབ་ནས། མེ་མདའ་[ཇམ་པ་]མ་ཚད་པ་བཏང་། བར་ཤེ་ཚུར་ཤེ་གཅིག་པ་སོང་། དེ་ནས་དེ་མགོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་དང་། སོད་པའི་དམག་འགོ་ཡོད་ཚོད་དང་། རྟ་དམག་སྒོང་ 15
གསུམ། ཕྱི་ལྟས་དང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པར། ཕྱག་མཛོད་མིག་དམར་ཆོས་སྐར་ནང་བུ་མཚོང་ནས། སྐན་གཅིག་གཉིས་བར་འཐབ། ལྷ་ཟིང་སྒྲོས་པ(དམོད་པ)་བཏྲེད་ཅིང་། ཡང་ན་དོངས་ཀྱི་མགོ་སྐྱེ་སོད་པས་ཤེན། དེ་མིན། དོངས་བང་ཤེན་དེས་ཟེར་ནས། སྤེ་མིག་ལྟ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པས། ཕྱི་ཀུ་བློག་ནས་འགོད་པ། ཚེན་འཐེལ་མ་མཚུངས་བའོ། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀུང་རྩ་ཐོག་ན་ཀྱི་འཁྲང་འཐབས། སོད་པ་བཞི་ལྟ་བར་བསད། དེ་བར་ཡ་སོ་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་ནས། སྲོག་ལ་མ་བལྟ་བར། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཐོག་ཏུ་མདུང་གཞར་ནས། གོངྟ་བུ་ཡོང་ནས། སྡང་ཀྱིལ་བུ་མཉུང་བཏུབ། ལྷ་ཟིང་སྐད་གཅིག་ཀྱང་གཏོག་མ་ཐུབ་པ་ཤ་ལ་ལྷུང་། ལག་ནས་དལ་གྱི་ཤོར། ཐུབ་ཡང་ཀྱི་དེ་ལེན་ 20
ཁངས་ཐུབ་ཀྱང་། མ་ལྷོགས། ཡ་ཐོས་མཐུང་དེ་བཞག་ནས། ཤེད་ནས་གྱི་བཏོག་ནས། མགོ་ཁོ་བཅད་ནས་ཁེར། དེ་དང་སིང་དམག་རྣམས་མགོ་བཞིག། སོད་པའི་ཀང་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྐར་ནང་ཚངས། དམག་འགོ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཟིང་ཁྱབ(ཟད་ཟིང་?)་ཐུབ། འཚོས་ནས་ཐར་ཚུད་ཚོས། དེ་ལྟག་རྣམས་བསད། དེའི་ཉིན་ཀྱི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཡོལ་ཙམ་ལ་འཐབ་ཐག་ཆོད། སོད་པ་(ཐུས་?)ཕྱལ་ཐུང་། དེའི་སང་ཉིན་མདའ་དཔོན་རྩ་དཔོན་གཉིས། རྟ་དམག་ ༤༠༠ བཅས་སིང་པ་ཤོར་བའི་རྗེས་འདེད་ཐུས། སྐར་དུ་སྐྱེལ། ཐང་ཐང་ 25
སོང་ཤིས། སིང་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལག་ཐོག་མ་ཐུང་། ཁོང་ཆོད་འཛིན་ནས། སྐར་དུ་བསྡུད། དེ་མཐུངས་ཐང་གསེར་ཁྲང་ཁོང་འོག་ཀི་དམག་དོན་རྟ་དམག་ ༤༠༠ དམག་སྐར་བྱས་གཅིག་ལ་སྐྱེལ། ཀོང་དམག་སྐོང་ ༢(གསུམ)་ཙམ་རྗེས་ད་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་བ། དེ་ནས་ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ། ནོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམས། བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན། གོ་ལམ་ཁན། ས་སྐྱོ་བློན་པོ། གཤེན་ཡང་གཐས་ཤ་ཁ་ཤས། སིང་པ་འགོ་པ་ཁ་ཤས་དང་། སིང་པ་ཐུམ་རིགས་རྣམས་མོད་ལ་བཀལ།།

ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ་དང་མོད་པ་ཁ་ཐུན། ལ་དྭགས་ཐུ་མགོན་པོ་ཐག་ཡིག་ནང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཤེ། སོད་པའི་དཐུང་དམག་ཀུང་རྩེས་ན་ཡོང་ཐུ་ཚུན་ཁྱོན་ཡོད། དེ་ཀ་སྐྱོད་གཤམ་ཐྱོགས་མཐའ་དག་ནས་དམག་གལ་ཆེད་དགོས་ཟིང་ནས། དཔོན་པོ་ཚོ་དང་ངན་བརྟན་སྐྱོན་བྱུ 30

བཏང་ | མཚོན་པོ་དང་བོད་པ་དམག་དཔུང་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་ཉིག་ནང་ན་ཚད་ཀྱས | ཏིང་ན་སྟེལ | ལྷ་བདག་ཚེ་རིང་སྐོགས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ལ་དམག་རྒྱགས་བཀའ་རྒྱ | ལ་དཔུགས་མཁར་སྡུང་དང་ | ས་ཁ་རྣམས་ལ་དམག་རྒྱགས | རྒྱ་ཤེང་གཏོང་བར་སྲེལ་དུ་ཡོད | ལྷ་ཟིང་ཤི་བ་དང་ | སྐྱོང་གཤམ་ཚོང་མ་ནས་རྒྱ་ཤེང་མ་སྟེལ་བ་དང་ | ཀུ་མི་དན་དང་ | མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དྲང་གཉིས་ལ | རྒྱ་ཤེང་སྟེལ་ངེས་མི་འདུག་པའི | ངོ་ཚགས་འདུ | ཚེ་ཡོང་མི་ཤེས་པ་འདུག་ཀྱས་པར | ཁོང་གཉིས་ལ་ཡང་རྣམ་རྟོག་སོང་ནས | དམག་དཔུང་ཀྱས་ནས | སེར་ཀང་ལ་ཚར་ཟི་ཐུལ | དེ་ཟེར་པ་དང་མཐུན་པར | ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ་དང་གཤམ་མ་ཁ་དྲག་རྣམས་གྱབས་ཐུབ | དགྱེ་ཐོག་དམག་འཐུལ་བསྒྲིགས | དཔྱིད་ཀ་སྐྱོད་གཤམ་སྐྱལ་ཏི་ཁ་ཟུལ་ལྟམ་ར་དང་བཅས་དམག་འཁྱོང་ནས | སོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག | རྟ་དམག་ ༡༠༠ | ཤང་དམག་ ༥༠༠ | ལྷེ་འབྲེ་བཀག | དེ་ནས་ལ་དྲགས་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀི་ལ་དང་ཚབོན་གཉིས་བསྐོངས་ནས | དམག་ར་སྐྱང | ཉིན་ ༡༨་བར་ཞག་ལྔར་འཐབ་རེས་མ་ཚད་པར་བཏང་ | (*Ca* MS.) ཀི་ལ་ན་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་ངྲང་དང་བཅས་སིང་པ་ ༥༠ ཙམ་དང་ | ཚབོན་ན་ཀུ་མི་དན་དང་ | པཁ་ ལྔ་སི་པ་ ༩༠༠ ཙམ་ཡོད་པས | (*Cc* MS.) དེ་རྩེས་ཉིན་ཚབོན་བསྐོངས | ཀུ་མི་དན་ཚབོན་ཚ་བ་རེད་ | ཚབོན་རྡོ་སྐོ་འགོངས་སྐྱལ་ཏི་དམག་རྣམས་ཡོད | ཀི་ལ་ནས་མི་ཡ་ར་ནུ་དང་སི་པ་སྐམ་ཐུ་བཅས་བྱི་འབྲང་ནས | ཤི་སྒོག་མ་ལྟ་བར་ཐོན་ནས | དང་པོ་སྐལ་ཏི་ཐོག་ཀུ་མཚོང་ནས | སྐལ་ཏི་ཁ་ཤས་བསད་པས | སྐལ་ཏི་སྒོས | དེ་ནས་ཚབོན་ནས་པལ་ལྟས་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་ཀྱས་པ་ནས | ཁབས་པ་ཐབས་ཚ་ཐུང་ནས | ལ་དཔུགས་དམག་མི་རྣམས་དམག་གང་ཐུ་ལོག | དེའི་ཉིན་ཐུང་ | ཤི་མ་རྒྱ་གི་བར | ས་ཞུས་ཉིན་མཚོན་མེད་པར་འཐབ | དེ་སྐབས་དེ་ལྟར་ཀ་རི་ཅནྡ་དང་ | ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀུ་ཐུ་གཉིས་དམག་དཔུང་གཡོང་ཚེ་ན་ (*Ca* MS.) ཉོག་ལ་སོགས་ (*Cc* MS.) ཁ་ལ་ཅོང་སྟེལ་ཚོར་བའི་ཕེ་ཁྱོད་པ་དང་ | ཀི་ལ་དམག་གང་ཐེ་དམག་རྣམས་དེའི་མཚོན་ལ་མཁར་དུ་འདུས | དེའི་སང་ཉིན་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་ | སོང་པ་ལྷགས་ཚེ་རིང་སྐོགས་རྒྱས་ལིག་ཅོང་ཟས་པ་ཐེན་ནས་བཞག | འགས་ཁ་ཤས་འདུག | དེ་ལྷག་ས་ཉིས་རེད | ཤི་སྒོག་ཚེ་ཐུལ་ལེགས་ཟེར | རྣམས་ཐེང་རྒྱུ་ཤེ་ཁ་གཉིས་མཇུད་ནས | རྒྱ་ཤེ་ཐུལ་ཐེག | དང་པོ་ལྷ་ཟིང་དམག་མི་ ༥༠༠ ཡོད་པ་འཐབ་ནས | བསད་ཚོད་བསད | དེ་ལྷག་རྣམས་འཛིན་རྒྱང་གིས་སྲེལ་བཀལ | དེ་ཐེང་ཐང་ལ་རྒྱུད | ལྷ་ཟིང་ས་ཉིས་དམག་མི་རྣམས་འདོད་ཁག་ཀུ་ཐེབས | སོད་དམག་དང་ལ་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་ཁྱོན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ནས་ཐུང་ | ཐུང་གཡོག་མང་སྟེལ | དེ་དང་མཉམ་སོད་པའི་མ་དང་ (ཡ་དོ་) | བཀའ་ཁྱོན་ཐུང་ཁང་དང་ | ར་གུ་ཉ་གཉིས་མཉམ་དམག་མི་སྐྱོང་ལྷ་ | ཐུང་གཡོག་མང་སྟེལ་ནས | དམག་སྐར་བསྐུད་ནས་འདུག | དེ་ཐེས་སོད་པའི་དམག་མི་ ཧ༠༠༠ ཙམ་འཐབ་པང་བཏང་ | འདོར་ཁག་ཐང་བུ་དེ་ལྷག་ཀྱི་དམག་མི་དང་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཐབ་ནས | ཁ་ཡ་མ་ཡོང་བར | ཕྱིར་ཚོག་སྐར་བུ་སྟེལ | རེའི་ཉི་མ་ཐེས་མར | ལྷ་ཟིང་དང་དེ་ལྷག་ས་ཉིས་ཀྱི་དམག་རྣམས་ཐུང་གཡོག་མང་སྟེལ | སོག་ཡའི་ས་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་སྲ་རི་དོག་དེ་ཡོད་པར | དེ་གཉིས་སུ་དམག་ཐང་བསྐུད་ནས | ཉི་མ་ ༡༠·༡༡ ཐན་ཚུན་འཐབ་པ | རྒྱལ་བམ་གཅིག་པ་ཉིག་སོང་ | ཉིན་ཅིག་མི་པ་ཚོ་ནས | དམག་ཐང་བཅག་རྒྱ | འཐབ་རེས་ཚོང་པའི་ | ཐང་སོང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚུར་ཐུལ | ཐུ་ཚུར་ཐུལ་ཏེ་ཐང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚུར་ཐུལ་ཐུལ | དམག་ཐོག་ཀུ་མི་དན་མ་ཅ་སྐོང་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཤི་བ་ཤས་ཆེ་ཞིང་ | ཤི་ལ་ནས་ཀུ་མི་དན་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ཐུ་ཚུར་ཐུལ་ཏེ་ཐང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚུར་ཐུལ་ཐུལ |

རྒྱང་ཁང་གཉིས་སྟེལ་དུ་ཕྱོངས་ནས། གནོན་ཚད་དོན་ཅན། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཤས་སྤྱོན་རྒྱལ་དུས་སུ་རི་ཡིད་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ནས་རྒྱང་། སེར་གངས་ཆེན་མོའི་འོག་དང་། ཁང་པའི་ས་མཚམས་གང་ཡོད་ཁང་པའི་འོག་དང་། ཁང་ནས་གཞུང་ཚོང་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་ལོ་ཐུག་ཟོགས། སྤྱོན་ཁྲིམས་ཡིད་སྟོལ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་ཚོང་པ་སྣང་རྒྱ་ཐོགས་གང་འཐད་དུ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཁེད་པ་ཐུང་པའི་ཚོང་པ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་ཟོགས། སྤྱོན་རྒྱལ་དུས་སུ་རི་ཡིད་ཆ་བཞག་ནས། ཚད་དོན་ཟིས། མདའ་དཔོན་ལ་དགོངས་པ་བཏང། རྒྱང་ཁང་རྨ་ཟུང་འཁེར་ནས། ཟེར་ཀངས་མ་བྱ་རྩ་ཁ་ཀུ་ཐལང་མཁལ་ཤུལ། ཀིམ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཅོ་གྲ། གཞེར་གྱི་གདུབ་ཟ། སྐྱེ་ཆ་ཟོགས་མང་པོ་ཚོ་ལུས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་བྱུང་ནས། ཕྱེར་ཟོག་ཟོང་། || (*Ca* MS.) དེ་ནས་ཟོད་པ་དང་ཟིང་པ་གཉིས་འདི་ནས་ཕྱིན་བྱུ་བཟང་ཐལ་ཟོང་ནས། འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་སྲང་བཞིན་ཟོ་ཕྱག་པ་དང་། གཤུང་ཚོང་པ་གཉིད་ཚད་ཆས་ནས། དེ་ལྷན་ཏེ་དེ་ཅཱུ་ཀྱེས་ཟོད་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྣམས་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྐུ་འཁོར་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་ཟོག་གཉིད་ཚད་ཆས་ནས། ཟོད་གངས་དེ་ནས་ཟོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྡུ་ཞིག་ལ་དྭགས་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་འབས་ཕྱི་ལ་བཏང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་དེ་ལྷན་ཏེ་དེ་ཅཱུ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས། སྟེལ་མཁར་དུ་ཞེབས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་སྤྱང་ཁངས་རྒྱལ་དུས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དག་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་དབང་མེད་པར་ཆས་ནས། སྐོས་སུ་དེ་ལྷན་ཏེ་དེ་ཅཱུ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟིང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བློན་དེག་འཛིན་སྤྱོན་ཐ་དང་དུ་ཤི་མཁན་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཟི་ར་ལྷང་ཀྱི་ཁཏས་ཀོག་པ་དང་ཞེར་ཀླར་ལ་ཡང་སྤ་ཕྱི་འབྲས་མེད་ཁོག་པ་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཀུམ་ཚོང་མ་བཏང་ནས་བཀའ་བློན་ལ་བཟློག། དེ་ནས་དེ་ལྷན་ལྷ་ཟིང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དག་སྟེལ་བློན་པོ་དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་ཡ་ཇི་མཁོན་པོ་དང་། བསྟན་དག་ཚོ་རིང་སྐོས་ཐུབ་བཅས་ཁིད་ནས། ཐམ་ཐུ་རྩ་ཕྱེར་ལོག་བསྐྱེད། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་དང་། མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དང་དང་། ཀི་ལྷ་རྩ་ཞི་པ་བཅས་བཞག་ཀོ ||

X

(*C* MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ལ་མ་རྨ་རྩ་ཇ་ཀུ་ལྷས་སིང་

ཀིས་མངའ་མཇད་པ་ནས་ཕྱིན་ཀྱི་

ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ ||

སྲི་མ་རྨ་རྩ་ཇ་ཀུ་ལྷས་སིང་ཀི་སྐུ་ཐོག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཇམ་ཐུ། ཀ་ཤིར། ལ་དྭགས། སྤྱལ་ཀི་ཡུལ། ཐུ་རིག། ཟངས་དཀར། ཀས་ཏ་ལྷར། བདུད་ཀ། (ཇ་སྲོང་ཟི།) སྒྲི་ཀི། བཅས་ལ་མངའ་མཇད་ནས། [ལ་དྭགས་ ལ་]གྲོང་ཆེན་འབས་ཁལ་ཀྱིར་མོ་ལ། [ཤིང་ཁང་]ཆེད་ཀ་ཀྱིར་མོ་ཟ་དང་ཙ་ན་བརྒྱ། ཡང་ཆེད་(*?/ལ*)་འབས་ཀྱིར་མོ་ཀ་དང་ཙ་ན་ཀཟ། སྐུ་དག་བཀའ་བློན་བློན་པོའི་ཚོང་འབས་ཁལ་དགོན་པ་བཅས་ལ་ཆེ་རིགས་འབས་ཀྱིར་མོ་ལ་ཅ། [སྐུ་དག་]ཆུང་ན་རྣམས་ལ་འབས་ཀྱིར་མོ་ཀཉ་ཐས། རེ་ནང་ལྷང་དགོན་པ་ཚོ་ལ་ཐས་ ||

དེའི་སྐས་མ་རྨ་རྩ་ཇ་རྩམ་པྲིད་སིང་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྤིད་མངའ་མཇད་ཅིང་། སྟོན་རེ་ལྷན་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་ལ་དྭགས་ཀ་འཕོར་སྐྱེན་སོང་བའི་ཡུལ་དང་གྲོང་པ་གསར་བཙུགས། ཡུལ་རྣམས་ལ་འབས་སྲུང་། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཤོ་གམ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མེད་པར་ཐུས། སྟོན་མག་ཀ་ཐ་ཀ་དྲྭ་དང་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཐུས་བའི་གྲོང་ཐོ། ཐ་སྐྱི་རྩམ་ཐུག་གནས་པ་བཀྱེག་དས། ཞི་ཀིར་མི་ཚོ་*༡༩༨༨*་ནང་མེ་ཏ་ཁ་སྐྱི་རྩམ་ཀྱི་སྐས་མེ་ཏ་མང་[གཡ་སིང་]དས་གྲོང་ཐོ་ཚོ་མ་ཐུས་དས། ཁེད་ཀྱང་ཀྱིར་མོ་*༩་*ཙ་ཀ་*༡༡* | ཆེད་ཀ་ཀྱིར་མོ་

ཟ་དང་ཙ་ན་༡༠་ཅེ་ནེ་ཟ ། ཡང་ཐུབ་ཀྱིད་མོ་ཀ་ཙ་ན་ཀ༡༠་ཅེ་ནེ་གསུམ། གསོས་གང་མ་ལ་གྲོ་ཁལ་ཀ་དང་ཐེ་ཀ༠ ། མད་སེད་༡༠ ། རྒྱ་ཤིང་སྐང་ཧ ། ཉད་ཤིང་སེད་ཟ༠་མཇད་ནས། (གཤམ་གྱི་ཉད་བེད་ན་ནས་འཁྲིད་བས། དེ་ཡང་འབབ་ལྟད་ལོ་དང་ལོ་འཇལ་དགོས་པས། ཉད་ཤིང་ཐུབ།) ལོ་ཧཀ་ལི་ཀིད་མི་ཉིན་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ཀ༩༡ཀ་བད་གོང་ལྟད་གནས། ཐུལ་ཁོ་དེ་བཞིན་སྐུ་བསོད། མངའ་ཐང་ཆེ་ན་དང་ ། ཡུལ་ཡང་དད་ཞིང་ཐུབ་པ་དང་ ། སྟོན་ཐོག་དང་ལོ་ཅགས ། ཆུ་ཡང་འབོལ་ཚམ་ཡང་མ་ལུས་པད་རྩོམ ། ཀ་ནུན་ཁེམས་ཐབ ། སེ་ཁ་ཚོར་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་དུག་ཞན་སུ་ཡིན་ནས ། སྐྱེས་ཀ་བྱ་ཆ་ལ་མ་གཏོག ། མི་ཅེན་པ་ཐུབ ། ཐུལ་ཁོ་དེ་ཐོག་ཏུ ། ལ་དུགས་ཆ་ཞི་ཁང(ཆ་ཀ)་ ། ཚ་ཅེ་ ། ཐུལ་ ། ལུགས་ས་དང་གཅེར་ཁང་བཏོན། ཐང་ལ་ཆུ་འདེན་ནས། མེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་སེང་གེས་(རླབ་སྤྲིང་སེང་གི་ཡུལ)་རླབ་སྤྲིང་ཐབ། (ཆུ་ཀོད་ན་རླབ་སེང་གི་ཡུལ་)རླབ་ཐབ། (ཅང་གུ་དང་ཉེ་བར་མང་གལ་སེང་གི་བླག)་མང་གལ་བླག ། (ལྕམ་ད་ན་བར་ཀྲབ་སེང་གི་ཡུལ་)བར་ཀྲབ་ཐབ་པཅུག་ཡུལ་བཅུགས ། ཐོགས་ཐ་དག་ནས་ཆོང་པ་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་ཐོན་ནས ། ཆོས་ངེགས་མང་བ་དང་ ། སྐུས་རྣམས་ཁོང་ཁེར་ཆེ་བ་ལས་ཐོན་ཁང་ཆེ ། མི་རྣམས་ངེགས་པ་རྟོ་བ ། ཡིག་ངེག་དང་ ། ཕྱོས་རྣམས་ཐར་མི་དང་ཐུག་ར(ངོག་ར)་ནང་བཞིན་དང་ ། མི་རྣམས་ལྷེ་མཁང་དང་དན་ཐུ་མང་བ་སོང་བ་དང་ ། བཤ་དང་ནས་ཙི་རྟ་ལྡི་ལའི་གཏེར་ཞིག་ཁས་ནས ། དེ་བཞིན་སྟོན་ཏུ་ན་ན་ཀ༡༩ཅ་ ། བོད་ས་སྐྱལ་རླབ་བ་ཧ་ནང་ ། ལ་དུགས་སྐུགས་སྐ་ཐ་མ་བཀ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཛིལ་ཞུ་བ ། སྟོན་ཐུ་སྟོན་བའི་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ ། ཁོང་སྲི་མ་ཏུ་ཀླངས་ཆེན་པོ་ཐུགས་བར་དགོངས་པས ། ས་ན་༡༩ཅ་ནང་སེར་ཀྲད་(མ་ཏུ་ཀླ་ཁོ་)ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ནས་གདན་འཁོངས་སྐབས ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཀླམ་ཐུབ་ནས་བར་དང་ངེ་སྐུ་དུག་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་[གསན་ནས] ། ཅ་མ་ཐེང་བར་ཁོང་བཀའ་སྩལ་ལ ། དངོས་བྱང་(ཐུན་ཀེ་ཆོ་ཉིད་དཔལ་ཆུས་)རྗེ་བཙུ་མ་དང་ཀླམ་ཐུབ་ནས་ཆེས་ནས་ཡོངས། བཙུ་མ་པལ་དང་ས་ཚ་ཀྱ་བཏང་ཐུ་ལ། བྱ་མ་མཆོག་ནས་ཐབས་མཁས་དང་ ། དགོན་མཆོག་གསོལ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཚང་གཅོད་གནས ། ནེ་ལིམ་ཁང་ནས་མ་ན་ཟ༠་ཙམ་མཉམ་དུ་འཁྲིད་བ་དང་། ཐམ་ཐུ་ལ་མ་ཏུ་རྩ་ཐོ་མཆོག་ཚང་ཐུལ་བ་དང་། ཐུགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཉེས་ནས། བཙུ་མ་དེ་ཉིད་ཐམ་ཐུད་བཤགས་སྐབས། དངུལ་ཕོགས་སྐྱིད་[ཀྱིད་མོ་]ག་ཟ༠་རྒྱ་བ་ཅེ་དང་ ། གཉན་ཡུལ་ དུ་བཤགས་ན ། ཙོ་རེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་མོ་ཅ༠་ཡི་གནང་སྤྱིན་གནང་སྐབས། དངུལ་ཕོགས་སྐྱིད་[ཀྱིད་མོ་]ག་ཟ༠་རྒྱ་བ་ཅེ་དང་ ། གཉན་ཡུལ་ དུ་བཤགས་ན ། ཙོ་རེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་མོ་ཅ༠་ཡི་གནང་སྤྱིན་གནང་ཐུ་ལ། དེ་ནས་ཕྱིན། ཁང་ནས་ནེ་ལིམ་འཁྲིད་མི་ཆོག་སྐག་ཅ་མཛད། ཏུན་ཆོད་རིང་བར་དགའ་ཞུ་ཆོད་བསོད་ནམས་དངོས་སྐྱབ་གཅོས་མང་བས། [ནེ་ལིམ་ཐོག་བའི་ཀྱེན་ཀྱིས་]ལྷའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཕུད་མཉམ་སྐྱིད་ཅས ། མ་ཏུ་རྩ་ཧོས་ཀྱང་ཁྲིད་དེ་བཅུན་ཙོ་བཅོན་ཙོ་མཛད་ནས ། སྤུང་མི་དམག་འགོ་དང་ས་ཚ་བཀྱ་བསྐོང་བཞག་ནས ། སེང་ཀྲད་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིད་དེ་ལ་བདག་ཙོ་རེ་ལ་ཉིན་གྱིང་མོ་ཧཀ། ཡཀཀ་ལ་འཁྱིམ ། ཐུལ་ཁོ་དེ་བཞིན་སྟོན་ཡབ་རྩེ་བས་འགོ་ས་མཁོ་ཞིང་། ཐུ་གང་ཀྱི་ཐུལ་ཡུན་ཀྱི་ཆུ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ཐ

རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཙོ་ཧང་ཅོམ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་སྲས་རྣ་ཇ་ཐུ་ཀི་སིང་ལ་ཟླ་ནས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གནང་བ་དང་། ཁོང་རང་སྐབས་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་རྩད་རྒྱུ་བརྟན་པར་བཤགས་དུས། སྐབས་ཅེ་བ་མ་རྣ་རྣ་ཇ་པར་དྲྭ་སིང་སྲིད་བདག་པོ་དང་། བར་མ་རྣམ་སིང་དམག་འགོ་དང་། ཐ་ཚུད་ཙ་མར་སིང་དང་མར་ཐ་ཡི (རྒྱ་རྣ་ཡུའ་མ་ཡི)་དགོན་དང་། རང་རང་ཀྱི་ཀར་སྡུལ་ནས། སྤྱགས་དགོངས་ཇོགས་པར་མཇུ་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་རྒྱུ་ཐོག་ཏུ་རྒྱུ་དག་ཏུ་ལབ་རྣ་ཅེ་ལ་སྐྱོང་ཐུག་ཀྱིས་ནས་སྐོར་མོ་བརྒྱད་ཐུག་ཚས་ཆེད་མི་དང་། སེ་ཁ་དམག་མི་ཚོ་ལ་གནང་བ་དང་། ཁྱོགས་ཐན་ཚུན་རྒྱུ་དག་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་ཁ་མེས་ལས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བའུག། དེ་དང་བསྟུན། 5
དང་དང་ཡུལ་ནང་ལས་སྐུལ་གནང་ཞིང་། བདག་ཅྱེན་སྐྱོན་མ་བཞིན་མཛད། ཏ་ལས་ཀྱང་སྐྱ་མ་བས་ཐེབ་ཅས། ལྷ་ཟིར(ལ་དྭགས་ལྷ་ཟིར་སོགས)་ལ་བཤུགས་པ་ལ་རྣ་བ་རེ་ལ་དབུ་བཅུ་ནས་སྐྱོང་གཅེས་བར་མཛད། དེ་འགོ་ཚོར་མེན་ལ་གཟེགས་ནས་གནང་བ་ཡིན། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་སིད་ལ་སྐར་ལྷ་ཟིར་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མིག་ཐེག་ལ་འབབས་བཀལ་བ་འོས་མིན་དགོངས་ནས། ས་ན་༡༩༤༠་ནང་ཇོན་སེག་ས་ཀྱི་ལ་དྭགས་ལྷ་ཟིར་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་མ་བྱུ་རྣ་ཇ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚེ་ཐ་འགྲོ་ས་ཁྱེ(ས་བཏབ་དགོས་མོལ་བ་ལ་བལྟ་སྟེ) །ཁོང་གི་དགོངས་པ་ནང་། ལ་དྭགས་པ་མི་དྲང་ཡོ་གཡོ་སྐྱ་མེད་པ་དང་། མ་ཚོད། སེར་ཀླད་ལཉད་འཐུད་འགོ་ཆེ་བ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་། རྗེས་སུ་དེ་སྐོར་ཙོད་འཐས་ཡོངས་པ་ཤེས་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་དག་ཆེ་གས་དང་། རྟེ་མི་ལྷེ་བའེ་མཛེད་པ་དང་། ཀངར་དྲྭ་སོགས་བསྟུས་ནས། འདི་ལྟར་འགྲོ་རྒྱུའི་བཀོད་པ་བཟང་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་མི་གྲོས་མཐུན་པར། བཙི་མ(ཀཙི་མ?)་ལྟ་འམ་ཀྱིར་མོ་གཅིག་ཐོག་ཙ་ན་བཙི་ཐེབ་འབབས་འཐུལ་བ་ལ་འཐད་ནས། ཁུ་རྒྱ་གོང་ཏུ་ཐུལ་ནས་འཁྲབ་པར། ས་ན་༡༩༤༩་ནང་སྤེལ་བཀའ་བློན་ནན་དྲྭ་རྣམ་དང་། བ་སྐོ་བཀའ་བློན་ཀྱི་གཙོས་ཁ་དྲག་ཁ་ཤས་དང་ཡུལ་མི་ཁ་ཤས་གྲབས་ཅས། ལྷ་ཟིར་དང་མ་མཐུན་པའི་ཅྱེན་ཀྱིས། ཁ་ཁུལ་དུ་སྐྱན་ཁུས་འཐུལ་བར་སོང་བ་དང་། ས་སྐྱོང་ཚེན་པོ་ཤེས་སྐྱབས་ཅས། ཁོ་ཚར་དང་མ་མཐུན་པའི་ཅྱེན་ཀྱིས། ཁ་ཁུལ་དུ་སྐྱན་ཁུས་འཐུལ་བར་སོང་བ་དང་། ས་སྐྱོང་ཚེན་པོ་ཤེས་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་མཇོན་བྱས། ཁོ་ཚར་ཏེ་མི་སྐྱོག་ཁུས་ལ་ས་ཁྱེ་ཤེས་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་དང་། ཐུབ་ཅེད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་མཇོན་བྱས། ཁོ་ཚར་ཏེ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་མཇོན་ཀྱིས་མཇོན་ཞིང་

སྲེ་མ་དྲུ་རྩ་ཁ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐུ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོར་བའི་སྟང་ལྟས་སུ ། ཡུལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤིང་ལ་བཙའ་དང་ལྡགས་པ ། གནམ་གཤེ་དམར་པོ་སོང་ ། ཉིན་ཆ་བཟི་བ་ངེ་བཞི་ཚོས་ལ་དང་ས་ན་༡༩༣ བྱའུ་རྩང་ཚོས་ཧཻ་སྐུ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོར་བཞི་ཤག ། ལ་དྭགས་ན་སེར་བ་བབ་ནས ། ཡུལ་ཀ་ཤས་ལ་སྐྱོན་ཐེག་མི་འདོད་པ་སོང ། ཀ་ཆུལ་བྱམ་བློར་ན་དེ་ཀ་ལོ་ནང་གཟུགས་ཆུ་མི་འབྲ་བ ། ཐོ་མིན་མོ་མིན་ཅིག་སྐྱེས ། ཡུལ་ལ་སྐ་གཡོ་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ནས ། ཚཽའོན་དང་ཀོང་ཉི་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མཀར་དང་གཟིམ་ཆུང་སོགས་བཤིག་རལ་སོང་ ། སྒེལ་བུ་རྒྱ་བ་བཅུད་བཞི་ཚོས་༡༧ ལག ། སྐུ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོར་བའི་སྐད་ཆ་ངན་པ་ཐོས་ནས ། སྐུ་དུག་རྣམས་དང་མི་རྟེ་ལྷུན་རྩེར་དང ། ཅིག་བུ་རིགས་དང་། སོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཀ་སྐྱ་འཚེག་བཅུགས ། གོས་ལག་ཆོས་མའི་རིགས་རྣམས་བསྐུལ་བར་བྱས ། རྒྱ་ཀ་ཤ་ཤས་སྐུལ་ཐུས ། བ་ཟར་ཆོང་ཀོང་རྣམས་བདུན་གསུམ་སྐོ་བཅུགས ། དེ་ནས་རིམ་པར་བྱོན ॥

མེ་ཁྱི་རྩ་བ་ཅ་པའི་ཚེས་༡་ན་ན་༡༩༣རྟ་ནང་སྲེ་མ་དྲུ་རྩ་ཁ་པར་ཀྱལ་སིང་ཐ་དྲུ་བུར་མཆོག་(ཐམ་ཐུར་)ཁྱེ་ལ་བསྐུགས། ལྷ་ཀ་(ཅིག་བྱའི་ཐོང་པར་ཆོས་སྐུར་པ་)གཏོང་བར ། ཐྲོན་ཀྱི་མན་ངའི་ཀྱིང་པ་ལ་སྐྱོར ། དེར་རོལ་མོ་སྣ་ཆོགས་དང་ ། ཏོག་དང་ ། རིན་ཐོ་ཆེ་དང་ ། གསེར ། ཆུ་ཅིག ། རྟེ་རྩེ་ཐ་ལམ་བཅས་ཐ་ལེ་གང་ཏོང་གི་དབུ་ཐོག་ནས་བསྐོར་ཏེ ། ཁྱེ་ལ་གཏོང ། དེ་མཉམ་ཏོག་༧༡་གི་ས་ལམ་དང་ ། དེར་ཡང་དེ་ཟི་ཆུལ་མོ་ཚེན་མོའི་སྐུ་ཚོན་ཆུ་གར་ན་བཞུགས་ པའི་སེ་ཀ་ཐེར་(རྒྱང་ཡིག་)ས་ཅེག་ཀྱིས་ཁོང་ལ་འཁོ་ཐུས་སུམ་ནས ། ཁེར་བདང་གི་ས་གཤེས་གང་ཡོད ། ཅིང་བདང་གི་མངའ་ཡིན ། ལ་སོགས་གཞུང་གལ་ན་བཀླགས ། ཡང་ས་ལམ་ཏོག་༡༠༡་དང་ཟེ་ཐུལ་(དམག་མདུང་)ས་ལམ་ཐུས ། གཤེན་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཚེ་གྲས་སོགས་དང་ ། རྟེ་ཁྱེ་ཐ་ལམ་ཐུས ། ཤུ་ཅིག ། རྟོ་རྩེ་ཁ་ལམ་བཅས་ཁ་ལེ་གང་ཁོང་གི་དབུ་ཁྱེག་ནས་བསྐོར་ཏེ ། ཆེ་མཉམ་ཏོག་ཁོང་ལ་འཁོ་ཐུས་ཁོང་ལ་འཁོ་ཐུལ་བྱས་ནས ། ཁེར་བདང་གི་ས་གཤེས་གང་ཡོད ། ཅིང་བདང་གི་མངའ་ཡིན ། ལ་སོགས་གཞུང་གལ་ན་བཀླགས ། ཡང་ས་ལམ་ཏོག་༡༠༡་དང་ཟེ་ཐུལ་(དམག་མདུང་)ས་ལམ་ཐུས ། གཤེན་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཚེ་གྲས་སོགས་དང་ ། ཀ་སྲུང་ཁ་ལ་ཡི་རྩ་ཀྲུ་རྟམས་ཀྱི་འབྲལ་མཚོན ། ཏོ་ ། ཏེཀ ། རིན་ཁོ་ཆེ་བྱ་མཀྲག་ཅོད་པན ། ཀེམ་ཁབ་སྐུ་ཚོང་ ། རིགས་བརྩེད་མི་ཤེས་པ་དང་ ། འཛོམ་ས་ཁོག་དམག་དང་ ། དྲག་ཤོས་མ་དང་བར་སེ་ཁྱུང་མོ་དང་ ། མ་ལག་མཁན་དང་ཀུང་པ་དང་ ། ཐུང་ཁོ་ཆེ ། ཏོ ། མ་རྟེ ། ལྷག ། ཐུཁེས་འཐབ་མོ་བྱས ། མཚན་མོ་སྐྱོན་མེ་དང ། ལམ་གང་ཤེབས་ཀྱི་ས་ཚ ། བན་ཆོན་རྟམས་ལ་དང་ལྷོག་བཅུན ། ཏོ་ཐུང་ཆེན་དང་དམག་མིའི་ཚས་སྐྱེད་མི་ཤེས་པ་འདུག ། ཤེད་རྩལ་ནང་མ་རྟེ་བང་དྲག་པ་འདུག ། མ་ལག་མཁན་བར་སྐད་ལ་མ་ལག་ཆོངས་གསུམ་ཚོག་པ་དང་ ། མི་དགྱའི་ལག་བའི་ཐུང་(ཐུང་?)ཁྱང་ནས་འཕེན་པ་དང་ ། མིའི་མཁོ་ཐོག་ཏུ་གདུང་མ་སྐྱངས་ནས ། འཛོགས་པ་དང་ ། ཐག་བའི་ཐོག་འགྱལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་ཡ་མཚན་འདུག ། དེ་དང་མཉམ་མེའི་ཐུཚ་པ་མང་བ་སྐད་ ། ལྷད་མོ་ཁང་ནེ་དགའ་སྐྱོན་ཐ་སྐྱབས ། གནམ་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་མེ་སྐར་མ་དང་འདྲེས་པ་ཨ་ཡཽ་ཡཽ་བཏང་ས ། རྡེས་ཉིན་མ་དྲུ་རྩ་ཁ་མཆོག་དམག་དཔོན་རྣམ་སིང་ཚང་སྐུ་མགྲོན་ལ་གདུན་ཁུལ ། དེའི་རྡེས་མ་ཤག ། རྩ་ཏྲ་ཚ་མང་སིང་དང་རྩ་ཏྲ་ཐུ་ཆུ་ཀྱི་ཞིང་སོགས་ཚང་སྐུ་མགྲོན་དང་ཐུགས་སྲོང་ཆེན་པོ་ཞལ་ཕྱབ་ཅིང་ ། ལ་ དྭགས་ཆུལ་ཁོ་བསོད་ རྣམས་རྣམ་ཆུལ་དང་མང་སྐྱོ་ཆུལ་ཁོ་བཀའ་ཤིས་ལྟ་དབང་ཁྲབ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ཕྱབ་ཅིང་ ། ཐེ་མི་མཁྲིད་པ་ངག་དབང་ཚེས་བཟང་དང་ ། རྡེ་བྱ་མ་བཀའ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཛེལ་དང་ ། བཀའ་བློན་རྣ་རྡུ་རྩམ ། ཤེལ་བློན་པོ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཀཁ་ཅན་སུ་ལ་ཅན ། སྐུན་ཤི་དོན་གྲུབ ། ཆུ་ཤོད་ཀྱབ་རྡུབ ། ལ་དྭགས་སྤྱི་གི་འགོ་པ་འཕྲིག་མོ། དགོན་ཁག་སོགས་ཀྱི་གྲ་པ་འཕ་གྲངས་༧༠ དང་ ། བཀའ་ཤིས་ཀུ་མེ་འགོ་པ་དང་ ། ཡུལ་ཡུལ་ནས་མི་ཁ་ཤས་བཅས་ཁྱེ་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་འབྲལ་བ་རྣམས་སུལ ། དེ་མཉམ་གྲ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་འཕ་ཁམས་ཁྱབ་བསྒྲགས་སྤྲོ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་རྩེ་མོ་ཐུས ། དེ་ནང་བཞིན་ཀ་ཟུར་ཐ་ལའི་རྩ་རྡུའི་ཚད་མཛོད་བཅུགས ། གནང་སྐྱིན་དང་འགྲོ་ལུས་གནོད་ ॥ ལ་དྭགས་འབབ་སྐྱན་ལྷི་བ་ཡོག་པས ། དགོན་པའི་གྲ་པ་དང་རྩེ་མེ་མཛོད་པས་ཡར་ཟེ་ཐུལ་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ལྷུ་ཆེར་དང་མ་མཐུན་པ་ཤེས་ནས ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཀྱི་ན་ལྷུབ་སྲི་དེ་ལྷུན་ལེབ་ མན་དམ་ཚང་སྐྱན་དག་མཛོད་པའང་བསྐྱངས ། ཅ་ཀྱིམ་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་ཞུ་བ་མ་མཐུན ། དགོན་པ་ཆོང་སྟོན་མ་ལྷང་མ་འཇག་ན ། དགོན་པའི་གཏོང་འགོ ། དུས་མཚོད ། མཚོད་མེ ། ཚོ་སྐྱོང་དང་ ། གྲ་པ་རེ་ཚེ་རེ་ཚོགས་ཁལ་༡ཧ་དང་ ། ཆུན་པ་ར་ཁྲེ་ལ་བཟའ་བཏུང་ ། གནས་ཡང་ས་གཤེ་འབར་ ཁང་མེད་ པ་སོགས ། གོང་ས་མཆོག་ཏུ་སྐུན་ཞུས་

འབྲལ་ནས། ཡུལ་སྐྱིས་ལ་ཟོར་མེ་རེའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཁ་ནས་གཉིས་ནས་ཁ་ནས་གཅིག་འབྲད་རྒྱུ་དང་། དགོན་པ་ཆོས་ལ་འབབ་སོ་མ་ཚོག་ཐའི་ཕྱེད་ཀ་འབྲད་པ་དང་། ཕྱེད་ཀ་འཇལ་བ་བྱས། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཁ་མ་མཐུན་པས། ས་མཚོག་ཐུགས་ཁོས་ནས། སྐབས་སྐམ་བཏང་ནས། རྩར་གཅོད་མེད་གསུངས། སེར་ཀླང་དང་ཀི་ཧོ་ཀར་ཆོ་ལ་བཀའ་བཀྲོལ་མཛད་པ། མི་ལྷོག་དང་དགོན་མཚོག་དུས་ལྷད་ཆུང་། ལྷུ་ཟིངས་དང་ཡུལ་པ་ཁ་མ་མཐུན་པ། སྡོད་གཅམ་དུས་ལ་ཁ་དང་ཅིཉ་སྐོལ་བ་ན། སྐུ་ས་གཏེ་ཁྲིང་བའི་དུས་ལྷད་ཆུང་། གོང་ནས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་སྐྱན་ཤུས་ལ་ཡོངས་ཡོད་པ་ལ་རྟེན། ཁ་ཆུལ་ན་ལྷན་ལེའུ་མན་དུས་ལ་ཐུགས་གཤགས་མཛད་པར། བཀའ་ཤོག་བདེན་པ་ 5
འཐོན་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དུག་རྣམས་ཧམ་ཤུང་ཡོངས་པ་རྣམས་སྐད་གཅིག་འཐོན་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཁྲབ་དང་ཤེ་པ་བཏང་ནས། ཐང་ངོགས་ལབང་སྡིང་ཐབས་མེད་པ། ཀེ་མ་གཀེས་གསུམ་ས་ལ་ཚང་མ་ཁ་འགྲིལ་ཀྱིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་སྐོར། ལ་དྭགས་ཡུལ་པ་དང་ཐུག། དུས་ཚོངས་ཀྱི་ལྷས་ལ། དང་ཤེ་གཀེས་ཀེ་རིང་དང་། སྐོང་ཁང་མཁམ་ཡོངས་པ་ཚོ་ནས་ཀྱང་། མེ་མཐོང་བའི་ཆུལ་ཐབས། དེ་ལྷན་ཀྱིས། ནས་ཤ་མཛད་ནས། ཆུ་ཁ་ཅི་ཡོངས་རྣམས་འབྲེ་བར། ལ་དྭགས་ཆུལ་ཁོ་གཀེས་དང་རེ་མི་ཆུག་མཛོད་གཅོས་མི་བཅུས་འབྲི་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་གནང་། ཡུལ་པ་ཚོ་ཡིས་སོ་སོང་འབྲི་དགོས་གསུང་། དེ་བཞིན་ལ་དྭགས་པས་དང་གསུམ་ཀྱི་སྐོ་ནས་ཀེ་རིང་ཕྱོགས་ཁེར་མེད་པར། ཡུལ་ན་ས་ 10
སྐྱ་མང་བ་དང་། རྟུང་བ་དང་རོད་བཟོས་ཀྱི་ས་ཁྲད་སོགས་དོ་རིས་ཕྱོགས་ཁེར་སོང་བ་དང་། བཤད་མི་བྱང་བའི་གཏམ་ངན་མང་བ་ལྷུ་ཟིང་སྐོར་སིས་ནས་ཐུལ། དེ་ལྷན་ཐུགས་གཤགས་གནང་། ཏོག་དང་མང་སྐྱོ་ཆུལ་ཁོ་གཀེས་ལ། སེར་ཀླང་ཀྱིས་ཌ་གྲིང་སྐད་གནང་བ་ནང་བའི་ཐེབ་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཚོང་དབང་ཕེན་མོལས། འབབ་སྟེག་ལས་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཚོང་དབང་ཕེན་མོལས། འབབ་ཐེབ་ས་ན་ནང་།།ཤ་ནོང་ས་ཕྱེ་ལོག་གཏོང་བ་ཆུས། ཆུ་ཤིང་གོ་ལྷམ་ཀླན་ཀྱི་བཆུད་ཟེར་ཁུ་དང་ཏོ་ལྷམ་ལ་འདི་རིང་བར་ཌྲ་གྲིང་གནང་། སྐོན་ས་ནས་ཀྱི་ལྷས་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་ལྷུ་ཟིང་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ལ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀ་ཆུལ་ཁོ་ཚོང་ཁག་ཏུ་ཁ་ཤས་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཁ

བས་དེ་འཇལ་བ་ཡིན ། མི་ཚེན་ལ་མ་ཨོག་པ་ཡིན ।) ཡུལ་པ་རྣམས་སྐད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་ཞིང་ । སྤྲོ་བདེ་བ་སོང་ । ལ་དྭགས་ལོག་པད་བཀའ་སྩལ་ । ས་ན་༡༩༣རྟ་ཀར་ཚེས་༣་ཟླག । ཐམས་ཅད་ཀ་རུལ་ནས་ཐོན ॥ མོ་ཚེས་ནང་བློ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཛིམ་དང་ཅེ་འབས་མཁར་བཅུག་བའི་མོ་མིག་ལ་བབ་པ་བརྟགས । མཁར་རྩོང་གི་ལྷ་བཙན་རྩོ་རྗེ་ཡིས་ལྷ་ནང་ནས་གསུང་བ་བརྟགས । ཀོང་གིས ।

དང་པོ་འབབ་སྟེན་མཐེ་ཚེ་ ।

ཐ་མ་མཐེབ་རྒྱང་མ་སྟེལ་དེས ।

ཡིན་པ । དེ་བཞིན་བརྟགས । ལྷ་དེ་བརྟགས་པོ་འདུག । ས་ན་༡༩༣༡་ནང་སུ་སུལ་མན་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་དེ་སྐུང་ཟེར་བའི་གྲགས་པ་སེམ ॥

XI

ལོ་རྩིས་ནི

ཀ་ཆེ་མས་ཌིར་ས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གནང་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་འཁྲུངས་ལོ་༡༩༡༠་བར་ . . . ལོ་ ༢༡༦ ।

གཙུག་གཏོར་ལྷང་མ ། རྒྱ་ཐའི་རང་ཐག་ལ་ཡོར་པ ། བཙུག་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༢༡༦ ।

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆོ་དཔལ་དོན་སྒྲུབ་དུས ། མ་ཀ་ར་བར་སྐྱེ་དེབ་ཐོན་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༡༦༨ ।

ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་དུས་སུ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འཇིགས་མེད་ཀུན་དགའ་འཁྲུངས་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༧༠ ।

ཆེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་སྐྱི་ཀེ་ལ་ཨོར་ཀེ་གོང་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༧༠ ।

ས་སྐྱི་སྐྱམ་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མ་ཞིང་ । ཡང་མ་འམ་ཀེ་ཅོས་ཞིང་སྐྱ་རྩེར་བཅོས་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . ལོ་ ༦༨ ।

ཀེ་ཚི་ཀ་མིཉ་ནང་སྟེལ་དུ་བསྐུད་ནས ། (འགོ་མ་ལོ་ཧ་ཀ་མིཉ་ནང་ཚན་ཀུ་སྐུན་ཨེ་ཀ་སྐྱེམ་བཀྲ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་)

འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༧༦ ।

སྟེལ་དུ་བ་རོ་མེ་ཀར་བཙུགས་ཤིང ། ཁང་པ་བཙིགས་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༣༧ ।

བསོད་ནམས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་ནས ། (སྤྲོན་ཀྱི་ལོགས་ཀྱིར་ལོ་ལྷར་༣༧ཧ་ཅ་ན་༡ । ར་ལོ་ནས་ལོགས་ཀྱིར་ལོ་ལྷར་༡༩༠༠) འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༣༢ ।

ས་ར་ཆེན་ཨོ་ཀ་མིཉ་ནང་ཞི་ཚེ་དང་ཇོན་སེན་ཀྱིས་བཙིག་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༧༢ ।

ཐ་ཏ་ཏེ་ཏུ་ཏྲ་ཀྱི་ཐུབ་ལྷིས་སྟེལ་ཐ་ཀ་ར་ན་བཅོས་ནས ། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༨༥ ।

ཏུ་ཀྱི་དངོས་གཞས་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་ཅ་ནང་ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་ཨོ་ ཏ༠༠༠ ।

མཁ་ན་ཐ་ཐ་དུར་ལོ་རྩིས་ལྷིར་ལ་ལ་ཐུབ་ལྷིར་ལ་འདུག ।

ས་སྐྱི་ཏྲམ་ལོ་༡༧་ལྷ་ལྷིར་ལ་འདུག ། དེ་གཉིས་བྱས་འབབ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་ཨོ་ ༡ཅ༠༠༠ ।

མང་གལ་སེང་ལོ་ཅ་བསྟར ། ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་ཨོ་ ཅ༧༠༠༠ ।

ཚ་ལི་ཚགས་བར་ལོ་ཅ་བསྟར ।

གང་གླ་ཞིང་ལོ་༡་བསྡུད།

རྫོན་ཞེན་ལོ་༡༢་བསྡུད།

ཉུ་ཡུ་ཀྱི་ཤྲ་ལོ་༣་བསྡུད། དེ་བཞྱི་དུས་འབས་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ ༣༢८८७ ཙ་ན་ ༢༡/༢ །

ཉུ་ཡུ་ཀྱི་ཤྲ་ཡིས་ཁྲད་བཏབ་ནས། འབས་ཐབེ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ ८८८༡ ཙ་ན་ ༡७ །

བཞྱི་མ་ལྟ་འབས་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ ७༡༡०८ ཙ་ན་ ༡७ ། 5

རྒྱལ་དུས་སྒོང་པ་རེ་ལ་འབས་ངཱ་ཨ་༡ །

རྒྱལ་དུས་སྒོང་པ་རེ་ལ་ཐུབ་མ་སྲང་༡ །

དགུ་ཚག་གི་ཕྱིར། ཕྱི་གྲིང་ནས་(ཅི་ཡིང་ནས་) ཡུལ་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་ཤིང་སྲང་८००་འཁྱོང་བའི་ཐབས །

ནང་ཤེང་ཁར་དང་ལྷམ་ར་སྟོན་དར་(རྩྭ་དར་) འཕྲོག་གཏོས་ནས་ཤིང་ཅོམ་དགོས་འཁྱོང་བའི་ཐབས །

རེ་མིན། ཟ་སྐྱིན་དྲུར་ནས་དགུ་ཁམ་མ་ལེན་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་རོ། 10

ཉུ་ཚྭ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྡུན་འཇོན་ལོ་ཅ་བར་འབས་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ ཧ०००།

ཉུ་ཚྭ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྡུན་འཇོན་ནས་ཐ་སྐྱོ་སྐྱམ་བར་ལོ་ཧ८་ནང་ལོ་ལྷུར་འབས་ . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ ༡८०००།

གྲོང་ཁྱེ་ས་མ་བྱས་ནས། འབས་སོ་མ་སྐྱང་བཅག་བཅས་ལ་ཐོག་ . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ཧ७०००།

རྫོན་ཞེན་བར་གནས་བའི་འབས་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་ཀྱིང་ངས། ཧ། ༡ །

བཞྱི་མ་ལྟ་ཐོག་བའི་འབས་སྐོམ་ . . . . . ཀྱིར་མོ་७༡༡०८། ༡७། ༡ ། 15

ས་ན་༡ཧ་ཨ་ནང་བན་དོ་བསྐྱ་བཅོས་ནས། འབས་རྩར་མ་ཚོད། མཇུག་པ་རྩར་བཅང་ནས་ཁྱེ་དེས།

ས་ན་༡ཧ७७་ནང་ཡང་བན་དོ་བསྐྱ་བཅོས་ནས། འབས་རྩར་མ་ཚོད། མཇུག་པ་རྩར་བཅང་ནས་ཁྱེ་དེས ॥

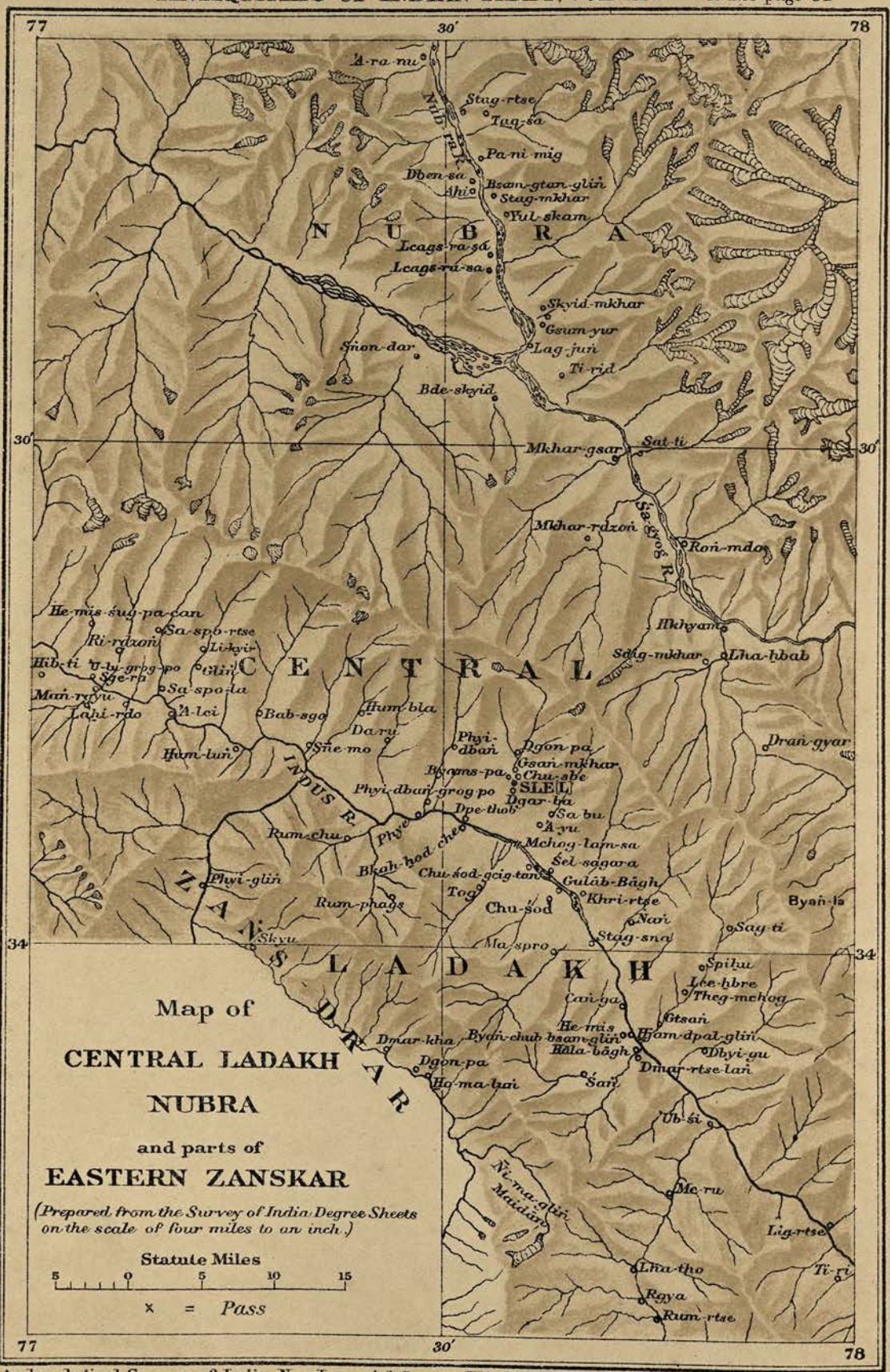
ཐོ་འདི་སྐུན་ཀྱི་དཔལ་རྒྱས་ལ་འདྲིས་ནས། བདག་ཡོ་སེས་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་སྒེས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ ॥

ལ་དྭགས་གཡུང་རྒྱ་ཀྱེ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་འབས་ཐོ།

ས་ན་༡ཧ७७ । འཁྲུངས་ལོ་༡ཧ०ཧ་ནང་ཐོག་པ་འདི་ལྷར་རོ། 20

དབྱལ་ལོ་ལྷར་	ཀྱིར་མོ་७ཧ८८७	ཙ་ན་ ༡ཧ
གྲོ་ལོ་ལྷར་ཀྱི་རིན་	ཧཧ७७	८
ནས་ལོ་ལྷར་ཀྱི་རིན་	७०ཧཧ	८
ཤིང་ལོ་ལྷར་ཀྱི་རིན་	ཧ०००	०
ངང་འཐག་འབས་ལོ་ལྷར་	ཧ७७ཧ	༡ཧ
ར་ལུག་འབས་ལོ་ལྷར་	༡८ཧཧ	०

སྟོན་སྒོམ་ཀྱིར་མོ་ཅ७ཧཧ་ཙ་ན་ ८ ॥ 25


77
30′
78
34
NUBRA
CENTRAL
LADAKH
ZANSKAR
INDUS R.
Phye
Shyok R.
Sa-skyog R.
Map of
CENTRAL LADAKH
NUBRA
and parts of
EASTERN ZANSKAR
(Prepared from the Survey of India Degree Sheets on the scale of four miles to an inch.)
Statute Miles
5 0 5 10 15
× = Pass

LA-DVAGS-RGYAL-RABS

TRANSLATION

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF LA-DVAGS

I. Introductory Verses

(*L* MS.) Adorned with the thousand eyes of knowledge which surveys the three times, p. 19.
Fruits of the merit of tenfold a hundred sacrifices of good deeds,
May the Indra of strength, being addressed, give with his heavenly sword
Answer to the intolerable lightnings strong with flickering desire.

(*S* MS.) Having been made to toss upon the breast of the gazelle-eyed one (Ri-dvags-mig-can, Mṛigākshī), [who is] religion itself,
By the child's iron hook of the wonderfully sweet and all-knowing Gesar,
This clear mirror of religion, reflecting nakedly the images of dancers in combination and separate,
Is made a neck-ornament of Him of the Five Crests (Zur-phud-lṅa-pa, Pañcaśikha, i.e. Mañjuśrī).

NOTES

The three times mentioned in the first verse are past, present, and future. Gesar (Kesar, Kyesar) is a well-known deity of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. A book on history or geography is generally called a mirror.

(*A* MS.) II. Account of the Origin of Tibet

Though, generally speaking, all constituents in themselves are altogether pure beyond the limits of speech, yet, on account of the ripening or not ripening of the succession of souls, the heavens are wholly enveloped in the delusion of subjective illusion, and the world contained therein appears in manifold forms and colours, more than we can grasp with our thoughts. According to the *Mdzod* (*Kośa*):

There were diffused ten millions and one hundred distinct suns and moons,
And the 1,000 millions of gardens of lotuses, each consisting of four continents,
Which are all surrounded by the circular rampart (*cakravāla*).
All these appear as enumerators of Śag-thub's (Buddha's) name.

How in the almsbowl in the hand of the holy Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad (Vairocana), [who is also called] Gaṅs-chen-mtsho-rgyal, this world of three thousand originated, although variously related in the traditions, if we summarize it, following the *Yon-tan-bsdud-pa*: The ether is the receptacle of the air; that (the air) the receptacle p. 20.
of the mass of waters; that (the water) the receptacle of the great earth; that (the

earth) the receptacle of living beings. Such is for living beings the cause of activity. Thus, at the time when in the beginning the ether had remained empty for twenty *kalpas* (fabulous periods), in the period of rest, the moving atmosphere gave support from below; the joyful sphere of the waters collected all together, the sphere of fire [that is] of knowledge and action brought down heat; and the bright sphere of the sky opened the door: the powerful golden earth was levelled out in vast extent. It was spanned by the endless blue dome of the sky. It was pressed down in the middle by Mount Lhun-po (Sumeru), the king of mountains, of unchangeable colour. The four continents, which never transgress their limits, the treasure-houses of the five elements, were planted. They were surveyed by the four queens of the four unchanging seasons and the hours. [Then] the living beings [down to the inhabitants of the] hells came into existence.

At the time when in Hdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambudvīpa) life was 100 × 10,000 years a being was born in hell. At the time of the thus coming into existence of primitive creatures [the world?] had lingered for nineteen periods. An account of the occasion, origin, and measure of them (the creatures) and the four or eight continents will be learned from the *Mṅon-pahi-mdzod* (the *Abhidharma-kośa*). Now the manner how the outer vessel of the world grew upwards from below; the creatures of the inner essence [of the world] sank downwards from above. When the life of the gods of light (Ābhāsvāra) and their authority became less, it is said that there existed a god Nam-kyer-rgyal-po, who was also called Ye-mkhyen-chen-po (Mahājñāna?). His son was the god Srid-ber-chen-po; his son was the god Nam-ber-chen-po; his son was the god Hod-gsal; his son was the god Khar-gsal (Triśūla); his son was the god Char-byed (Rain-maker); his son was the god Bar-lha-bdun-tshigs. His son was called the god Rgyal-srid. To him eight sons were born [as follows]:—

The elder brothers (who were) of the morning were the god Skar-chen (Great Star) and Skar's companion, these two; they descended to Lus-ḥphags-po of the East (Pūrva-Videha, the eastern continent). After them came Hod-chen (Great Light) and Hod's companion, these two; they descended to Sgra-mi-sñan of the North (Uttara-Kuru). After them came Sman-bu (Little Medicine) and Sman's companion, these two; they descended to Ba-glaṅ-spyod of the West (Avara- or Paścima-Godānīya). On the next morning, on the south side of Mount Ri-rab (Sumeru), covered with the light of the blue lapis lazuli (*vaiḍūrya*), there descended the god [G]śed-can (Manu) and [G]śed's companion with joyful hearts praising the town of Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana), where the Li-tsa-tsi (Litsabyi?), including a thousand cakravartins, walk on the road to Nirvāṇa (*muktimārga*), the temple of Rdo-rje-gdan, which is the heart of *Bodhi* (Bodhimaṇḍa), appearing in the shape of a cart, the heart of continents, the place where are born the Sugatas of the three times.

At that time men were endowed with the ten accomplishments: (1) their bodies possessing a light of their own, the names of day and night did not yet exist; (2) the bodies of men being free from illness, their lifetime was exceedingly long; (3) they did not look for the food (4) nor the clothing of this sensual world; (5) they were

free from misery; (6) they possessed miraculous powers and (7) supernatural perception; (8) they were without the very names male and female; (9) without enemies and friends; (10) without accumulation of riches; their state (behaviour) was altogether in the manner of the gods.

At that time a knot formed on the crown of god Gśed-bu's (Gśed-can's) head. When it broke, a white man came out of it. He was (by Manu) made the royal race (Rājanya). From his neck a red man appeared; he was shaped into the Bram-ze (Brahman) race. From his heart a yellow man appeared; he was shaped into the noble race (Kshattriya). From the upper part of his foot a black man appeared; he was shaped into one of the low (Śūdra) race. These were the people of India of that time.

To the younger brother, Gśed's companion, were born Gyiṅ-gi-stiṅ and Gnod-sbyin-gdoṅ-dmar (Red-faced Yaksha). Gyiṅ-gi-stiṅ also had two sons, the elder one being Rluṅ-rje-bam-pa and the younger one Brag-srin. Of Rluṅ-rje-bam's family are the following:—Kha-che (Kashmir); Bal-yul (Nepal); Za-hor (Mandi); 'O-rgyan (Udyāna); Ta-zig (Persia); Khrom-Ge-sar-ḥdaṇ-ma (perhaps Ladakh); Rna-nam (Sna-nam, Samarkand; see Jäschke); Thon-mi-gru-gu (near Kamba-rdzoṅ); Rag-śi (unknown), and the other tribes of Rga. They are the uncles of the four kinds of dwarfs. The younger son Brag-srin had two sons, the elder one being Thar-rje-thon-pa and the younger one the monkey Su-tiṅ. The monkey Su-tiṅ owned the eighteen provinces of Hbog-ḥchol. From him are descended the ninety-two tribes of barbarians (Tibetans). His elder brother Thaṅ(Thar?)-rje-thon-pa had two sons. The name of the elder son was [H]braṅ-mi-skyiṅ-pa, that of the younger one Hbraṅ-rje-yam-dad. From the younger brother are said to be descended the sixty tribes of Khob *mthaḥ-ḥkhob*, barbarians?

Hbraṅ-mi-skyiṅ-pa, the elder brother, had four sons, as follows:—The first is Skyon-pa-thaṅ-rje, the forefather of the people of Smra-Žaṅ-žuṅ (Gu-ge); after him comes Gliṅ-śer-thaṅ-rje, the forefather of the people of Se-ḥa-ża (Lahul?); after him p. 21
comes Riṅ-rjeḥu-ra, the forefather of the Toṅ-gsum-pa tribe. Together with Sku-rje-khrug-pa, the forefather of the Thaṅ-chuṅ-ldoṅ-mo-ñag tribe, they are four. From these four the tribes of men spread far and wide. Sku-rje-khrug-pa had four sons, viz. Sku-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta, Smad-ma-rje, Gur-bu-rtsi, and Khal-rje, these four. Sku-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta had three sons, viz. Rtse-mi, Rje, and Rje-mi, these three. Smad-pa(ma)-rje had five sons, viz. Khra-mo, Rtsogs-mi, Drag-rje, Zas-rje, and Žaṅ-rje-btsan, these five. Gur-bu-rtsi had five sons, viz. Yaṅ-rje, Riṅ-rje, Smon-rje, Ya-ya, and Rtso-dkar-rje. These five belong to the royal race (Rājanya caste). To the caste of ministers belong Ldoṅ-po-che-yoṅs-tu, Ya-chen-ldoṅ, Nam-chen-ldoṅ, and Thog-rgyud-ldoṅ, these four. As regards the race of nobles (Kshattriya), Thog-rgyud-ldoṅ married a woman, and eighteen sons were born. Then the eighteen Ldoṅ-ru-chen, the Ñes-ldoṅ, and more clans than can be grasped with our minds originated.

Speaking generally, in Hdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa) there are five great countries; sixty-two barbarian nations; sixty 'further barbarian [nations]'; the eighteen large

provinces of Hbog-ḥchol; and the twenty-four little and minor kingdoms. These are found in our southern Hdzam-bu-gliṅ. Then, to the south of the chief mountain of the middle (Sumeru), there is the 'tree of life' (Bodhi-tree) of Hdzam-bu-gliṅ and other countries. When the number of the 1,002 Buddhas of this 'Good Kalpa' was in the period of diminishing, there [appeared] at Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) of India, at the heart of Bodhi (Bodhimaṇḍa), the four wheel-turning kings. Let us relate only of the great ones among them. At the time when the wheel-turning kings lived in the belly of Mount Ri-rab (Sumeru), fields and grounds being still in the egg, each Buddha went to do his teaching and accomplished his course. The men of Lha-mi-groṅ-bdun (the seven towns of the divine men) [then] lived in the belly of Mount Mu-khyud-ḥdzin (Nimindhara). They ate nectar and enjoyed the essence [of food]. The people of Me-tog-snubs-gnas were born on the flowers of the wishing-tree, and enjoyed the fruits [of it]. The 'men who drank the essence of nectar' were born on the twigs of the Hdzambu-briksha [tree]; they enjoyed the sap of the Hdzambu-briksha [tree]. The Mi-ḥam-ci (Kinnaras) and three others ate the fruit of the immortal tea-[tree], and drank the *Kha-żag* (foam?) of the ocean. The [so-called] Sdig-btsugs fight against the sword-carrying ogres. Their food is flesh and blood. The children of the Skyes-drug are born in the heat of five summers, and die in winter. The Mgo-gñan have heads of various animals, eat grass, and live in the lakes of the small continents (islands).

As regards the four places of birth:—Hdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambudvīpa) of the South was born from the womb; Lus-ḥphags-po of the East (Pūrva-Videha) was born out of moisture; Ba-laṅ-spyod (Paścima-Godānīya) of the West was born out of an egg; and Sgra-mi-sñan of the North (Uttara-Kuru) was born spontaneously. There are four kinds of 'dwarfs of the frontier', viz. Gam-śaṅ-Rgya, Gyim-śaṅ-Hor, Ha-le-Mon, and Spu-rgyal-Bod, these four. There were also four kinds of inner dwarfs, viz. Smra-Żaṅ-żuṅ, Gtoṅ-gsum-pa, Ldoṅ-me-ñag, and Se-ḥa-ża, these four. As regards the four kinds of separated dwarfs:—one kind was separated from the hyena tribe (?); one kind was separated from the monkey tribe (?); one kind was separated from the lizard-brahman tribe (?); one kind was separated from the hoof-tribe (?). These and many more [creatures] came into existence, more than can be grasped with our minds. Besides these arose the twenty-four kingdoms, and many more which in course of time became separated from their kind.

At that time the essence of nectar, of reddish-yellowish colour and of a honey-like taste, came into existence. The god Gśed-bu (Manu) tasted it, and, having enjoyed its sweet taste, again and again coveted it. Thereupon all men followed his [example], and, they having licked it, their bodies became firm and obtained weight and other attributes; the light of their bodies deteriorated; they could no more go up to the heavens; and, when it became dark and they were distressed, then by virtue of the religious merit of the community, in the lifetime of Gśed-can (Manu), the light of the day, the fiery mirror of the sun, appeared. At the same time, during the lifetime of Gśed's (Manu's) helpmate, the light of the night, the watery mirror of the moon, appeared. During the lifetime of Gśed-bu (Manu) the Milky Way appeared. At that

time those who ate much became of ugly complexion; and those who ate little of fine complexion. 'I have a fine complexion; you have an ugly complexion!', they thus saying, the sin of pride began: this was its beginning. When they suffered the p. 22
effects of their pride, all those who had sucked of the essence of the earth assembled and lamented. Then, through the combined [religious] works of the beings, there appeared on the surface of the great earth a garden of cane, of taste like uncooked honey, and of colour like that of the Kadamsuka (Kadambaka?) flower. That also they ate, and enjoyed it, and, as they despised [one another] as before, that also disappeared. Then, as all men assembled and lamented, through Buddha's compassion and their combined [religious] merit, there came into existence the garden of Sālu rice, which grew without ploughing, and was without husk and straw. If it was mown in the morning, it grew again in the morning; if it was mown in the evening, it grew again in the evening. Every ear of rice contained four Magadha *bre* (of 2–4 pints each) [of grain]. Every grain was [of the size] of four fingers. As during a long period they lived in enjoyment of this, this food being coarser than it had been before, urine, mucus of the nose, dung, etc., came into existence. The male and female genitals appeared. Looking at one another amorously with side-glances, they fell to embracing. The other creatures, seeing this, said 'There one creature is embracing another creature!'; and, throwing stones and gravel so as not to see it, they built miraculous little houses. This is the beginning of house-building.

[These being further divided into the royal families (Rājanya), which were the rulers of gods and men, there are 360 [divisions]. If we combine them and divide them into two sections, they [consist of] the pure Buddha rulers and the impure creature rulers. The Buddha rulers by act and speech accomplish the welfare of the creatures. The creature rulers, being divided into five sections, are the [three] Spyi-phud (universal?) potentates of the 3,000 [worlds], together with the king of the six kinds [of beings], and the king of Ḥdzam-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa), making five. Then the king over the 3,000 [worlds] of suffering beings is Śākya-thub-pa (Śākya-muni Buddha); Tshaṅs-pa (Brāhma) is the king over 1,000 Spyi-phud (Universal Monarch?). There are also the four Great Kings, the protectors of the [four cardinal] points; the king over the six kinds [of beings] is Gśin-rje-chos-rgyal (Yama Dharmarāja), the kings of Ḥdzam-gliṅ are the royal family of Maṅ-bkur (Mahāsammata); the 'wheel-turning kings', Spyi-bo-skyes (Mūrdhaja) and the others, who controlled the golden, silver, copper, and iron [wheels]. When, in the south of the 'mount of the middle', Ri-rab (Sumeru), where is the tree of life, in Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) of India, the heart of Bodhi (Bodhimaṇḍa), the 1,002 Buddhas of the good Kalpa were in the period of decline, the wheel-turning kings appeared. Let us mention only the great ones among them. Although by the church histories (*chos-ḥbyuṅ*) of the wise, as well as the great and little genealogies, there are said to be 360 royal families, they may be grouped under two heads, kings become exalted beyond this world, and kings not so exalted. Those exalted beyond this world, having, while ruling over a tranquil world-element, obtained power over transmigration, have been

exalted beyond the spheres of this world; they are such as Śākya-thub-pa (Buddha). The kings not exalted beyond this world are of five kinds, viz. the kings of the physical elements, the kings of noble extraction, the elected kings, the . . . , and Spu-rgyal, the King of Tibet, those five. The five kings of the physical elements are the king of the mountains, the king of the trees, the king of the waters, the king of fire, and the king of the air, these five. The first among them is the king of the mountains, viz. Mount Ri-rab-lhun-po (Sumeru), which is furnished with five jewels. It measures 160,000 *yojanas* from top to bottom. On the summit is the palace of the gods; in the middle that of the divine ogres; below that of the king of the dead. On the [four] sides are the residences of the four great kings [of the cardinal points]. It is the king of the mountains who causes the planets and the lunar mansions to travel round [the sky]. The king of the trees is the wishing-tree (Dpag-bsam-śiṅ, Kalpavṛikṣa): therefrom the gods, enjoying happiness and bliss, receive all their food and clothing: that is the king of trees. The king of waters is the great ocean: whoso drinks of it, his stomach and throat are free from harm. It is the residence of the Nāga kings and the place from which all the precious jewels proceed: that is the king of waters. The king of fire is the conflagration flame of the universe. When it bursts out, it consumes everything short of the two contemplations. Burning below, supporting the realm of hell, the golden earth, the spheres of water and air, capable of destroying Mount Ri-rab-lhun-po, is the king of fire. The king of the air is the wind, who does good works in three thousand ways. It fills the creatures with strength. It dwells in this world-
p. 23 sphere, and its height is 1,600,000 *yojanas*. Its width is beyond measure. It is through the strength of the wind that the sphere of water also does not sink down and does not move sideways. This is the king of the air. Secondly, there are two kings of noble birth, viz. the king of the non-men (Mi-ma-yin, Amānusha) and the king of men. There are five kinds of non-men, viz., the gods (*deva*), demons (*asuras*), animals, inhabitants of the hells (*nāraka*), spirits (*preta*), these five. The first of them is the ruler of the gods, Brgya-byin (Śatakratu, Indra): he is superior to all the others and possesses 1,000 eyes: he is of immeasurable strength and miraculous power. He protects the four lesser powers (Upendra), the four Great Kings, captains of the host of Nāgas in the ocean. Such is the king of the gods. The second is the king of the demons (*asuras*), King Thag-bzaṅ-ris (Vemacitra). Arraying his body with the armour of the four jewels . . . Such is the king of the demons].

After a council had been held by them all, they said: 'Now we must elect from among us a "lord of the fields", a man who is able to distinguish between good and bad, a man of great diligence and courage, a man kind towards all men, and great in merit generally, who is wise in all works as well as in speech, who is clever in administering judgment (lit. measuring)!' All the field-owners offered him tribute, and, as he received honour from the whole assembly of men, he obtained the name of Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba (Mahāsammata), and all creatures lived in happiness. Then, from the *Mdzod* (*Kośa*):

When the lazy people had heaped up store,
The greedy ones did violence to the lord of the fields;
And seized, ungiven, the fields and the rice,
Then he who gave protection against these,

being occupied in defending the royal race and the nobles and the religious people and caring for morality and wisdom, was called 'king', and his name was 'King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba'. From about this time men became divided into four or five castes. Or, according to the *Ḥkhor-lo-sna-bdun* ('Seven Cycles'), 'in the beginning all these became differentiated into four or five classes of workmen through the variety of their work and duties.' Those creatures who fulfilled the ten virtues and who loved bathing and cleanliness became the caste of Bram-ze (Brāhmans). Those who lived according to the ten virtues, who knew shame, and who were of great wisdom and great courage, were called nobles (Kshattriya) Those whose behaviour was intermixed with the ten sins, who felt little shame, and who did not shrink from sin and the telling of lies, were called Dmaṅ-rigs (Vaiśya?, Śūdra). Those who had even less modesty and shame, who were endowed with the ten sins, who were highly despised in this world, and who are [always] in conflict with holy conduct, are called the low caste of Chaṇḍālas. This is the beginning of the different castes of men.

King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba's son was Ḥod-mdzes (Roca): during his life the plants and the stars appeared. His son was Dge-ba (Kalyāṇa): during his life the Mars light appeared. His son was Dge-mchog (Varakalyāṇa): during his life beautiful sounds (music?) and echo came into existence. In his time the lifetime of men was 90,000 years. His son was Gso-sbyoṅ-ḫphags (Utposhadha): during his reign the voice of the thunder came into existence. These five kings are called 'the five kings of the first *kalpa*'. According to a prophecy regarding the birth of the wheel-turning kings, as sons of Gso-[sbyoṅ]-ḫphags (Utposhadha), a swelling formed on the crown of [the king's] head. When it broke, out came a boy of good shape, beautiful, handsome to look at, kind to all creatures, possessing the auspicious marks. As he was born from the crown of his father, he was called 'Crown-born' (Spyi-bo-skyes, Mūrdhaja = Māndhātṛ). This king was in possession of the seven jewels. The seven jewels are the jewel chariot; the jewel stone; the jewel wife; the jewel minister; the jewel elephant; the jewel horse; and the jewel general, these seven jewels. According to others he had a jewel householder instead of a jewel general. Having enjoyed the sovereignty and the seven jewels in Ḥdzam-bu-gliṅ during 80,000 years p. 24
and having brought down from heaven a rain of food and clothing, being admonished by the Yaksha Lha-śes (Divaukasa?), he turned (led?) the jewel wheel, and he went to Heaven, accompanied by his host of wives, and reigned among the four Great Kings of the east, [south], west, and north. As even so he was tormented by desire, in his misery he became evilly inclined even towards Brgya-byin (Indra), and his [religious] merit being exhausted, in the same body he descended to the earth, and he died. This king knew all the creatures by their names (named them?),

and he introduced the handicrafts and many kinds of work. In his time the life of men was 80,000 years. From a swelling on Spyi-bo-skyes' (Mūrdhaja's) right shoulder a boy was born. He was called Mdzes-pa (Cāru). He turned the golden wheel and reigned over the four continents. From a swelling on Mdzes-pa's left shoulder a boy was born. He was called Ñe-mdzes (Upacāru); he turned the silver wheel and reigned over three continents. From a swelling formed on Ñe-mdzes' right thigh a boy was born. He was called Mdzes-can (Cārumant): he turned the copper wheel and reigned over two continents. From a swelling formed on Mdzes-can's left thigh a boy was born. He received the name Mdzes-ldan (Cāruka): he turned the iron wheel and reigned over one continent. In his time a life was 70,000 years. These kings are called the five wheel-turning kings.

Mdzes-ldan's son was Rgyal-byed (Jaya?); his son was Mdzes-dgaḥ (Cārunanda?); his son was Mi-sred-pa (Aruci?); his son was Btaṅ-bzuṅ (Mucilinda). During his reign a life was 60,000 years, and the propitious measures of time originated then. During King Btaṅ-bzuṅ's reign Buddha Hkhor-ba-ḥjig (Krakucchanda) came to teach. Btaṅ-bzuṅ's son was Lus-stobs-gser-thub. 9,000 generations after him, during the reign of King Rgyal-byed-chen-po (Mahājaya), Buddha Gtsug-tor-can (Śikhin) came to teach. Then, 1,000,200 generations after him, a king called Me-sde-ldan appeared. The 100,000 royal families which originated from his eight sons and grandsons reigned over many various kingdoms. During their time a life was 40,000 years. Buddha Thams-cad-skyobs (Viśvabhū) came to teach. 7,000 generations after them a king called Bzod-pa-bkaḥ (Durdharṣa?) appeared. During his reign a life was 30,000 years. Buddha Log-par-dad-sel (?) came to teach. He preached the *Chos-spyod-rgyud* (*Dharma-caryā-tantra?*). 160,000 generations after him King Glaṅ-chen-spyi appeared. During his time a life was 20,000 years. At the same time the perfect Buddha Gser-thub (Kanakamuni) came. 150,000 generations after him a king called Kri-kri (Kṛkin?) appeared. A life attained 15,000 years. Buddha Hod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) came to teach. He preached the *Chos-rnal-ḥbyor-rgyud* (*Dharma-yoga-tantra*). Kri-kri's son was Legs-skyoṅ (Surakṣita = Sujāta?). 100 generations after him, at Gru-ḥdzin (Potala), a king called Rna-ba-can (Karṇika) appeared.

NOTES ON THIS CHAPTER

We find the same or similar subjects treated in the first chapter of Ssanang Ssetsen, in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (pp. 1–17), and in several Indian books which are not at my disposal. The mythological names given in *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* often differ from those given here. On the whole the above account is a compilation from several Indian works. But occasionally Tibetan ideas are introduced. Thus, the first dynasty of gods, beginning with Nam-kyer-rgyal-po (in the time of Hod-gsal), is probably of Bon-po origin. Nam-kyer-rgyal-po was, in my opinion, later on identified with Indra (Śatakratu, Brgya-byin). Thus, in the Kesar-saga, Skyer-rdzoṅ-sñan-po (probably the same as Nam-kyer-rgyal-po) and Brgya-byin are identical. From the *Gzer-mig* (a Bon-po work) we learn that also *Ye-mkhyen*, *Hod-gsal*, and *Sman* are names of Bon-po deities. Then the table of nations seems for the greater part to be of Tibetan origin. It is not yet possible, however, to identify all the nations mentioned in it. As regards (Se)-ha-ża (pronounced Ghaża), which is supposed to be the same as Gar-ża, Lahul, it is the natives of Lahul themselves who claim this name as referring to their country. In a seventeenth century document the name of the country is spelled Gva-ja. Khrom-Ge-sar-ḥdan-ma may refer to an ancient line of kings of Leh. In a rather modern inscription from Dpe-thub Ladakh is called Ge-sar-

gdan. Before the arrival of King Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon, in the tenth century, it is said that 'Upper Ladakh was held by the descendants of Gesar'. Of particular interest is the present new version of the tale of the monkey descent of the Tibetans (barbarians). Here they are stated to be descended from a monkey Su-tiṅ. As stated by Jäschke in his dictionary, the Tibetans themselves assert that the designation Mthaḥ-ḥkhob-pa, 'barbarians,' refers to their own nation. Regarding the three names of Manu, I suppose that one of them, Gśed-can, denotes a 'father Manu', Gśed a 'mother Manu', and Gśed-bu a 'son Manu'. But the text is not at all clear in the passages referring to them. In the table of nations the name Gliṅ-śer-thaṅ-rje was given as the name of the forefather of the people of Ḥa-ẓa (Lahul). Now it is interesting that in the Lahul village of Pyu-dkar there is still to be found a grove of old trees which is sacred to Taṅ-jar. Taṅ-jar is evidently the Bunan pronunciation of Thaṅ-rje.

'Dwarf' seems to be the designation of the non-Tibetan tribes. There are 'dwarfs of the frontier', whose countries are marked by the last syllables of their names, as follows: Gam-śaṅ-Rgya may be the Chinese; Gyim-śaṅ-Hor, the Turkomans; Ha-le-Mon, the Indians; Spu-rgyal-Bod, the people speaking Kanāwarī and similar languages (near Mount Pu-rgyul).

The inner dwarfs seem to be speakers of foreign languages within Tibet. Smra-Žaṅ-žuṅ are the inhabitants of Guge, who according to other accounts formerly spoke a non-Tibetan language. The Gtoṅ-gsum-pa I cannot explain; the Ldoṅ-me-ñag are a non-Tibetan tribe in the south-east, perhaps related to the Shans. The Se-ḥa-ẓa are apparently the Lahulīs, who still speak languages of their own.

[The account of the seven Buddhas is confused. The first, Ḥkhor-ba-ḥjig (Krakuechanda), is clearly an error for Rnam-gzigs (Vipaśyin), while Log-par-dad-sel below seems to be another rendering of Krakucehanda. The kings Rgyal-byed, Mdzes-dgaḥ, Lus-stobs-gser-thub, Me-sde-ldan, Bzod-pa-bkaḥ(dkaḥ) and Glaṅ-chen-spyi are not identified, and the name of the third seems to contain the equivalent of Kanakamuni.—F. W. T.]

III. The Genealogy of the Śākyas

(*S* MS.) (*Verse*) Drawn on by the tambour-string of the melodious voice which pronounces blessing, the Age of Bliss (*Bhadrakalpa* = Church), ambrosia of supreme wisdom, 'basket' which is the source of unfailing knowledge, with the secret treasure of the heart, that superlative Wishing-Jewel, made into a fair Śrīvatsa ornament: its great originator with his Ten Powers, manifested on high like the full moon with its moon-gem halo in the midst of the thousand stars, whose glory, celebrated by the Queen of Holy Speech as a white lotus by reason of the spotless strength of the verification, perfect in power, of his vow with its might-attended wave, beats against the boundary walls of the Three Existences, that victorious one of Ikshvāku's race: the jewel of His teaching, being the capital sum of good and wholesome, acquired by the merchandise of the countless good deeds of the world, including the gods—

The author, increaser, and upward developer thereof depending upon a great p. 25
king ruling the area of the wide earth, our teacher (Buddha) looked out for a clan, a country, a time, a family, and a woman, these five, and allowed himself to be born as Zas-gtsaṅ's (Śuddhodana's) son. Let us first relate a little of his family.

When the people of Āryāvarta, though they had passed from the undying state, had a life of immeasurable length, with abundant [gratification] of their nine desires, and had power over infinite accomplishments, they enjoyed ambrosia not dependent upon the force of exertion, the sap of the earth, the fertility of the ground, gardens of sugar-cane, and abundance of rice, which gave crops without ploughing.

Then the accomplishments which belonged to [the state] of the gods became changed; the crops which grew without ploughing disappeared entirely, [the

harvest] depended on work. When pains had to be taken over agriculture, there arose mutual quarrelling and fault-finding, and King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba (Mahāsammata), was first so named because he decided judgment in a just way, and before him all bowed in reverence.

Then [there reigned] successively: Ḥod-mdzes (Roca); Dge-ba (Kalyāṇa); Dge-mchog (Varakalyāṇa); and Gso-sbyoṅ-ḫphags (Utposhadha). These five are called the group of Early Kings. The [five] sons of Gso-sbyoṅ-ḫphags, the wheel-turning kings, were, according to a presage, born in this way: on the crown of [Gso-sbyoṅ-ḫphags'] head there formed a swelling, and, when it broke, therefrom issued Ṅa-la-[las]-nu (Māndhātṛ); from a swelling which arose on his [Ṅa-la-las-nu's] right thigh issued Mdzes-pa (Cāru); from a swelling on his [Mdzes-pa's] left thigh issued Ñe-mdzes (Upacāru); from a swelling on his [Ñe-mdzes'] right foot issued Mdzes-ldan (Cārumant); and from a swelling on his [Mdzes-ldan's] left foot issued Ñe-mdzes-ldan (Upacārumant). These five are called the five 'kings who turned the wheel [of religion]'.

The last four reigned over from four to one continents. They are the kings who turned the gold, silver, copper, and iron wheels [of religion]. From these kings down to Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana), it is said, there descended 1,215,114 kings in succession, or 834,534 according to the [book] *Ḥjigs-rten-gdags-pa* (*Loka-prajñapti*)[1]. These two [different] ways of stating [the number] not having been clearly shown by the authors dependent upon Gẓon-nu-dpal, crest-jewel of all those who relate the annals of the Iron Age, afterwards also must be considered by the learned who desire to investigate the annals.

To continue: to the family of that same teacher (Buddha) belong the names Ñi-maḫi-gñen (Sūryavaṃśa) and Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (Ikshvāku), and it is called Śākya. After one hundred generations there arose King Rna-ba-can (Karṇika) in the country of Gru-ḫdzin (Potala). He had two sons, Goḫutama and Bharadhvadza. When Goḫutama, the elder son, saw that government was carried on in a mixed way, religious and irreligious, he thought: 'It will be like that also when I undertake the government.' Then he was sorry, and became an ascetic under the Ṛishi Mdog-nag (Kṛishṇavarṇa, 'Black-colour'). The younger one, Bharadhvadza, reigned. In his time there lived in that country a harlot called Ḥgro-ba-bzaṅ-mo (Jagad-bhadrā). She and a cunning youth called Pa-dmaḫi-rtsa-log (Mṛiṇāla) indulged in sensual pleasure. As she had also immoral intercourse at the same time with another [man, a] merchant, Pa-dmaḫi-rtsa-log became angry and cut off Bzaṅ-mo's head: then he placed the bloodstained sword and Bzaṅ-mo's head at the door of Goḫutama's cavern. The executioners who pursued, as there was a bloodstained sword and the head of Bzaṅ-mo there, inflicted on Goḫutama the punishment for that [crime], and he was impaled. The Ṛishi Mdog-nag knew all this by intuition, and went to Goḫutama and said: 'My son, what have you done, that you must suffer this?' Goḫutama answered: 'Master, there is no fault in me! By the truth of my word that there is no fault in me may the

[1] [For an analysis of this book see Professor de la Vallée Poussin's *Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra (Abhidharma-koça, c. III)*, London 1914–18.—F. W. T.]

teacher's [black] face become like gold!' At once the black-coloured Ṛishi became golden, and was henceforth called hermit Gser-mdog-can (golden face, Kanakavarṇa).

Then the Ṛishi saw that Goḥutama's line of religious kings (Dharmarājas) would become extinct, and said to Goḥutama: 'For the sake of posterity you must leave a seed.' Goḥutama answered: 'As I am tormented with misery, I cannot beget a family!' Then the teacher produced a pleasant coolness by overshadowing clouds, and Goḥuutama, experiencing a feeling of pleasure, produced two drops of semen virile p. 26. mixed with blood. They were placed on two leaves of sugar-cane (Bu-ram-śiṅ, Ikshvāku) and ripened through the heat of the sun and the moisture of the moon, and two boys were produced. They received the names of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (Ikshvāku) and Ñi-maḥi-gñen (Sūryavaṃśa).

Ñi-maḥi-gñen became an ascetic, and Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa reigned. The descendants of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa became famous, and increased.

One hundred generations after him there arose King Ḥphags-skyes-po (Virūḍhaka). He had by his elder spouse four sons, and by the younger one four daughters. At a later (another) time, both wives having died, he married the daughter of a foreign king, who said, 'The sons whom you already have must not reign. If my daughter should have a son, he must reign!' As he had said this, the ministers consulted together, 'We do not know if his daughter will have a son or not. If a son should be born, we do not know if he will live or not. If he should live, we must place him on the throne.' As the result of this consultation he married the princess.

She bore him a son, whom they called Rgyal-srid-dgaḥ (Rāshṭrananda?). At that time the ministers thought as follows:—'If we place the elder brothers on the throne, we go beyond our former promise; if the throne falls to Rgyal-srid-dgaḥ, we have to take heed to the elder brothers. Accordingly, we must turn out the elder brothers by some device!' Thus thinking, a crafty one from among the ministers pronounced some calumny and banished them.

Leading their sisters, they went to the banks of the river Bskal-ldan-śiṅ-rta (Bhāgīrathī), built a hut in the forest, not very distant from the place of the Ṛishi Gser-skya (Kapila), and lived there. When they had attained to adolescence, they became pale and thin, and, when the hermit saw this, he asked them about it. They said, 'We have become like this, because we are tortured by passion.' He said, 'Even if it is so, you must avoid the sister with whom you have both parents in common, but amuse yourself with the sister whose mother is in truth the sister of your own mother.' They asked him, 'Great Ṛishi, is it right to do this?' He answered, 'For royalty which has renounced the throne it is right to do this!' They said, 'The words of the hermit are authoritative,' and did accordingly. Many boys and girls were born, and, when their father heard of it, he said, 'Could the young people do such a thing?', or in Indian language: 'Śākya (i.e. *śakyaṃ* "possible?": or "capable"?).' This is the origin of the Śākyas.

55,000 generations of them lived at Groṅ-khyer-gser-skya (Kapilavastu). Then King Śiṅ-rta-bcu-pa (Daśaratha) arose. At the end of twenty-five generations after him there arose a king called Gźu-brtan (Dhanvadurga?). He had two sons Seṅ-ge-ḫgram (Siṁhahanu) and Seṅ-ge-sgra (Siṁhanāda). Seṅ-ge-ḫgram became famous as a skilful archer: he was the greatest of all archers of Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa). Seṅ-ge-ḫgram had four sons: Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana); Zas-dkar (Śuklodana); Bre-bo-zas (Droṇodana); and Bdud-rtsi-zas (Amṛitodana).

Zas-gtsaṅ was of good form, beautiful, handsome to look at, of great strength, a hero, steadfast, clever, conspicuous for wisdom, cheerful, and of great courage. He did not follow those who were lazy and of evil ways. He was a Righteous King (*Chos-rgyal, Dharmarāja*), full of religion, able to reign according to religion.

This king married the two daughters of King Legs-par-rab(s)-bsad (Suprabuddha), Sgyu-ḫphrul-ma (Māyā), and Sgyu-ḫphrul-chen-mo (Mahāmāyā), each with 500 maid-servants. At a later time King Seṅ-ge-ḫgram died, and Zas-gtsaṅ reigned. At that time all men increased in riches, free from disease of man and beast, and possessed of complete felicity; and he protected them all like children.

At that time the holy son of the gods, Tog-dkar-po (Śvetaketu), looked out for the race, the country, the time, the lineage, and the mother, and entered the womb of King Zas-gtsaṅ's wife, Sgyu-ḫphrul-chen-mo (Mahāmāyā). After he had remained there for twelve months, on the eighth day of the little spring month, under the constellation Tishya, he was born from the right arm-pit of his mother, without being defiled by the impurity of the womb. He was possessed of the thirty-two marks of a great man, and adorned with the eighty physical perfections.

p. 27. On that occasion various auspicious miracles happened:—In four great countries four princes were born; in Magadha Gzugs-can-sñiṅ-po (Bimbisāra), the son of Padma-chen-po (Mahāpadma); in Kosala Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit), the son of Tshaṅs-sbyin (Brahmadatta); at Bad-pa-la (Kauśāmbī) Śar-ba (Udayana), the son of Dmag-brgya-pa (Śatānīka); at Ḫphags-rgyal (Ujjayinī) Gtum-po-rab-snaṅ (Caṇḍa-Pradyota), the son of Mu-khyud-mthaḫ-yas (Anantanemi). And, besides them, 500 [sons] of the upper classes. Including Grags-ḫdzin-ma (Yaśodharā), 800 girls and 500 servants, beginning with Mdun-pa (Chandaka), 10,000 male and 10,000 female foals, and 10,000 elephants were born; 500 pleasure-gardens and 500 treasures came into existence. In the centre (Gayā) the Bodhi-tree [began to] grow.

The son received the name of Don-thams-cad-grub-pa (Sarvārthasiddha). Then the prince grew up, and distinguished himself in the five great branches of science, reading (letters), arithmetic, etc. As regards strength and dexterity, he was superior to Lha-sbyin (Devadatta) and all other illustrious men, and was called Thub-pa (Jina). Then the son was asked to marry a lady, and the youth replied:—

'The aim of desire is known to me as limitless;
Causing strife and quarrel, it is the root of sorrow and suffering;
It is terrible, like the poison leaf;
It is like fire verily, and like the edge of the sword.'

In this way he enumerated many faults of household life, and added, 'But, if there is a girl like this, I will take her.' Thus saying, he wrote down in a letter the qualities of a woman, gave it [to the king], and the king had seven copies published, and issued the following directions :—

'Whoso among the daughters of kings and brahmans,
Of the nobility and of citizens likewise,
Has these qualities,
That girl must be found!
My son will take
That caste and family.
In such a virtuous vessel of qualities and goodness
His heart will rejoice!'

Such a letter he gave to a Brahman with respectful greetings; and the Brahman went to all countries to search for a bride. In course of time he beheld Sa-tsho-ma (Gopā). She smiled [saying], 'All these qualities I have!' He reported to the king, and the king said, 'That woman is a great liar, and I do not believe it! Assemble all the girls [here] within seven days! Let the youth give them presents, all they want to have!' Thus he said, and all the girls came. When the giving of presents was almost finished, Sa-tsho-ma arrived, and smiled. She asked, 'What have I done amiss that I am left among them all without presents?' The youth also smiled, and gave [her] a ring of the value of 100,000 ounces. The youth married Sa-tsho-ma.

Further, he married 104,000 ladies, including Grags-ḥdzin-ma. When he was 29 years old, Grags-ḥdzin-ma became with child. In that very same year he saw the unbearable misery of birth, old age, [illness], and death, and became a monk. p. 28.
Then, when he was 35 years old, on the 15th of the month Sa-ga (Vaiśākha), he subdued the devil (Māra). On the morning (or next morning) of the same day and year he became a perfect Saṅs-rgyas (Buddha). Exactly on the same evening a boy was born to Grags-ḥdzin-ma; and, as the moon was just then seized by Sgra-gcan (Rāhu, 'eclipse'), the boy received the name of Sgra-gcan-ḥdzin (Rāhula). At that time King Zas-gtsaṅ said, 'It is six years since Śākya-thub-pa became a mendicant. This son of Grags-ḥdzin-ma is not a son of Śākya-thub-pa.' Thus saying, he accused Grags-ḥdzin-ma, and she wept. Then he placed the boy on a stone and cast him into a pond, saying, 'If he is Śākya-thub-pa's son, may the stone float on the surface of the water! If he is not Śākya-thub-pa's son, may it sink!' The stone remained above the surface of the pond, like a leaf of a tree. When King Zas-gtsaṅ saw this, he entered the water with his clothes on, took the boy on his lap, and lovingly caressed him. He also became a monk, and came to an end of transitory life.

Altogether, from Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba to Sgra-gcan-ḥdzin, there are 1,066,511 kings, or, Bcom-ldan-ḥdas (Buddha) and Sgra-gcan-ḥdzin included, 1,066,513.

NOTES

Schlagintweit mentions the following books as treating of the same or similar subjects:—Csoma, 'On the Origin of the Śākya Race,' JASB., vol. ii; Csoma, 'Notices on the Life of Śākya,' *As. Res.*, vol. xx; Fausböll und Weber, 'Die Pāli-Legende von der Entstehung des Śākya und Koliya-Geschlechtes,' *Ind. Stud.*, Bd. v; Foucaux, *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*); Schiefner, 'Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Śākyamuni's,' Mém. des sav. étrang. de Pétersbourg, vol. vi; Schiefner, 'Über die Verschlechterungsperioden der Menschheit,' Bull. hist. phil. der Petersburger Akademie, Bd. ix; Turnour, *The Mahāvaṁso.*

This list might of course be amplified at the present day: see Rockhill's *Life of Buddha.* As regards the *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*), it is of particular interest that the song containing the invitation to all the girls to attend a festival was directly copied from this book. In Csoma's Tibetan grammar, pp. 159–60, the Tibetan text and an English translation of this song are both given. The text of lines 5 and 6 is somewhat different in the two versions. But I find it impossible to decide which of the two versions has to be given the preference. In Csoma's translation after the *Lalitavistara* the song reads as follows: 'Bring hither that maiden, who has the required qualities, whether she be of the royal tribe, or of the Brahman caste, of the gentry, or of the plebeian class. My son regardeth not tribe nor family extraction: his delight is in good qualities, truth, and virtue alone.' Let me add that just above this little song we find in Csoma's grammar the Tibetan text, and an English translation, of Gautama's letter, containing his description of a girl as she ought to be. This also is taken from the Tibetan *Lalitavistara.*

It is interesting that the name Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (*Ikṣvāku*) is found in many stone inscriptions of Ladakh. There the kings of Ladakh are asserted to be of his family (see my first and second *Collections of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 65, 71, 79, 117). Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana) is called an ancestor of the Ladakh kings in inscriptions Nos. 38 and 64. The name Mdzes-ldan (Cārumant) is used as an epithet of the Ladakhi king Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. See my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet', *Ind. Ant.*, 1909. According to a statement in the following chapter, king Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit—the common Tibetan translation seems, however, to represent Prakāśajit—F. W. T.) was the father of Gña-khri-btsan-po, the first king of Tibet.

As I learn from two hitherto unpublished inscriptions from Lahul, two chieftains of Lahul, one from Ko-loṅ, the other one from Bar-bog, are also stated to be of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's family.

IV. The Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to Glaṅ-dar-ma

(*S* MS.) The head of the line (lit. lineal king) is Spu-rgyal, the king of Tibet. There are many various accounts of this. Although there are [books called] *Rgyal-spun-po-gsum-khug-blon-poḥi-rgyal-mtshan*, the *Gsaṅ-ba* or *Ḥbru-bdus*, and many others, yet, if we compare (collect) them, two things are well said:

'Well known is the lineage of the gods according to Bon-po ideas;
Mysterious remains the lineage of men according to Buddhist ideas.'

Now, relating according to those texts only, at the navel of our southern Ḥdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa), the centre of the countries, the roof of the earth, the curved horn of the snow mountains, the foundation of that crystal *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*), the icy Ti-se (Kailāsa), the rim of the turquoise circle of Lake Ma-baṅ (Manasarowar), the mother-land of jewels and gold, the source of the four great rivers, the six divisions of Tibet,—in this country of high mountains and pure works; we will relate of all this according to [the book] *Daṅ-po-dbaṅ-byed-rim-paḥi-dgu-byuṅ.*

At the time when Tibet was troubled by the twelve little kings the King of Kosala, Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit), who was of Bcom-ldan-ḥdas' (Buddha's) family, had five sons. The third (middle one) of them, called Buddha-śiri, was born with his eyes covered from above like those of birds, the [fingers and toes] of his hands and feet were connected like those of ducks, and his eyebrows were [blue] like turquoises.

Along with him a host of devils were born. He was shown to Brahman sign-interpreters, and the Brahmans said, 'This prince has splendid marks, and the size of his body will be very great; he will reign before his father is dead.' When they thus prophesied, the father, thinking in his mind, 'He will reign by killing either me or his brothers,' was minded to cast him away. The Brahmans answered, 'If we send him to the snowy northern regions, he will be of benefit to living beings!' As they prophesied thus, they made a throne on the necks of four fast-running men, who carried him across the northern mountains and wilds, and laid him down on the [mountain?] Lha-ri-gyed-mtho, in the middle of Tibet. Although there are many conflicting statements with regard to this [event], he is certainly a Śākya of Goḥutama and Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba's family. Some hunters saw him and asked, 'Who are you? Tell us, Btsan-po (Majesty), whence you came.' As he did not understand their language, he pointed with his finger to the sky. The hunters told and confirmed this to the people, and many people went there and were shown [the boy]. When the twelve little kings saw that he was good and of great brilliance and pleasing, they said, 'We have no overlord; we must invite him to be our little drum!' p. 29. (*L* MS.: little lord). Thus saying, Btsan-khruṅ and Snums, both, Gña-ra-rtse and Gtso, both, and the two Khu-stegs, these six families of subjects invited him. Ra-saṅs-dar-pa and Khyuṅ-po became governors. Śes-gñen of Me-ñag was elected minister. Thus he was appointed king of all 'black-heads' [Tibetan expression for men]. The name of Gña-khri (Neck-throne) was given him. 'Great Gña-khri-btsan-po!' thus he was addressed. The lands Yar-luṅ and so forth were his precious and excellent diadem, and he resided at the castle Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse. Power and justice were his ornaments. He ruled the world according to religion, and his realm was in a happy state. He had a fourfold bodyguard. The outside foes were subdued by the forty-four governors of Rgod-ldod (or Rgod-ldoṅ). The inner administration was regulated by the forty-four governors of Gyur-ldod (or Gyur-ldoṅ). At the four extremities of his kingdom he appointed spies (or scouts). The enemies of the four extremities were subdued by the eight Khrom-kha (*L* MS.: Khrom-khra) (governors). At Roṅ-do twenty-two officials [called] Kha-ba-so (*L* MS.: Khab-so) filled the barns [with grain]. From the twelve markets riches were offered to the king; wise men decided about rewards for good and bad. By punishing criminals the source of deceit was stopped. Five wise men brought fame to the country through their writings in gold and turquoise; five heroes adorned it as lions and tigers; five quick messengers rode on horses, which they changed in their course [*L* MS. quite unintelligible]. The justice of this great [king] was as [glorious] as if the sun rose over glaciers. Among his deeds he built the palace of Hum-bu-bla-sgaṅ. Theft, deceit, [was overcome]; in trade advantage was not looked for. The whole kingdom flourished, and the government was beneficent. It was grand and excellent in all respects.

NOTES

King Gña-khri-btsan-po is mentioned as an ancestor of the Ladakhi kings in the following inscriptions of my collection:—Nos. 51, 54, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 111, 119. The place-names given in the account of his kingdom

all seem to refer to Ladakh, see my article 'The Kingdom of Gnya-khri-btsan-po', J. & PASB., vol. vi, No. 3, 1910. Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse seems to be identical with the present village of Phyi-dbaṅ, eight miles from Leh; Hum-bu-bla-sgaṅ with Um-[b]la, eight miles from Phyi-dbaṅ; Roṅ-do with the village of Roṅ-do in Nubra, not far from Phyi-dbaṅ; Rgod-ldod with Rgod-yul in Upper Ladakh; and Gyur-ldod with the district of Gyu-ru in Central Ladakh. As we learn from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (pp. 149–50), all the places mentioned by the Central Tibetan historians in connexion with the first king of Tibet are situated near Bsam-yas. But most of their names are different from those given here. Me-ñag is probably the same as Mi-ñag, a province of Khams.

As regards Gña-khri-btsan-po's date, the following attempts at fixing it have been made: 313 B.C. according to I. J. Schmidt's *Ssanang-Ssetsen*, p. 21; 250 B.C. according to Csoma de Körös (Grammar, p. 177); 50 B.C. according to Schlagintweit (*Rgyal-rabs*, p. 14) and S. Ch. Das; 416 B.C. according to the book *Grub-mthaḥ-śel-gyi-me-loṅ*; before Buddha according to the Bon-po chronicles.

Legend of his origin according to the Bon-po chronicles:—He is the son of Pāṇḍu and Krasnā (Kṛishṇā or Draupadī). In this connexion the *Mahābhārata* tale and many of its names occur in the Bon-po chronicles (see Laufer, 'Tibet. Geschichtswerk der Bon-po,' *T'oung Pao*, sér. II, vol. xi, p. 8).

Chinese legends of his origin: According to the *Ytoungtche* (Mémoires concernant la Chine, xiv, 1789. pp. 127–8) he came from a western country and settled at Si-tche-choui. His name was Houi-ty-pou-tsoui-ye. In Parker, *Manchu Relations with Tibet*, we read (JRAS., N.Ch.B., 1886, p. 301): 'a Wutiyana-Khan, who fled eastward over the Hindu Kush, founded the Yarluṅ house. His name was Nyatpo-Khan.'

The Mongol versions are in close agreement with the Central Tibetan Buddhist version, and therefore somewhat different from the above account.

It is remarkable that the numeral 44 as the number of certain officials is also found in Sir Aurel Stein's collection of documents from Turkestan. The title Khab-so, which is also found in the ancient stone monuments of Lhasa, seems to mean 'Guard of the castle'.

As regards postal service among the Tibetans, it may be noted that one of the documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan is impressed with a seal showing a rider galloping. It looks almost like a stamp ensuring quick transmission.

His son was Mu-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Dir-khri-btsan-po (*L* MS.: Riṅ-khri-btsan-po).
His son was So-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Me-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Gdags-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Sribs-khri-btsan-po.
These seven are called the seven heavenly thrones.
After seven cycles
The tombs of the seven Khri were made in heaven (*L* MS.: the seven Khri, the rulers, were sent to heaven):
Their divine bodies dwindled away like rainbows, without remains.

Thus they, having the gods of light for their leaders, lived many years; and, when the sons following them were fit to hold the bridle (were fit for ruling), the fathers before them went happily to heaven, dwindling away like a rainbow.

NOTES

In the book *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, the names of these kings are given as follows: Gña-khri-btsan-po, Mu-khri-btsan-po, Diṅ-khri, So-khri, Mer-khri, Srib-khri (Gdags-khri being omitted). In other Central Tibetan historical works (S. Ch. Das, 'Contributions, etc.,' JASB., vol. l, p. 215) the names of the queens of these kings are given. Herbert Müller ('Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung,' Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, vol. xx, p. 307) notes that all these kings were named after their mothers (the Tibetan matriarchate).

The son of Sribs-khri-btsan-po was Gri-gum-btsan-po.

He had three sons: Śa-khri, Ña-khri, and Bya-khri.

Bya-khri received the name of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal. He resided at the great castle of Yar-luṅ. In the time of this king the *bon* [religion] of the *Yuṅ-druṅ* (*svastika*) arose. Besides, the essence of burnt wood, charcoal, and the essence of molten leather, glue, came into existence (were found). Iron-ore, copper-ore, and silver-ore were found.

'The three ores were melted with coal, and silver, copper, and iron showed themselves.

Pieces of wood were pierced, and ploughs and yokes were made. p. 30.

Two equal [*mdzos*] were put into the yoke, and the plains were ploughed into fields.

The water of the lakes was led into irrigation canals, and bridges were built across rivers.'

Many such implements came into existence.

NOTES

As we learn from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, these kings are known by the name Bar-gyi-ldiṅ, 'flying between,' or 'the floating ones of the earth'. From the same book we learn that Gri-gum-btsan-po was murdered by his minister, who reigned for some time. Under Gri-gum-btsan-po the Dur-bon religion, and under Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal the Gnam-bon religion arose. As regards the Bon religion, its earliest type is certainly nature-worship, as represented in the ancient Tibetan-Chinese inscriptions from Lhasa (eighth and ninth century), and in the *Gliṅ-chos* of Ladakh. As regards *Gliṅ-chos*, see my article in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v.; also, 'The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, pp. 131 seq.: 'A Bon-po Hymnal,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 359; 'Kesarsage,' Mém. de la Soc. Finno-ougrienne, No. xv, pp. 21–31; 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesarsaga,' *Bibl. Ind.*, Nos. 1134, 1150, 1164, 1218; 'The Paladins of the Kesarsaga,' J. & PASB., 1906 (p. 46), 1907 (p. 67); and unedited MSS. from Khalatse, Poo, and Tagmachig.

Places of the cult of the *Gliṅ-chos* see in my article 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse', ZDMG., Bd. lxi, pp. 583–92.

Illustrative rock-carvings see in my article 'Rock-carvings from Lower Ladakh', *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxi, p. 398, xxxii, p. 361, and our finds on the expedition of 1909.

As regards editions of Bon-po literature of the period when it was influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism, the following may be mentioned:—

Mdo-gzer-mig and *Ḥdus-pa-rin-po-che*, extracts by S. Ch. Das, in JBTS., 1893, pp. 1–7. It contains the history of Gśen-rabs of Żaṅ-żuṅ (Guge), the legendary founder of the Bon religion. It is modelled on the Buddha legend. Then it speaks of Gśen-rabs' journey to China to assist the emperor Koṅtse in saving his castle. This tale is similar to the tale of Kesar's journey to China.

Then, in Appendix ii of the same journal, we hear of the highest aim of the Bon religion. It is to retain one's personality by seeking the welfare of all beings. After that a number of charms and lists of Bon-po deities are given. In these lists the name Khro-bo, which is so common in the ancient inscriptions from Ladakh, is found. The four great Khro-bo are mentioned.

In JASB., vol. I, pp. 187 ff., S. Ch. Das gives a translation of the eighth book of *Grub-mthaḥ-śel-gyi-me-loṅ*, in which are described the different stages of the Bon religion. The fact of its accepting Hindu doctrines at various times is mentioned.

The book *Gtsaṅ-ma-Klu-ḥbum-dkar-po*, translated by A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg Academy *Mémoires*, vol. xxviii, No. 1), contains Gśen-rabs' path of delivery from transmigration. It appears to be half Hinduist, half Buddhist (see Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 206).

The books *Klu-ḫbum-ḫdus-paḫi-sñiṅ-po* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, No. xi) and *Sa-bdag-klu-gñan-gyi-sgrog-khrol* (Vienna Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, vol. xlvi) have been translated by Dr. B. Laufer. They contain songs of exorcism. The latter work especially is remarkable as having remained untouched by Hindu or Buddhist ideas. Its character is primitive and animistic.

B. H. Hodgson published several plates of Bon-po deities in JRAS., 1861. As they look almost like present-day Buddhist deities, the greater is the importance of my discovery of an ancient Bon-po temple at Lamayuru with frescoes of Bon-po priests represented in blue and black dress. The blue dress of the Bon-po priests is mentioned in JASB., vol. l, pp. 198, 211. A description of the Bon-po monastery at Shendar-ding is given in S. Ch. Das' *Journey to Lhasa*, 1902, pp. 205 sqq. The monastery, as well as the monks, can nowadays hardly be distinguished from Buddhist ones.

Rgyal-rabs-bon-gyi-ḫbyuṅ-gnas, the Bon-po chronicle, has been printed by S. Ch. Das; extract given by Dr. B. Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xi, No. 1. As the genealogical rôle of Chinggis Khan's family shows, the chronicles were compiled later than 1328 A.D. They contain the Bon-po version of the legends of the origin of the Tibetans and of their first king. They are of a distinctly Hinduist colouring. The story of the fall of the Bon religion under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan is related at some length.

I am of opinion that, according to a certain school of ancient Tibetan historians, Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal was the first king of Tibet. My reasons are the following:—(1) His name contains the name Spu-rgyal; (2) Under him the great castle of Yar-luṅ is mentioned again; (3) The Bon religion is stated to have risen under him; (4) The story of the introduction of civilization into Tibet is connected with him.

His son was 'A-śo-legs. His son was 'I-śo-legs. His son was . . . By that king the palace of Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse was built. That was the commencement of building palaces and forts. His son was De-śo-legs. During his lifetime singing and dancing spread. His son was Gu-ru-legs. His son was Ḫbroṅ-rje-legs. His son was Thoṅ-śo-legs. These are called 'the six Legs (good ones) of the earth'.

NOTES

The names of these kings, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, are as follows:—'O-śo, De-śo, Thi-śo, Gu-ru, Ḫbroṅ-žiṅ, and 'I-śo. It looks almost as if this group originally consisted of seven kings. In the *Rgyal-rabs*, after 'I-śo-legs, the words 'his son was' occur; but instead of the name a blank is left. For this reason we might perhaps insert here the name Thi-śo, which is found in the *Bodhimör* (see I. J. Schmidt's *Ssanang Ssetsen*, p. 319) as well as in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*.

His sons were Zin-la-zin-lde, Lde-phrug-gnam-gzuṅ-btsan, Lde-rgyal-po-btsan, Se-snol-lam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-lam, Lde-snol-po, Sprin-btsan-lde. These are called 'the eight Lde (beauties, *lde, rde, bde*) of the earth'.

NOTES

The names of this group of kings, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, are as follows:—Za-nam-zin-lde, Lde-ḫphrul-nam-gžuṅ-btsan, Se-snol-nam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Lde-snol-po, Lde-rgyal-po, Lde-sprin-btsan. As we see, there are here ten of them. They are called Bar-gyi-lde (Beauties of the 'middle region', the earth); and the last seven are known by the name Sil-ma-bdun (the seven tinkling sounds?).

His son was called Tho-tho-ri-loṅ-btsan. Down to his father the mothers were *Lha-mos* (goddesses) and *Klu-mos* (Nāgīs). From him onwards, as they were offspring of subjects and relatives, the descendants of Tho-tho-ri-loṅ-btsan were called Klu-rgyal

(Nāga-rāja). His son was Khri-btsan. During his lifetime roads (?) and bridges [were constructed]. His son was Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan. His son was called Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal (*L* MS.: sñan-bśal). He was an incarnation of the august Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po (Samanta-bhadra). He reigned for sixty-two years. At the time when he dwelt at the great palace of Hum-bu-rdzaṅs-mkhar, which had come into existence of itself without being built, a basket came down from heaven, as a premonition of the spread of Buddha's teaching in Tibet. Sliding down together by a ray of light, there came down to the king's palace the book *Za-ma-tog* (*Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*); the *Paṅ-koṅ-phyag-rgya-pa* (a Sūtra work, *Spaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya*); the essence [of religion], namely, the six syllables [*om maṇi padme hūm*]; a golden *mchod-rten*, a yard high; a *Tshindhamani* (*Cintāmaṇi*) *tsha-tsha* (a terra-cotta with Buddha's image); and all the *mudrā* positions of the fingers. Not knowing whether these were Bon or Buddhist, they honoured them with beer and turquoise offerings. Blessing resulted from it, and [the king] attained to 120 years of age. Thus, during the lifetime of this king the beginning of the holy religion took place.

NOTES

These kings form a group according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, where they are called Smad-kyi-btsan-lṅa (the five lower majesties). According to that book their personal names are as follows:—To-ri-loṅ-btsan, Khri-btsan-nam, Khri-sgra-dpuṅ-btsan, Khri-thog-rje-btsan, Lha-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan. Thus we see that in the Lhasa chronicles this group contains one more member. This is the last group of kings who are furnished with a group name. After this the kings show more individuality, and may be historical personages. Looking at their various groups, it occurs to me that through their group names they are connected with the three realms of the world, according to pre-Buddhist ideas. According to the *Gliṅ-chos* the world consists of Staṅ-lha, heaven of the gods, Bar-btsan, the earth, and Gyog-klu, the realm of the Nāgas. The first group of kings, the 'seven heavenly thrones', are evidently connected with Staṅ-lha; the second, third, and fourth group, viz. Bar-gyi-ldiṅ, Saḥi-legs-drug, and Saḥi-lde-brgyad, belong to the earth; and the last group, Smad-kyi-btsan-lṅa, belong to the realm of the Nāgas.

As is stated by S. Ch. Das in JASB., vol. l, p. 193, the reign of king Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal was the most flourishing time of the Bon religion. He also states that this king found a salt-mine; but the Ladakh chronicles ascribe this discovery to Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. As we learn from the *Bodhimör* (see I. J. Schmidt, *Ssanang Ssetsen*, p. 320), a few years after the supposed descent of the Buddhist books several strangers arrived in Tibet to make known their importance. The *Spaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya* is included in the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, see Beckh's catalogue, p. 57.

His son was Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan (*L* MS.: Khri-sñan). During his lifetime the outlying valleys were brought under notice and cleared for fields.

'The lakes were furnished with gates,
And drawn into irrigation canals.
The glacier-water was collected in ponds,
And the water [which had collected] overnight [was used] for irrigation in daytime.'

Such like things were done in his time.

NOTE

The name of this king is spelt Khri-gñan-bzuṅ-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150.

His son was Hbroṅ(*L* MS.: Hgroṅ)-sñan-lde-ru.

NOTE

In the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, his name is spelt Hbro-gñan-ldeḥ.

His son was Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs. During the lifetime of this king *mdzos* and mules originated from cross-breeding. The prices of goods were determined, and the grass of the hills was plaited in bundles. Such like things were done.

NOTE

In the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, the name of this king is spelt Stag-ri-gñan-gzigs.

His son was Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. During the time of this king there came from China [the arts] of medicine and divination. The King of Gña-żur and others who dwelt in the west of India and Gru-gu were subdued. In the north salt was found. A castle called Khri-brtsegs-ḥbum-gdugs was built.

NOTES

The name of this king is not spelt differently in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150. As regards Gña-żur, I do not know anything about its situation. Khri-brtsegs reminds me of Khri-rtse in Ladakh; but I do not venture to identify these two places. Gru-gu is probably identical with Thon-mi, situated in the vicinity of Kamba-rdzoṅ.

p. 81. His son was Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po [Chinese date 600–50 A.D.] (*L* MS.: Sroṅ-btsan-rgam-po), an incarnation of the Bodhisatva Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita). During the lifetime of this king all the kingdoms on the frontier were united under his rule, and every one of the little kings sent presents and letters. Although this king issued innumerable documents signed with his seal, there were no characters in Tibet to send replies to the letters from [various] quarters. And, as [the books of] the famous sanctuary of his ancestor Tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal remained a mystery, [since they were written] in Indian characters, he thought, 'We must translate them so as to be in Tibetan writing.' Therefore he sent Thon-mi, the son of H-nu, with a *ḥbre* (a measure) of gold, and sixteen fellow-students to Kashmir to learn the characters. They learned the characters from the Brahman Li-byin; Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge-sgra (Siṃhanāda) taught them (*L* MS.: Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge taught them the language). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they made twenty-four *Gsal-byed* [consonants] and six *Riṅs*, [altogether] thirty [characters]. Besides, they made them to agree in form with the Nagara characters of Kashmir. Then, when Thon-mi arrived in Tibet, he met with the king, who was in the garden of his wife 'U-ru. The king said: 'Have you learnt the letters and the language? Then you may offer praise to Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita)!' Thereupon Thon-mi wrote down the *śo-lo-ka* (śloka):—

Gźal-ras-gsal-la-ñad-mdaṅs (*L* MS.: *ño-daṅs*)-*gaṅ-ba-bzaṅ*,
'A good and full [offering of] fresh scent to Gźal-ras-gsal (Avalokita),'

and presented it to the king. The king was much pleased, and erected the temple of Byin-gyi-khod-mar-rdo (*L* MS. Byin-gyis-thog-mar-rdo); and before the image of Spyan-ras-gzigs these letters (the śloka) were carved on stone. These are the earliest inscription [in Tibet] and the oldest temple.

Then, at the invitation of Thon-mi-Sambhota, there came from Nepal the incarnation of Khro-gñer-ma (Bhṛikuṭī), the Nepalese spouse Khri-btsun. Together with her were brought the Lord Mi-skyod-rdo-rje (Akshobhya-vajra), *Byams-pa-chos-kyi-ḥkhor-lo* (*Maitreya-dharma-cakra*), and the Lady Sgrol-ma (Tārā) of sandal-wood.[1] Then the minister Rig-pa-can brought from China the incarnation of Sgrol-ma (Tārā), the queen and spouse Koṅ-jo. Together with her arrived [the image] of the Lord Rin-po-che (Buddha).

Besides, [the following] worldly inventions were made:—rice-beer, barley-beer, in short,

'All the necessaries for food;
The making of curds from milk;
Butter and butter-milk from curds;
Cheese from butter-milk;
Pots from clay;
Mills turned by water;
Weaving with looms;
And many mechanical arts.'

Then, at Lha-sa, the incomparable monastery of Ra-mo-che and others were erected. Palaces were built on the Dmar-po-ri and on the Lcags-pho-ri, and these two mountains were connected with an iron chain-bridge. As many as 900 monasteries and castles were built.

In his time the Indian teacher Kumara, the Nepalese teacher Śila-mañju, the Kashmiri teachers Tabuta (*L* MS. Tabata) and Ganuta (*L* MS. Ghanuta), the Brahman Li-byin, and the Chinese teacher Ha-śaṅ-mahādheba were invited. The translators (*lo-tsa-ba*) Thon-mi, Dhar-ma-go-śa, and Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ translated religious books in every possible manner and edited them.

During the lifetime of this king Rtsa-mi and Śiṅ-mi of the east, Blo-bo and p. 32
Żaṅ-żuṅ of the south, and the Hor kingdoms of the north (Turkistan), and others were brought under subjection, and the customs of the holy religion were introduced into them.

[1] The often-mentioned image of Akshobhya-vajra was seen by Sarat Chandra Das (*Journey to Lhasa*, p. 155) in the Ra-mo-che temple at Lhasa.—F. W. T.

NOTES

As regards local names, the following places are known:—The monastery of Ra-mo-che is stated by S. Ch. Das (Dictionary) to have been built on a plain in the north quarter of Lhasa. But I do not believe that anybody has seen traces of it. Dmar-po-ri, 'the red hill,' is nowadays better known as Potala of Lhasa: Lcags-pho-ri, 'the iron hill,' is still known by its old name; it is situated in the close vicinity of the former. As regards

Lha-luṅ, there is such a place in Ladakh; but I am not sure that there are not other places of this name. Rtsa-mi (pronounced Sa-mi) I feel inclined to identify with Sami of the maps, west of the Manasarowar Lake, especially as the Śinglabcha Pass (probably the old Śiṅ-mi) is in close neighbourhood. Blo-bo is a Tibetan province north of Muktināth. Its ancient capital used to be Lho-mon-sdaṅ (Lo-Mantang of the maps). Żaṅ-żuṅ is one of the provinces of Gu-ge. All these provinces were apparently conquered before Lhasa was made the capital of Tibet.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's two queens, the white and the green Tārā, remind us of the Kesar-saga. Kesar's white wife was Ḥbru-gu-ma, and his green wife is Gyuḥi-dkon-mchog-mo (see my article on Gliṅ-chos in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*). The Ladakhi tale of the minister Rig-pa-can of Shargola in Ladakh, who was sent to fetch the princess from China, is similar to the tale of the minister Gar (see S. Ch. Das' article in JASB., 1881, p. 218). Both versions remind us of the Kesar-saga.

Introduction of Writing.—The characters were formed after the Indian Lañtsha (*Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 327). The *dbu-med* alphabet was formed after the Indian Vartula (acc. to the *Togbarlova*). This is all fantastical. The Indian script which is most closely related to the Tibetan is the Indian Gupta (North-Western Gupta according to Dr. Vogel) of the fifth to the seventh century (see my article on the Tibetan alphabet written for the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xi, p. 266).

Literature.—Works by Thon-mi-Sambhota:—*Bstan-ḥgyur*, Mdo, vol. cxxiii, *Sku-gzugs-kyi-mtshan-ñid*, by 'A-nuḥi-bu; vol. cxxiv, *Sgraḥ-bstan-bcos-sum-cu-pa*, a grammar; *Luṅ-du-ston-pa-stags-kyi-ḥjug-pa*, by Thon-mi-'A-nu (a grammar). Thon-mi-Sambhota's grammar is practically the same as the one which is printed in the Darjeeling School Series (Tibetan Primer Series, No. iv, where it is stated on p. 1 that the book is an extract from *Thon-mi-legs-bśad-sum-cu-pa*). It is evident that this grammar was written in very ancient days; for it treats of the *drag*, a final suffix which has long disappeared even from the classical language. It treats also of the Tibetan system of tones, and is therefore more than a mere repetition of Indian grammars (see my article in ZDMG., vol. lvii, p. 285). Bu-ston says that the Chinese Kechana were the guides of the Tibetans in the commencement of Buddhism. But there are very few translations by Chinese Buddhists in the encyclopædias. As regards the names of translators, only Kumara and Li-byin are generally known; they occur in the Alci inscription of c. 1000 A.D. Dharma-go-śa may be identical with Dharma-kīrti of the Alci inscription, who is known to have lived during that period; Kumara's name is also found in the Bstan-ḥgyur.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po is the reputed author of the book *Maṇi-bkaḥ-ḥbum*, which contains a glorification of Avalokita, and his own history. Wassilieff says with regard to it that it is undoubtedly a modern book. He also wrote a book on horse-breeding (*Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 329), perhaps the one which is still circulated in Ladakh. His lawbook: S. Ch. Das gives his sixteen moral precepts in his article JASB., vol. l, p. 219. His 'laws' are also found in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., pp. 328–9). He had ministers of inner and outer affairs, the *Sain* and *Berke* of the *Bodhimör*.

Progress of Civilization.—The *Bodhimör* states (op. cit., pp. 340–1) that silkworms, mulberry-trees, barley-beer, water-mills, paper, ink, and the calendar were introduced from China.

His son was Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan (650–79 A.D.).

NOTES

He is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's grandson, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150) and the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 347). The Chinese chronicles (*Thangshu* in H. Müller's comparative table, *Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. xx, p. 325) call him Tsanphu. At first Lutung-tsan (Thon-mi-Sambhota) governs the country; later on Thon-mi-Sambhota's son (Majordomo). Then the *Thangshu* speaks of a war between the Tibetans and the Tukuhun (Turks). The latter, as well as the Chinese, were beaten by the Tibetans. Great extension of the Tibetan empire beyond the Pamir (*Thangshu*, op. cit., p. 329).

His son was Guṅ-btsan (*L* MS.: Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan).

NOTE

This name is evidently in the wrong place. As a look at other chronicles shows, Guṅ-btsan was Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan's father and Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's son.

His son was Guṅ-sroṅ-ḥdu-rje (*L* MS.: Ḥdu-sroṅ-ḥdu-rje) (679–705 A.D.). During the time of this king were conquered:—in the east as far as the Rgyal-poḥi-chu (Hoangho); in the south as far as Śiṅ-khun (*L* MS.: Śiṅ-kun) of Nepal; in the north as far as Kra-krag-dar-chen of Turkestan; in the west as far as Chun-riṅs of [B]lo-bo; Naṅ-goṅ on the Balti road, and Śi-dkar of the Lowland. From Rgya (China or India) came tea, *borddha-mal* (?) (*L* MS.: stone drums), clarionets, long trumpets, telescopic trumpets, etc.

Besides, the seven men of great skill arose [as follows]:—Khri-bdun-yul-byin (*L* MS.: Khri-bdun-yul) could jump across chasms which were nine *ḥdom* (27 feet) wide; Gduṅ-grags of Gsal-snaṅ could catch a wild yak by throwing a sling at his feet; Rkod-btsan (*L* MS.: Rgod-btsan) of 'A-thog could seize a lion by his mane; Klu-goṅ (*L* MS.: Klu-koṅ) of Cog-ro could pierce with his arrow a tree, which was two *ḥdom* (18 feet) thick; Ltag-bzaṅ (*L* MS.: Stag-bzaṅ) of Ḥbrom could bring down castles by leading water [below them]; and Gyag-chuṅ of Ḥgos (*L* MS.: Bgos) could twirl round his head a deer's hide filled with gold. [This king] was more powerful than the previous kings of Tibet.

NOTES

The following local names can be identified:—the Rgyal-poḥi-chu is the Hoangho; Kra-krag in Turkestan is probably Karakash near Khotan; Naṅ-goṅ is nowadays the ordinary name of Baltistan; Śi-dkar is one of the most important towns of Baltistan, near Skar-rdo; Gsal-snaṅ is a name of a vihāra, according to Schiefner; as regards 'A-thog, it is the name of the Indus Valley near Skar-rdo, according to Miss J. E. Duncan, *A Summer Ride, etc.*, p. 287; Cog-ro is according to Schiefner the name of a vihāra; it is the home of Śes-rab-bla-ma according to the *Bstan-ḥgyur* (Cordier, p. 161); the *Bodhimör* speaks (op. cit., p. 362) of a powerful clan called Jog-ro, which existed during this period; Ḥbrom is the name of an ancient family of Tibet, and possibly a local name; Ḥgos is the name of a monastery, as well as of a tribe (Schiefner). According to the *Bstan-ḥgyur* (Cordier, p. 131) it is the home of Lha-btsas, the translator.

This king is called Ḥdus-sroṅ-maṅ-rje in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150), Dusrong-mangbo in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 347), and Chinu-hsi-lung-tsanphu in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325); but there is no absolute certainty about the identity of the Tibetan and Chinese names.

Notes from the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 330): The Major-domo retained his authority. In 678 a Chinese army was beaten on the Kuku-Nor by the Tibetans. Then several Tibetan chiefs took the side of the Chinese, and the Chinese reconquered Turkestan. The Major-domo was turned out, and he committed suicide together with 100 of his friends (the *Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 347, mentions two Major-domos during this reign).

His son was Khri-lde-btsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms (705–55 A.D.). During the lifetime of this king the castle of Khá-brag-dar-phu was built at Lhasa; all the lowlands were filled [with buildings]. He built the vihāras Khri-rtse of Gliṅ-bcu ('Ten lands'); at Brag-dmar Ga-chu-śar-sgo, Phaṅ-thaṅ-ka-med, Ka-chu-pan-chub (*L* MS.: Ka-chu-ban-chuṅ), Brag-dmar-mgrin-bzaṅ (*L* MS.: Ḥbrin-bzaṅ), and many others. Su-dgu-śo-ka of Brag-kha (*L* MS.: Dgu-śo-ka of Bran-kha) and Dzñana-kumara of Sñegs became translators (*lo-tsha-ba*), and translated the two books (*Gser-ḥod-dam-pa* (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*) and *Las-brgya-pa* (*Karma-śataka*). Pi-tsi-tsanda-śri (*L* MS.: Pi-tsi-tsantra-śri) translated the *Smad-sbyad* (*L* MS.: *Sman-spyad*), the *Rtsis* (divination), and so forth, and introduced the great ceremonies of religion.

NOTES

Local names: Khri-rtse may be identified with Khri-rtse (or Khrig-rtse) of Ladakh. Ga-chu-śar-sgo reminds me of Śar-sgo-la in Ladakh. But until we know the situation of Gliṅ-bcu nothing can be said for certain.

This king is called Khri-lte-gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150), Thi-lde-oroi-batu-mei-ak-tshom in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 348), and Chi-li-so-tsan in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325).

Notes from the *Thangshu*:—He was married to a Chinese princess called Chin-cheng (the Khyim-śaṅ of the Tibetans). The Tibetans had received the towns of Chiu-chu and Kuei-te on the Hoangho as her dowry. There were continual wars about these places. Whenever treaties were concluded, a market for bartering horses was mentioned with emphasis.

Then there was a great war with the Chinese about the possession of Gilgit (see M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, sections ii and iii).

Gilgit is now identified with Little Poliu, Baltistan with Great Poliu. The King of Kashmir, Muktāpīḍa, assisted the Chinese against the Tibetans, and the Tibetans were aided by the Arabs. The Chinese emperor of the period was Hsüan-tsung, 713–55 A.D.

The *Bodhimör* says (op. cit., p. 349) that the Tibetan king was married to two queens, one from Samarkand, the other from China. The latter was intended for his son, who broke his neck when going to meet her. Therefore the father married her.

As regards the names of the translators, I cannot identify Su-dgu-śo-ka and Pi-tsi-tsan-da-śri. Dzñana-kumara (Jñāna-kumāra) is mentioned again under Sad-na-legs. He is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, as having translated *Rgyud-ḥgrel*, ॐ, xliv, No. i. The book *Sman-spyad*, which was probably concerned with medicine (*sman*), is not known to me.

His son was Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (755–97 A.D.), an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Ḥjam-dpal (Mañju-śrī). This king invited the teacher Bodhisattva from India. Ananta of Kashmir became translator, and preached on the ten virtues, the eighteen regions (or elements), and the twelve causes of existence (*nidānas*).

On that account the gods and demons of Tibet became angry, and the hill Dmar-po-ri was struck by lightning, [the plain] Phaṅ-thaṅ was devastated by water, and many diseases of men and animals appeared. Therefore the teacher said, 'The gods and demons of Tibet do not like my preaching. To subdue the gods and demons of Tibet you must invite the teacher Padma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas (Padma-sambhava) from 'O-rgyan (Udyāna). We three unite in prayer before the *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*) of Buddha Ḥod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa)!' Sna-gsal-snaṅ and Co-ro (*L* MS.: Bcog-ro) -legs-sgra were both sent, and invited the teacher. Then all the gods and demons of Tibet were exorcised. And after the model of the Indian temple of 'O-tantra-ri (Otantapurī), the eternal self-created (*Svayam-bhū*) temple of Bsam-yas was built. Many Indian Pandits and seven chosen translators [translated] the *Sde-snod-gsum* (*Tripiṭaka* (*L* MS.) and the first three books of the *Gsaṅ-sṅags-rgyud* (*Guhya-mantra-tantra*) (*S* MS.). In short,

'Through these three, the king, the donor, and the priest, in the country of Tibet, which had been dark,
The holy religion, pure and free from error, spread and was made to flourish.'

Several of the subjects received the new dignity of orders. It was made a custom [among the lamas] to carry on the crown of their heads the pebbles which are below the feet.

At Bsam-yas he built preaching-halls, and at Hchiṅ-bu meditation-cells. At the palace of Rluṅ-tshugs (*L* MS. Rluṅ-tshubs) he founded the towns of Skyid-paḥi-[ḥ]byuṅ-gnas and Tshaṅs-paḥi-[ḥ]byuṅ-gnas.

At that time the teacher Padma-[ḥbyuṅ-gnas] presented to the king the life-water of the Vidhyādharas; but the ministers, who did not like it, said to the king, 'It is a maddening drink of the Mons, and poisonous! Pray do not drink it.' So the p. 33. king became doubtful about it, and did not drink.

That leprosy might not enter [the country], he exorcised the Nāga kings Ma-dros (Anavatapta) and Zil-chen (Manasvin) [of the Manasarovar Lake]. Abandoning his *vajra*, Zil-chen took the shape of a boy, and was appointed to be an assistant to the king. He promised to fulfil every wish of the king. The king honoured the pair of Nāgas highly, and they became his tuṭelary deities. Then the teacher departed to the south-western country of Rṅa-yab to quell the demons.

At that time all Tibet prospered and was happy: the people increased, the harvests were good, and it was a time without strife. All the provinces on the four frontiers were subdued. China in the east, India in the south, Sbal-ti and Hbru-śal (Gilgit) in the west, Saḥi-cho-'O-don-kas-dkar of the Turks in the north, were brought under his power. Both political and religious practices were firmly established. During the lifetime of this king the Bon religion was suppressed, and the holy religion was made to spread and flourished. The following ditty was composed :—

'Then the deputy of the conqueror (Buddha), the holy Żi-ba-ḥtsho (Śāntirakshita),
And the superior master of incantations, the ascetic Padma-ḥbyuṅ (Padmasambhava),
Kamala-śila (Kamala-śīla), the crest-ornament of the wise,
And Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, of surpassing thoughts;
Through these four, like sunrise in the dark country of Tibet,
The light of the holy religion spread as far as the frontiers;
These holy men of unchanging kindness
All Tibetans will for ever reverently salute.'

NOTES

Geography.—The following local names can be identified: 'O-rgyan is Udyāna (see note by F. W. Thomas in JRAS., 1906, p. 461, n.), a country in the close vicinity of Mandi (Za-hor), as I believe; the names Za-hor and 'O-rgyan are often mentioned together. The famous *mchod-rten* (stūpa) of Hod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) is situated in Nepal; it is known by the name of Bya-ruṅ-kha-śor. 'O-tantra-ri is the Indian town of Otantapuri in Magadha. The Tibetan temple of Bsam-yas is the oldest existing temple of the country. It is situated 35 miles from Lhasa, some two miles from the north bank of the Yaru River. It was visited by Nain Singh. 'A lofty circular wall, 1,700 yards in circumference, surrounds the place, with gates facing to the four cardinal points. Along the top of this wall there have been erected a large number of small *mchod-rten* and votive piles, built of burnt yellow bricks.' Nain Singh counted 1,030 of these; they seem to be covered with ancient inscriptions in old Lantsha (?) characters, similar to those found near Gayā in India. 'In the centre of the enclosure stands the large *Gtsug-lag-khaṅ*, with radiating cloisters, leading to four chapels, facing at equal distances the four sides of the larger temple.' The explorer found the idols and images contained in these temples of pure gold, richly ornamented with

valuable cloths and jewels. 'The candlesticks and vessels are nearly all made of gold and silver.' Another Survey Agent mentions a famous image of Śākya-muni in copper and gold, ten feet high. Round the temple are Chinese and Lañtsha inscriptions in enormous characters. Ḥchiṅ-bu is probably identical with Ḥchims-phug, a small temple near Bsam-yas. The name of the Nāga king Ma-dros is often used as a name of the Manasarowar Lake. Sbal-ti is, of course, Baltistan, and Ḥbru-śal is Gilgit. 'Odon-kas-dkar most probably stands for Urdum-Kashgar in Turkestan. But Saḥi-cho cannot yet be explained. Dmar-po-ri is a well-known hill in Lhasa. The Mons are descendants of Indian emigrants to Tibet. Co-ro or Lcog-ro is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as the home of Ye-śes-bla-ma and Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan.

Literature.—The name of Ananta, the Kashmir translator, is found among the inscribed portraits of Alci (eleventh or twelfth century). He is perhaps identical with Ānanda-kara, Ānanta of the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. Padma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas: his life translated by E. v. Schlagintweit (Abh. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1899 and 1903). Many of his works are found in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. As regards his connexion with Lahul and Mandi (Rewalsir), see my *History of Lahul* (to appear in *Ind. Ant.*). For his connexion with other parts of Western Tibet see the account of my expedition, 1909, pp. 31, 34, 86. Several works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* are attributed to Padma-sambhava's fairy friends. See also the *Padma-thaṅ-yig*. Źi-ba-ḥthso is a well-known author of works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, and Kamala-śila is known to have been his pupil. The name of Źi-ba-ḥtsho (Śānti-rakshita) occurs in the Alci monastery inscription in the form of Śāntipa. He was a scion of the royal family of Za-hor (Mandi) and received the title of Mkhan-po-Bodhisattva. He is the author of a Rñiṅ-ma song. Cf. B. Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 130.

This king is called Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (op. cit., p. 350), Thi-sroṅ-lte-bdzan in the *Bodhimör* (p. 151), and So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325).

Notes from the Thangshu:—War against China.—The capital, Si-ṅan-fu, was taken by the Tibetans, and a new emperor enthroned. Then the Tibetans had to retreat. When Tai-tsung became emperor of China in 780 A.D., peace was concluded. He sent the Tibetan prisoners home. The Tibetan king did the same with the Chinese prisoners. Great oath of peace. Chinese–Tibetan inscription in Lhasa referring to it. It was brought to light by Waddell (see JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 952 sqq., and 1910, pp. 124 sqq.). Then the Chinese and Tibetans were united against a rebel in Sze-chuan. As the Chinese had treated the Tibetans like barbarians, there was again war between them, and the Tibetans conquered Turkestan. The Tibetan inscription at Endere (see M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569, Tibetan *sgraffiti*) may refer to that war.

The Ba-lu-mkhar inscription of Ladakh seems to be of the time of the same king (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 203 ff., and ZDMG., Bd. xli, pp. 583 ff.). Ba-lu-mkhar was a custom-house in those early times.

Fall of the Bon Religion.—It is related in full in chapter xxi of the *Rgyal-rabs-bon-gyi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas*, translated by B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, vol. ii, pp. 14–18. The trick by which the Buddhists were victorious see in JASB., 1881, p. 223.

His son was Mu-khri-btsan-po (798–804 A.D.). To carry out to completeness the thoughts of his father, [this king] made at Bsam-yas the noble offering of [a copy of] the *Ḥdul-ba, Mṅon-pa-, Mdo-, Sde-gsum* (*Vinaya, Abhidharma, Sūtra*, composing the *Tripiṭaka*). He gave ample maintenance to the clericals. Three times he equalized the rich and hungry of Tibet. Although in [some] parts of both countries of Rgya (China and India) not all those who had bowed before his father bowed before him, he endured it with patience. He divided the country of Tibet from the countries of Rgya (defined the frontier). All the grass under Tibetan rule grew with points looking towards Tibet.[1]

NOTES

According to Ssanang-Ssetsen (p. 47) Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons, viz. Muni-Bdzanbo, Muruk-Bdzanbo, and Muthi-Bdzanbo. Muni-Bdzanbo was poisoned, Muruk-Bdzanbo was banished, and Muthi-

[1] Explained as meaning that it grew better on the Tibetan side.

Bdzanbo reigned. According to the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 357) Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons, viz. Muni-Bdzanbo, Ssubudtu-Bdzanbo, and Shiregihn-Koissun-berke-shudurgho. The first was poisoned by his own mother, because he had married a younger wife of his father's; the second was killed by the relatives of a minister whom he had murdered; and the third reigned for some time. According to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 151, Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had two sons, viz. Muni-btsan-po, who equalized the rich and the poor, and presented the *Tripiṭaka* to Bsam-yas, and Sad-na-legs. The same book contains the statement that this old copy of the *Tripiṭaka* is still existent at Bsam-yas. Neither of these kings was known by name to the Chinese. They only speak of certain Tsanphus.

Apparently during this time (see Wieger, *Documents Historiques*, Ho-kien-fu, 1905, p. 1717) Hārūn-al-Rashīd (786–859 A.D.) sent embassies to the Emperor of China to induce him to make war against the Tibetans. But the latter succeeded in winning him over to their plans. In 800 A.D. Arabic armies are mentioned under Tibetan command. Then Alamun concluded a treaty with the Tibetans to guard his eastern frontier.

His son was Sad-na-legs. This king built the temple of Skar-chuṅ-rdo-dbyiṅs [in the] province of Rgya. He invited the Paṇḍit Kama[la]-śila and others to Tibet (*L* MS.). Dzñāna-kumara of Gñegs (*S* MS.) became translator, and translated many religious books which had not yet been translated.

NOTES

As has already been stated, Sad-na-legs is Mu-khri-btsan-po's younger brother, not his son, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 151). As regards the province of Rgya, I feel almost certain that it is Western Tibet; the town of Rgya, situated on the frontier between Rubsho and Ladakh, proves by its extensive ruins that it must at one time have been a place of importance. It may have been the principal place of Western Tibet in those days. Skar-chuṅ-rdo-byiṅs, the name of the temple, means 'Little star, flying stone'; this would be a proper name for a meteor. This name may have been abridged to Skar-rdo, the name of the present capital of Baltistan. The name Skar-rdo is still understood to mean 'meteor'. It is therefore possible that here we have the first mention of the Balti capital. Rgya is the home of the famous translator Brtson-ḥgrus-seṅ-ge, whose name is often found in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* and in the *Rñiṅ-ma* scriptures. The town of Sñegs (SMS.), Gñegs (LMS.), or Gñags (*Bstan-ḥgyur*) I have not yet been able to trace. The same translator has been mentioned already under Mes-'ag-tshoms, about fifty years earlier. Kamalaśila was mentioned under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan. The names of both these priests occur in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as those of translators.

His sons were: Gtsaṅ-ma, Ral-pa-can, Glaṅ-dar-ma (by the first wife), and Lha-rje and Lhun-grub, the two by an inferior queen. These five were born. The first son, Gtsaṅ, loved religion. He entered the order [of lamas], admonished men to [adopt] religion, and wrote a book (*śāstra*). Dar-ma loved sin, and was unworthy to rule. Ral-pa-can (804–16 A.D.), the middle one, reigned. He built the town of Hu-śaṅ(*L* MS.: Uśa)-rdo, and erected the temple of Rgya-phibs-gyu-sñon-can ('having a Chinese roof of turquoise colour'). Although during the lifetimes of his ancestors many religious books from Rgya (China or India), Li (Kunawar or Khotan), Za-hor (Mandi), Kha-che (Kashmir), and other countries had been translated, owing to there being many conflicting interpretations it was difficult to learn religion, and he invited the Indian Paṇḍits Dzina-mitra, Śri(*L* MS. Shi)-lentra-bodhi, Dhana-śila, and others [to Tibet]. The two Tibetan translators [called ?] Bka-cog and the priest Ye-śes-sde revised everything and edited it. Finally, he made the weights,

measures, etc., to coincide with those of India, and appointed seven households of his subjects to wait always on each lama. The king [used to] sit in the middle,
p. 34. and had silk streamers tied to the ends of his locks on the right and left. Then he made the clericals sit there, and had the excellent ones on his right and left and [himself] in the middle, all sitting together. During the time of this king were conquered the mountains of Po-lon(*L* MS.: Po-lo)-śan in the east, which look like a curtain of white silk, and which touch the frontiers of China. There a stone pillar was set up with an inscription, on which was carved: 'Downwards from here did I reign!' In the south as far as Blo-[bo] and Mon, India, Li, Za-hor, and the lake of the Gaṅ-gā (Gaṅgāsagara) with its surface like a bowl of iron were subdued; in the west Hbru-śal [Gilgit] on the Persian frontier and others were conquered; and in the north all the provinces of Hor (Turkestan) were subdued. In the south he reigned over three or two princes of Hdzam-bu-gliṅ, and everywhere, on the frontiers as well as in the central district (*Dbus*), he erected 100 temples. Here ends the 'first spreading of the teaching'.

NOTES

This king is called Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan-ral-pa-can in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 151), Thi-btsong-lte-bdzan in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 358: Waddell's identifications are quite uncertain). According to the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 341) this king was always ill, and the government was in the hands of his ministers. He is, however, mentioned again in the *Rgyal-rabs* under Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I, as a model king.

Geography.—The temple of Rgya-phibs-gyu-sṅon-can, the mountains of Po-lon-śan, and the lake of the Gaṅgā cannot yet be identified. [*Śan* usually represents in names of mountains the Chinese for 'mountain', and Gaṅgāsāgara is ordinarily the mouth of the Ganges.—F. W. T.] As regards Li, there were two countries of that name. The one which belongs to Turkestan is identified with Khotan by S. Ch. Das (see his Dictionary, p. 1140). The other is stated to have been situated close to Nepal. I suppose that it is Upper Kunawar, where an important village of that name still exists. Zahor (see above). The Tibetan province of Blo-bo has already been identified (p. 84). Mon may refer to settlements of ancient Indian immigrants in Tibet. Hbru-śal is Gilgit. The Ladakhis still call the town by its ancient name of Hbru-śal-gi-lid; it is identical with Hbru-tsha, Hbru-ža of Tibetan literature. One of the Indian states which were dependent on Tibet was probably Brāhmapura, the ancient Chamba State, where an inscription by a Tibetan prince has been discovered by Dr. Vogel.

Literature.—Dhanaśila (Dānaśīla), the translator, is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as the translator of very many works. All the other translators are frequently mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, for instance Jina-mitra, Śilendra(Śīlendra)-bodhi, and Ye-śes-sde are mentioned in *Bstan-ḥgyur*, vol. K, 1, 7 as joint translators of the *Dharmakāyāśrayāsāmānyaguṇa-stotra*. This fact is the most certain proof of their being contemporaries. Ral-pa-can's own *śāstra* I have not yet succeeded in tracing. According to S. Ch. Das, JASB., 1881, p. 230, under Ral-pa-can a first history of Tibet was written.

V. Glaṅ-dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism

(*S* MS.) Then, during the lifetime of the ruler Dar-ma-dbyig-dur-btsan (816–42 A.D.) four heretic Brahmans, in order to abolish the religious teaching—being unable to tolerate either the many Paṇḍits who had been invited to Tibet by the ruler Ral-pa-can, or the offerings of golden writings, or the spread of Buddha's teaching over Tibet—prayed to be reborn in the bodies of four demons, bringing ruin upon Tibet. Then, having slain themselves, they achieved their end. The

ruler Dar-ma-dbyig-dur-btsan, Cog-ro(*L* MS.: Cog-sgro)-legs-sgra, Dabs-do-re-stags-sña, and Hbal- (*L* MS.: Hbaṅs-)ḥkhor-ẓes-legs-pa, these four, being possessed by the demons Phuṅ-ḥgoṅ-nag-po, Gnam-rdeḥu-dkar-po, Sa-rdeḥu-nag-po, and Byaṅ-roṅ, dethroned the monks. As in spite of trying to throw [the image of] the god Śākya-muni into the water they did not succeed, they buried it in the earth. The [book] *Byams-pa-chos-kyi-ḥkhor-lo* (*Maitreya-dharma-cakra*) was buried in the sand. The doors of Bsam-yas and Hphrul-snaṅ [monasteries] in Lha-sa were closed with walls, and plaster was laid [over them]. A letter was written that the monks should drink beer. The distinctive mark of the monks was not kept up. Some were turned out; some fled; the remaining ones were sent hunting with a hunting drum, bow, arrows, and dogs; and some were made butchers. Religious ceremonies were not [again] introduced, and even the subjects were forbidden under penalty to resent it. The [religious] customs were thoroughly destroyed. They were hated within the borders of Mṅaḥ-ris. At that time a mountain of Rgya (India or China) which was under Tibetan rule collapsed. And the great river Rma-chu-skyad (*L* MS.: Rma-chu-skyaṅ) (Hoangho), which flows from Tibet to China, flowed upwards and backwards for three days. Many bad omens of this kind appeared. Then, after some time, Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ, who was meditating in the heart of Yer-paḥi-Lha-ri (*L* MS.: Lha-ri, [the mountain] of offerings), heard of it, and, conceiving a very deep feeling of pity for the king (*btsan-po*, or the monks, *btsun-pa*), is said to have killed him. That is the tale of the submerging of Buddha's religion.

NOTES

This king is called Glaṅ-dar-ma-ḥu-dum-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-dzaṅ* (p. 151), Glaṅ-dhar-ma in the Mongolian books, and Tamo in the *Thangshu*. He is the last Tibetan king whose name was known to the Chinese.

Geography.—The following local names have already been identified or mentioned:—Cog-ro, Bsam-yas, Rgya (India or China), Lha-luṅ, Lha-ri. The Rma-chu is the same as the Rgyal-poḥi-chu, the Hoangho; Hphrul-snaṅ is, according to S. Ch. Das's dictionary, a famous temple at Lhasa, built by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, at the instance of his Napalese wife. Mṅaḥ-ris, the ordinary name of the Western Tibetan empire, is mentioned here for the first time. We find the same name also in other documents of the same time, viz. in a MS. excavated by Dr. M. A. Stein at Mīrān, and in one of the Sheh inscriptions. The latter cannot be dated later than 900 A.D. It proves that the name Mṅaḥ-ris in those days included Ladakh. The words Dabs and Hbal-ḥkhor may also be local names, but I do not know for certain.

Literature.—A translator called Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ was mentioned under Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. The present priest of this name is probably supposed to be an incarnation of the former. It is remarkable that one of the heretic Brahmans, viz. Cog-ro-legs-sgra was mentioned under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan as a famous translator of Buddhist books. The names of the other heretics cannot be traced elsewhere.

General notes.—Ssanang-Ssetsen tells (pp. 49–51) the famous tale of the hermit Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje, who murdered Glaṅ-dar-ma. This hermit approached the king in a dress the outside of which was black, whilst the inside was white. As soon as he had killed the king with his bow and arrow, he put on his dress the other way, white outside and black inside, and escaped. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* gives (p. 151) tales which have arisen from popular etymologies. There the tale of Glaṅ-dar-ma is mixed up with that of the famous Svayambhū stūpa of Nepal, Bya-ruṅ-kha-śor, the stūpa which is supposed to contain some bones of the prehistoric Buddha Hod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa). The asses and the cattle of Tibet were not pleased with the fact that no more adoration was offered to them. Therefore they prayed to be reborn as a king of Tibet (Glaṅ-dar-ma means 'ox-dharma')

and his minister. They destroyed the Buddhist religion, but were again overcome by reincarnations of the early erectors of the famous stūpa of Nepal. The *Thangshu* says (op. cit., p. 342) that Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious. According to S. Ch. Das (JASB., 1881, p. 230) Glaṅ-dar-ma uttered the following words when dying: 'Why was I not killed three years back, that I might not have committed so much sin and mischief; or three years hence, that I might have rooted out Buddhism from the country.' He figures in the devil dances of the lamas as the 'enemy of religion'. The Ladakhi kings, who are descended from him, wear their hair in a peculiar fashion, handed down from his time (see my *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 59–60). The earliest version of the legend of the image which cannot be moved out of its position is connected with the story of Glaṅ-dar-ma's persecution of Buddhism.

VI. The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty

(*S* MS.) The story of the later spread of Buddhism is as follows:—Ḥod-sruṅ (*c.* 842–70 A.D.) was Glaṅ-dar-ma's son. He asked Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ to honour the Medicine Guru Buddhas and prayed. By the blessing of the Medicine Guru Buddhas he obtained the sovereignty. In harmony with the kindness of his ancestors he firmly established the religious ceremonies and the religious buildings. He protected Mṅaḥ-ris according to religion. Besides, when Rtsad-rab-gsal, Yo-ge-ḥbyuṅ, Dge-ba-rab-gsal, and Sba-rab (*L* MS.: Spa-rab), altogether ten [priests] had arrived, Buddha's teaching began to spread and flourish. Further, temples were erected like the stars of heaven.

NOTES

This king is called Ḥod-sruṅs in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), and Gerel-Ssakiktshi by the Mongol authors.

The *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, and the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 51) all agree on the following tale:—Ḥod-sruṅ was the real and legitimate son by one of Glaṅ-dar-ma's younger queens. His claim to the throne was contested by Yum-brtan, the foster-son of the 'great queen'. According to Ssanang-Ssetsen (op. cit., p. 51) Ḥod-sruṅ did not believe in Buddhism.

The names of the monks who came [from India?] I cannot trace anywhere else. The names of the Medicine Guru Buddhas are the following:—Śākya-thub-pa, Rin-chen-zla-ba, Mya-ṅan-med-mchog-dpal, Chos-grags-rgya-mtshoḥi-dpal, Gser-bzaṅ-dri-med, Sṅon-mkhyen-rgyal-po, and Mtshan-legs.

p. 35. His son was Lde-dpal-ḫkhor-btsan (*c.* 870–900 A.D.). During the lifetime of this king the monastery of Upper Mṅaḥ-ris, and others, [in all] eight monasteries, were erected. Scriptures like the *Ḥbum* and others were copied in great numbers. He swore an oath to build up religion (or temples).

NOTES

This king is called Dpal-ḫkhor-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), Bilamgur-dzan in Ssanang-Ssetsen (op. cit., p. 51), and Esen-berke-tsog-nökör in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 365). Ssanang-Ssetsen confirms the statement that he erected eight temples. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* says (p. 152) that he was murdered by his subjects. I do not know which monastery is meant by the 'monastery of Upper Mṅaḥ-ris'. Regarding the Ḥbum, it seems to be one of the many names used for the *Prajñā-pāramitā*.

(*A* MS.) His sons were Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon and Khri-bkra-śis-rtsegs-dpal (*L* MS.: Khri-bkra-śis-brtsegs-pa-dpal), these two. Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon (*c.* 900–30 A.D.), when on his way to Upper Mñaḥ-ris—Tibet being in a state of revolution—and accompanied by a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Ḥbal-ma-zug-btsan, Khuṅ-mo-ñag-pa, and 'Ā-ka-badzra, these three (*S* and *L* MSS.: a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Dpal-ma-zug-gar, Khyuṅ-dpal-ldan-grub, and 'Ā-ka-badza of Me-ñag, these two (?)) happened to be obliged to eat fish and eggs. [The servant] brought [the food] wrapped in a napkin, and they became satisfied. From this it came to be a custom with the kings of Tibet to use the [so-called] giant's napkin (also explained as a napkin with eight folds). Eventually he arrived at Ra-laḥi-rgyud. He built Mkhar-dmar of Ra-la in the horse-year, Rtse-śo-rgya-ri (*S* and L MSS.: Rtse-tho-rgya-ri) in the sheep-year. He thought of causing many villages and hamlets (towns) to be built throughout the broad valleys of Dam and Lag (or Dam-lag). Mar-yul he left undisturbed. At that time Upper Ladakh (La-dvags-stod) of Mar-yul was held by the descendants of Gesar, whilst Lower Ladakh (Smad-rnams) was split up into small independent principalities. At that time Dge-bśes-btsan (*L* MS.: Dge-śes-bkra-śis-btsan) invited him to Pu-hraṅs, and offered him Ḥbro-za-Ḥkhor-skyoṅ to be his wife, and he married her. She bore him three sons. He now built the palace of Ñi-zuṅs and erected a capital. Then he conquered Mñaḥ-ris-skor-gsum completely and ruled in accordance with the faith.

NOTES

The name of this king is given in the same spelling in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 152. The *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 365) calls him Jir-ghalang-Koissun-itegel, and his brother Ölsöi-dabchur-lagsan. The Central Tibetan as well as the Mongol authors assert that Ñi-ma-mgon was the son of the great queen, and his brother the son of a minor queen.

The following inscriptions from Ladakh are probably of king Ñi-ma-mgon's time, although they do not contain his name:—(1) The Sheh inscriptions; (2) some of the Alci-mkhar-gog inscriptions (see my article 'Archæology in Western Tibet', *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxv–vi); (3) several inscriptions at Bya in Zaṅs-dkar, discovered by the Rev. G. Hettasch, of Kyelang. A song of a king Ñi-ma-mgon is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from W. Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1909).

With regard to king Ñi-ma-mgon's marriage the following may be said:—Dge-śes-btsan is in all probability the name of a king of Pu-hraṅs. Names ending in *btsan* are generally names of kings or of members of royal families. Dge-śes-btsan probably had an only daughter, who was heir to the throne. Thus, in marrying this daughter Ñi-ma-mgon became master of Pu-hraṅs. That he was actually in possession of it is shown by the fact that he handed it over to one of his sons.

Dr. Marx notes that the so-called 'Giant's napkin' is still in use with the kings of Ladakh. It is called Gsaṅ-khebs, 'cover of the hidden thing.' The Ladakhis do not eat fish or eggs. To them a fish is a kind of Nāga. The avoidance of eggs is shared by the Dards.

Geography.—The following place-names have already been identified by Dr. Marx:—Mñaḥ-ris-skor-gsum usually includes the districts of Ru-thogs, Gu-ge, and Pu-hraṅs only. Here, however, it seems to include all Ladakh, Zaṅs-dkar, etc., as well. (Let me add that in the Sheh inscriptions the word *mñaḥ-ris* is used inclusive of the whole of Ladakh.) Ladakh, the Persian transliteration of the Tibetan La-dvags, is warranted by the pronunciation of the word in several Tibetan districts. The terminal *gs* has the sound of the guttural *gh* or even *kh* in various Tibetan dialects. The boundary between Upper and Lower Ladakh is the plateau between Basgo (Bab-sgo) and Sa-spo-la. Mkhar-dmar of Ra-laḥi-rgyud is said to be a steppe-district inhabited by nomads, beyond Ru-thog; near it, the ruins of an old castle, called Khar-mar,

still exist. Let me add that a certain Ra-la-jung (probably Ra-la-rdzoń, 'castle of Ra-la') is marked on Montgommerie's map of the Western Himalayas, 1874–84. It is found between Trashisgang and Dakmaru, on the Indus. Dam-lag: in the upper Sutlej valley (map of Turkestan, 1882) I find the names Dam and Luk—could they have any connexion with the places referred to here? Mar-yul and Mań-yul include Upper and Lower Ladakh, Nubra, Zańs-dkar, etc. Ñi-zuńs is said to be in Pu-hrańs.

To these identifications I may add the following: Pu-hrańs (Bu-hrańs, Pu-rań) is a Tibetan province east of the Manasarovar Lake, and west of Blo-bo. The country is famous for its beautiful girls (cf. my article 'The Paladins of the Kesar-saga', JPASB., 1906, p. 262). The name Rtse-tho-rgya-ri is probably more correct than Rtse-śo-rgya-ri, but I cannot yet identify it. Regarding the 'descendants of Gesar' in Upper Ladakh, I am of opinion that a certain dynasty of chiefs may have accepted the name of the mythological king Kesar (Gesar) as their dynastical name. Thus we learn from inscriptions at Khalatse that one of the chiefs of that town called himself Rgya-byin (Indra); Rgya-byin is Gesar's father according to the mythology of the Kesar-saga. The name Khrom-Ge-sar-Hdan-ma (Gesar's court, Hdan-ma), which is found in the second chapter of the *Rgyal-rabs*, may refer to Upper Ladakh at a time previous to Ñi-ma-mgon's arrival. In a rather modern inscription at Dpe-thub Ladakh is called Ge-sar-gdan.

His three sons were, Lha-chen-Dpal-gyi-mgon (*c.* 930–60 A.D.); Bkra-śis-mgon, the middle one; and Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, these three. He gave to each of these three sons a separate kingdom, viz. to the eldest, Dpal-gyi-mgon, Mar-yul of Mńaḥ-ris, the inhabitants using black bows; Ru-thogs of the east and the gold-mine of Hgog; nearer this way Lde-mchog-dkar-po; at the frontier Ra-ba-dmar-po; Wam-le, to the top of the pass of the Yi-mig rock (*L* MS.: Gyag-lder); (*A* MS.) to the west to the foot of the Kashmir pass, from the cavernous stone upwards hither; to the north to the gold-mine of Hgog (*L* MS.: of Mgon-po); all the places belonging to Rgya. Bkra-śis-mgon, the second, he made ruler over Gu-ge with Pu-hrańs, Rtse, etc. Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, he made ruler over Zańs-dkar-sgo-gsum; with Spi-ti, Spi-lcogs, etc.

NOTES

According to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzań* (p. 152) the names of the three brothers are Dpal-lde-rig-pa-mgon, Bkra-śis-lde-mgon, and Lde-btsun-mgon, and they are there stated to have reigned over the following countries:—the eldest over Mań-yul, the second over Spu-rańs, and the third over Żań-żuń-Gu-ge. According to Ssanang-Ssetsen the names of the three brothers were: Tsoktu-Itegel, Öldshei-Itegel, and Oroin-Itegel. They are said to have gone to Ñari and to have become the forefathers of the royal family of Kugi (Gu-ge). Dpal-gyi-mgon is the last West Tibetan king whose name is mentioned in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical works. I believe that Bkra-śis-mgon died without issue, and that his kingdom was inherited by the descendants of Lde-gtsug-mgon. At any rate, we find Lde-gtsug-mgon's descendants in possession of Gu-ge a few years later. Their names are found in Schlagintweit's tables, in Central Tibetan and in Mongolian historical works. See also Minor Chronicles.

Geography.—The following place-names have already been identified by Dr. K. Marx (Hgog not known):—Lde-mchog-dkar-po is the Demchog of the maps, south of Ru-thogs, near the frontier, and on the River Indus. Wam-le, the same as Hanle, famous for its magnificent lamasery of the seventeenth century; Yi-mig is the Imis Pass of the maps; the Hanle stream has its source at the foot of this pass; the Kashmir Pass is the Zoji Pass, above the village of Dras. Zańs-dkar-sgo-gsum: sgo-gsum, 'the three doors,' may refer to the three valleys that join at the central part of Zańs-dkar. Spi-ti, a well-known Tibetan district within British territory south-east of Lahul; 'as to Spi-lcogs, I would venture to suggest that Lahul may be meant by this term. This district would have well rounded off his dominions, and would have been the connecting link between Zańs-dkar and Spi-ti.'

To these I may add the following:—A well-known gold-field is the district of Thog-jalung, Thog-sarlang, etc. The name Hgog does not occur at all. But, if the original name was Hgrog, or Grog, the pronunciation

might easily have become similar to the Thog of the maps. Possibly Hgog is not a local name, but the ordinary word *hgog*, meaning 'pledge', 'deposit'. 'He received the gold-mines as a pledge.' Ru-thogs is a Tibetan town and district, east of the Pañ-koṅ lake. Gu-ge is situated south of Ru-thogs, south-east of Ladakh, and west of the Manasarowar Lake. Pu-hraṅs and Mar-yul have already been mentioned. Regarding Spi-lcogs let me note that Spyi-lcog as a place-name occurs in the *Bstan-hgyur*. It is there said to be the home of the priest Tho-gar-Dge-mdzes. The word Tho-gar would point to Turkestan, or at least the Hor provinces of West Tibet. Rgya is one of the principal towns of Ladakh, on the frontier between Rub-chu and Ladakh. Ra-ba-dmar-po, Gyag-lder, and Rtse cannot yet be identified. According to the song referred to above (*The Paladins of the Kesar-saga*, tale No. iii) Hor-yul (Turkestan) is famous for its horses, Byaṅ-thaṅ (Ru-thogs) for salt and wool, Bu-raṅs (Pu-hraṅs) for its beautiful girls, La-dvags for its tiger-like heroes, Bu-rig (= Pu-rig, Western Ladakh) for its *Gro-dkar* flowers, Naṅ-goṅ (Baltistan) for its dried apricots, and Kashmir for its white rice.

K. Marx has the following note on the word Lha-chen (great god):—Lha-chen is an epithet usually applied to the eldest son only, and may mean 'the heir apparent'; it is not a component part of the name, as it may be omitted. It dropped out of use from the time of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. Let me add that, whenever we find a name which does not contain the word Lha-chen, we may suspect that the particular king was not the eldest son of the preceding king.

Dpal-gyi-mgon, the eldest, had two sons, Hgro-mgon (*c.* 960–90 A.D.) and Chos-mgon.

NOTE

Nothing known beyond the names.

Hgro-mgon's son was Lha-chen-Grags-pa-lde (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Grags-pa-lde) (*c.* 990–1020 A.D.).

NOTE

Nothing known beyond the name; perhaps he was a lama.

His son was Lha-chen-Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ) (*c.* 1020–50 A.D.).

NOTES

He was very probably a lama, like the contemporary kings of Gu-ge. He is mentioned in the Tabo inscription together with Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, Atīśa, and king Byaṅ-chub-ḥod of Gu-ge. He erected the Tabo and (probably) 'A-lci monasteries, and perhaps several others. His portrait (probably) is found in the 'A-lci monastery together with an inscription by himself. At 'A-lci are also frescoes of the sports of his times, notably hawk-hunting. He probably came to grief in the gold-mine wars; compare the history of Ye-śes-ḥod of Gu-ge (*infra* under 'Minor Chronicles').

His son was Lha-chen-Rgyal-po (*c.* 1050–80 A.D.). In the time of this king the lamasery of Klu-ḥkhyil (*L* and *S* MSS.: Li-kyir) was built, and a brotherhood of lamas caused to settle [there]. The recluses that lived in the neighbourhood of the three lakes near Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa)—when numerous, about five hundred; when few, one hundred—he for a long time, with untiring zeal, provided with the necessaries of life.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Klu-ḥkhyil (*S* MS., etc., Li-kyir) is a village on the ancient trade-road from Leh, or rather from Basgo to Nyurla (Sñur-la, Sñuṅ-la) and Khalatse. This name would remind us of the pre-Buddhist cult of the *Klu*

(or *Nāgas*). As to the three lakes, the maps mention two lakes only, but there is a possibility that the Kailāsa counts as one and with the two lakes makes up three separate places. Dge-ḥdun-gyi-sde (place of the priesthood), the same as Dgon-sde, monastery. *Sgrub-pa-mdzad-pa*, those who exert themselves to obtain *Sgrub-pa* (*siddhi*).

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The king's portrait (probably) as a young man is found at Alci, where he is represented together with his father. *S* MS. spells his name Bla-chen, etc. He was probably a lama. He is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of the Li-kyir monastery, which in its present edition, however, dates from the eighteenth century.

His son was Lha-chen-'Utpala (*c.* 1080–1110 A.D.). In the time of this king the united forces of Upper Ladakh and Gśam (*L* MS.: Śam, Lower Ladakh) invaded Ñuṅ-ti. The King of Ñuṅ-ti bound himself by oath, so long as [the glaciers of] Ti-se (Kailāsa) do not melt away, nor the lake Ma-pham (*L* MS.: Ma-baṅ, Manasarovar) dry up, to pay tribute or dues [to the King of Ladakh], viz. *mdzos*, iron, etc. This treaty has remained in force till this day. He also subjected Blo-bo (*L* MS.: Lho-bo) [and the country] from Pu-hraṅs (*L* MS.: Pu-raṅs) downwards hither; in the south the country of Bre-sraṅ to [the lake] Chu-la-me-ḥbar; in the west, from Ra-gan-ḥgreṅ-śiṅ (*L* MS.: Ra-gan-ḥgreṅ-žiṅ) and Stag-khu-tshur upwards hither; in the north, from Ka-śus (*S* MS.: Ka-brus-phan-chod) upwards. [They all] paid an annual tribute and attended the Darbār.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ñuṅ-ti, the same as Kuḷū (Kuḷūta), present capital Sultānpur (ancient capital: Makrasha, Magarsa.—F.). The lake Ma-pham (Ma-baṅ) is the more easterly of the two famous lakes. *Mdzo* is the name of a well-known cross-breed between yak and cow. (There are no *mdzos* in Kuḷū; but, as Lahul was apparently under Kuḷū in those days, the Lahulis may have been ordered by their Kuḷū masters to send their *mdzos* to Ladakh.—F.) *Dpya*, dues, is spelt *dpya* only in Jäschke's dictionary; all the MSS. unanimously write *spya*. *Žal-lta* (lit. see [the king's] face) is the Tibetan expression for Darbār.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Gśam is the ordinary name of Lower Ladakh, extending from Sa-spo-la to Lama-yuru. Ti-se (Kailāsa) is possibly a development in the pronunciation of Khri-rtse (throne-summit), which may have been the original name of the mountains. Chu-la-me-ḥbar is still a famous place of pilgrimage on the frontier between Nepal and Tibet. It is probably identical with Chu-bar, near Nalam, the place where Milaraspa died. Stag and Khu-tshur are two villages in Baltistan, west of Skardo. Khu-tshur is situated on the Indus, and Stag is a side valley, branching off near Khu-tshur. The Dard name of Khu-tshur is apparently Gu-sur. Gu-sur is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies. (Compare my article 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', song No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv.) The remaining names I cannot yet identify.

King 'Utpala's conquest of Kuḷū is not confirmed by the chronicles of Kuḷū; but the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja (v. 1108) is rather in favour of the statement. It says (in a somewhat obscure passage) that Zainu'l-'ābidīn found Kuḷū in 1428 A.D. occupied by Tibetans. 'The Treaty with Kuḷū has remained in force to the present day,' probably meaning that it remained in force to the reign of King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, when the *Biography of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal* was compiled. After the battle of Bab-sgo, 1647 A.D., the treaty with Kuḷū was apparently exchanged for a trade contract (see Minor Chronicles).

p. 36. His son was Lha-chen-Nag-lug (*c.* 1110–40 A.D.). This king built in the tiger-year the palace at Wan-la and in the dragon-year Kha-la-rtse (*L* MS.: the castle of Kha-la-tse).

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Wan-la is situated one march off the Kashmir road, near Khalatse and Lamayuru. Khalatse is situated on the Kashmir road, at the bridge crossing the Indus, 52 miles below Leh. It is the Khalchi of the maps.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The castles of Wan-la and Kha-la-rtse are the now deserted sites of the old towns of those names. The ruined castle of old Kha-la-rtse is now known by the name of Brag-nag. The last vassal kings of Kha-la-rtse were apparently Rgya-ẓin (Brgya-byin, Indra) and Śi-ri-ma (Śrīmān). For notes on this king's connexion with Kha-la-rtse see my *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 65–6.

His sons were Lha-chen-Dge-bhe (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Dge-bhe) (*c.* 1140–70 A.D.) and Dge-ḫbum (*L* MS.: Dge-ba-hbum).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the names. Dge-bhe was perhaps a lama.

His son was Lha-chen-Jo-ldor (*c.* 1170–1200 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name.

His son was Bkra-śis-mgon (*c.* 1200–30 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name. But if Lha-rgyal, whose name is found only in *S* MS., has to be omitted, all that is mentioned under Lha-rgyal would refer to his reign. In 1203 A.D. Tibet was conquered by the Mongol Emperor Jenghis Khān, and for a few decades the western districts probably came under his sway. At any rate the west was included in the great census carried out under Kublai Khan. For Mṅaḫ-ris-skor-gsum (i.e. Gu-ge, Pu-raṅs and Maṅ-yul) the return gave altogether 2,635 families residing in the crown lands of the kings of Mṅaḫ-ris (JASB. 1904, extra number, p. 99). I found in a house at Sñe-mo, near Leh, a lamp bearing the inscription *Jaṅgis khān kā dīpa*, 'lamp of Jenghis Khān.'

(*S* MS.) His son was Lha-rgyal (*c.* 1230–60 A.D.). (*A* MS.) This king caused to be written a copy of the *Rgyud-Rdo-rje-rtse-mo*, of the *Ṅan-soṅ-sbyoṅ-baḫi-rgyud*, and of the whole *Rgyud-ḫbum*, all in gold.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

This king is mentioned in Schlagintweit's MS. only. Doubtful. The *Rgyud-Rdo-rje-rtse-mo* is a treatise on the vajra-point (*Vajra-kīla-tantra*?—F.). The *Nan-soṅ-sbyoṅ-baḫi-rgyud* is a 'treatise on the removal of going to perdition'. The *Rgyud-ḫbum* consists of twelve volumes (in the ordinary printed edition); but I have seen also very fine written volumes, one e.g. on indigo-tinted paper, with letters in gold.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

In an article entitled 'Archæology in Western Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxv–vi, p. 237) I identified Lha-rgyal with Lha-chen-Kun-dgaḫ-rnam-rgyal of the Daru inscription. I have now given up this identification.

His son was Lha-chen-Jo-dpal (*c.* 1260–90 A.D.). This king performed royal, as well as clerical, duties to perfection.

NOTES

Dr. K. Marx notes that the expression *mthar-phyin-pa* corresponded to *Pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* (*Pāramitā*). A song in honour of king Jo-dpal is found in *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs.'

His son was Lha-chen-Dṅos-grub (*c.* 1290–1320 A.D.). In the time of this king the usage of novices going to Dbus-Gtsaṅ was first introduced. He also repaired the temples that had been built by his ancestors; but, more important than this, he laid down before the prince of faith, the lord of the three worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., all [presents numbering] one hundred. He also caused the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* to be copied twice and the *Gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi-dkyil-ḫkhor* many times.

NOTES BY DR. MARX

The 'Lord of the three worlds' is either Buddha or Avalokiteśvara. The Tibetan word translated by 'copy' is *bżeṅ-ba*. It agrees most closely with the German *stiften, Stift, Stiftung*; an exact equivalent in English I have not been able to discover. The *Gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi-dkyil-ḫkhor*, 'Wheel of Dhāraṇīs' (secret spells), is a kind of book, of which there exists a great variety.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

This king is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of Li-kyir as having come to the throne seven generations after Lha-chen-Rgyal-po. Introduction of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, which had just then been completed by Bu-ston. The Mongols received the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* in 1310 A.D. But it was not translated into Mongolian before the seventeenth century. See the *Hor-chos-byuṅ* of *Ḥjigs-med-nam-mkhaḥ*. If we can trust the Kashmir chronicles, this king was killed by the Kalamaṇyas (people of Mkhar-maṅ or Parkuda). Dbus-Gtsaṅ, two important provinces of Central Tibet. Dbus is supposed to be identical with Ptolemy's Dabasae.

His son was Lha-chen-Rgyal-bu-rin-chen (*c.* 1320–50 A.D.) (*L* MS. omits the epithet Lha-chen).

NOTES

This king is in all probability identical with Riñchana Bhoṭṭa of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kashmir, vv. 157–254. See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92. The Persian *History of Kashmir* by A'ẓam tells of Rainchan-Shāh's conversion to Muhammadanism, of the erection of the Bulbul-Lankar in Srinagar by him, and of his erection of a mosque (the Awwal-Masjid of Srinagar). The Persian *History of Kashmir* by Maūlavī Ḥaidar Malik contains a translation of a lost inscription by Riñchana in his mosque. According to these he was only half Muhammadan. The Ladakhi *Song of the Bodro-Masjid* speaks of the great saint Bulbul, the king's friend. A song entitled *Prince Rin-chen's Departure* is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs', *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68.

His son was Lha-chen-Śes-rab (*c.* 1350–80 A.D.). In his lifetime this king, having built the hamlet of Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ on the top of the so-called Haṅ-rtse-mo [rock] in Sa-bu, made it a dependency of the Spyaṅ castle of Sa-bu in Mar-yul.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Sa-bu is a village 6 miles south-east of Leh, off the main valley (Survey map: Sobu). The Haṅ-rtse-mo is a rock well known there. The castle is in ruins.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

This king is omitted in *S* and *L* MSS. I visited Sa-bu in 1906, and people told me that the rock was called Hlaṅ-rtse-mo (Glaṅ-rtse-mo), and the castle Śaṅ-mkhar (Śaṅ would be the Ladakhi pronunciation of Spyaṅ). But the name of the village of Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ was no longer known. The site is on the ridge of mountains west of Sa-bu, and I found the hillside covered with ruined houses.

His son was Lha-chen-Khri-gtsug-lde (*c.* 1380–1400 A.D.). This king built [one row of] *mchod-rtens* [numbering] 108 at Slel (Sle, *L* MS. : Gles) and two [rows] of 108 at Sa-bu.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

108 (*brgya-rtsa*, abbreviated from *brgya-rtsa-brgyad*, as we find it given in a document excavated at Kyelang) is a sacred number. 108 is also the number of beads in the ordinary rosary of Lamaists, etc. The rows of *mchod-rtens* referred to here usually consist of *mchod-rtens* not higher than 2 or 3 feet, and resemble low walls, built at random anywhere across the desert. Slel, sometimes Sle, is the ordinary spelling of Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

As to the spelling of the name of the capital of Ladakh, I believe that Sle, Gle, Gles is the more correct; a *hles* or *lhas* is an enclosure for cattle, and this is supposed to have been the beginning of the Tibetan, not Dard, town of Leh. The European spelling of Leh may be due to the German orthography of the Moravian missionaries. Leh is here mentioned for the first time. Apparently it was then made the capital. Previous to Leh, Śeh (Śel) seems to have been the capital of the country. Down to the present time it has been considered necessary that the heir apparent should be born in Śeh. The rows of *mchod-rtens* which were built at Leh have not yet been discovered. Of those at Sa-bu there is still a fragment left, of about 6 yards, as Dr. Shawe told me. It looks as if the remainder had been carried away by a flood.

Towards the end of this reign the Tartar emperor Tīmūr may have passed through part of the Western Tibetan kingdom on his way from Jammu to Samarkand. At that time the Christians and Buddhists were being persecuted in Central Asia by the Muhammadans. The Nestorian inscriptions at Braṅ-rtse in Ladakh may be the work of fugitives during that period.

His two sons were Lha-chen-Grags-ḫbum-lde (*c.* 1400–40 A.D.) and Grags-pa-ḫbum. Grags-ḫbum-lde held Slel (*L* MS. : Gle), etc. He erected, for the sake of his reputation with posterity, the Red Monastery (*L* MS. : many monasteries) and a Rgyal-ba-Byams-pa (Buddha Maitreya), the lord, in size [such as he will be] in his 8th year. On his right and left were Ḫjam-dbyaṅs (Mañju-ghosha) and a Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajra-pāṇi), each one story high. He caused to be painted as fresco pictures representations of the departed Buddhas, of the preserver of the universe, and of all his own private deities. He also built a triple temple (one surmounting the other) on the pattern of [the one at] Mtho-gliṅ. As a symbol of the word, he caused to be written a copy of the *Gzuṅs-ḫbum-chen-mo*, *Dkon-mchoġ-brtsegs-pa* and the *Laṅ-kar-gśegs-pa* and some others. As a symbol of the spirit, some fatality having occurred at Sle (Leh), he built over [closed] the Teḫu(*L* MS. : Tiḫu)-gser-po ('Yellow Crag') completely, outside in the shape of a *mchod-rten*, inside containing 108 temple shrines. This *mchod-rten* is called Teḫu-bkra-śis-ḫod-ḫphro. Again, there being in the lower part of the Sle Valley a crag resembling an elephant, the king caused a brotherhood of four lamas to settle down below this rock. Then he said, 'If I die now, it matters not.' [At that time it happened that] the omniscient of the period of degeneration (the Kali age), the great Tsoṅ-kha-pa-Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa, having in his possession a *Tshe-dpag-med* (*Amitāyuḥ Sūtra*), about as long as a finger joint, made from the blood of his nose, entrusted the same to two ascetics, and said, 'Give it either to the one called Grags-pa, or to the one called Lde.' When the two arrived in Mar-yul, the one called Grags-pa was in Nub-ra. They went into his presence, but he did not

deign to bestow even a glance at them. So they went on to Slel. On the morrow the king gave command: 'At to-day's Darbār, whosoever attends, be it ascetic, or Bhe-da (*L* MS.: Bhe-da-pha), or Mon, or Ti-śi, he shall not be refused admittance.' Now, when the two ascetics came into his presence, the king rose and went to meet them.
p. 37. The two ascetics made over the present, and the king was delighted with it. Taking the precious law of Buddha for his guide, he built the lamasery of Dpe-thub, though in reality he did not build it, but it came into existence by a miracle. Having built it, he caused many brotherhoods of lamas to settle [in the country].

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The 'red college' built by this king is probably the one on the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh. In that temple there is a statue of Maitreya, the head of which reaches through the ceiling of the first storey. But the statues of Mañju-ghosha and Vajra-pāṇi, which are said to have been on the right and left, are no longer there (although there are traces of the pedestal of at least one of them.—F.). The 'preserver of the universe' is probably Maitreya. Mtho-gliṅ, pronounced Tholding, on the Upper Sutlej. Map of Turkestan: Totlingmat, where *mat* (*smad*) = 'the lower', i.e. 'lower part of the city'. The *Śam-bha-la-paḥi-lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: 'It was built by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (*c.* 1000 A.D.). The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down; but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the Dhāranīs.' Adolf von Schlagintweit (and Captain Rawling) visited it. (The temple in Ladakh, built on its model, has not yet been discovered.) But there is in the middle of the old town of Leh a temple, called 'the old Byams-pa (Maitreya) monastery', which is reported to have been built by King Hbum-lde. In its present condition, however, it does not look like a triple temple. The *mchod-rten* called Teḥu-bkra-śis-ḥod-ḥphro, 'brilliant good fortune,' still exists, though in a dilapidated condition, about 2 miles up the Leh Valley from the British Joint Commissioner's compound. The monastery below the crag resembling an elephant is also still extant at the suburb of Leh called Dgar-ba (Skara). It is now called *Glaṅ-chen-dgon-pa*, 'Elephant Monastery.' Dpe-thub, lamasery and village, on the River Indus, 5 miles south-west of Leh. The lamas belong to the Dge-ldan-pa order of lamas. The lamasery has an incarnated Sku-śog. It is vulgarly called Spi-thug (Survey map: Pittuk). Other lamaseries of the Dge-ldan-pa order in Ladakh are Khrig-rtse (Survey map: Tokzay), Saṅ-kar (a Leh suburb), Li-kyir, Ri-rdzoṅ, and many small ones. N.B.—Although the order primarily refers to the lamas, yet every family or house (*groṅ-pa*) in the country is affiliated from time immemorial to one or other of the lamaseries, and hence is attached to the respective order of lamas as a kind of lay dependency, and worships the same tutelary deity (*Yi-dam*).

Gzuṅs-ḥbum-chen-mo means 'the great 100,000 Dhāraṇīs'. *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa* is the *Ratna-kūṭa Sūtra* and *Laṅ-kar-gśegs-pa* is the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa is the spiritual name of the great reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa. The expression *dpes-nas* probably means that King Hbum-lde adopted the reformed doctrines of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

Rgya-ma-phyag-rjes-su means 'for the sake of his reputation with posterity'. German *Nachruhm!* *Sku-gsuṅ-thugs*, 'body, word, and spirit,' or in the common parlance *lus-ṅag-yid*, and mystically expressed by the formula *ōm ā hūṃ*, have each their own special *rten*, or symbols; *skuḥi-rten*, 'the image'; *gsuṅ-gi-rten*, 'the scriptures'; *thugs-kyi-rten*, 'the *mchod-rten*.' They represent a kind of triad, corresponding to the 'three holies', *dkon-mchog-gsum*, i.e. the Buddha, the Law, and the Order of Monks (cf. Sir M. Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 175). But, just as *dkon-mchog-gsum* is not without some underlying idea of a Supreme Being, ruling over all, there may be some other more obscure and deeper meaning embodied in these symbols. *Tshe-dpag-med*, 'time without measure,' 'eternity,' an epithet of Gautama Buddha. (It is Amitāyus, or Amitābha, F., and the book indicated is the *Amitāyur-nāma-dhāraṇī*.) *Bhe-da*, professional musicians of low caste, Muhammadans, of Balti extraction. They, as well as the other low-caste inhabitants of Ladakh, now may possess fields and houses. *Mon*, joiners and carpenters by profession, also of low caste, though not quite so low as the *Bhe-da*. They probably are remnants of the tribes of aborigines which at one time occupied the hill districts of the Himalayas. Though Buddhists, the zamindars keep apart from them, and any zamindar who would marry a Mon maiden would by doing so lose his caste. *Ti-shi*, another low caste, shoemakers by profession. They also are Buddhists.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The biography of the famous reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa is found in G. Huth's *Ḥjigs-med-nam-mkhaḥ* (vol. ii, pp. 176 sqq.). I do not believe that any of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's writings have as yet been translated. Inscriptions of the times of the reformation are found in the desert between Poo (Spu) and Spyi-ti, and a single specimen at Kha-la-rtse (see my article, 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse,' ZDMG., vol. lxi). Rock-carvings representing the reformer are found on the rock below the Dpe-thob (Spithug) monastery. For King Ḥbum-lde's rock-edict at Mul-bhe see my article in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, p. 72. For the invasion of Zainu'l-'ābidīn of Kashmir, which probably took place during the reign of this king, see my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92. Schlagintweit's spelling Glaḥi-rgyal-po is probably a mistake, Gleḥi-rgyal-po, 'King of Leh,' being intended. At the Byams-pa-dmar-po monastery we find a picture representing this king together with his wife and his son Blo-gros. From the inscription we infer that in old age he became a lama and made over the kingdom to his son.

His son was Blo-gros-mchog-ldan (*c.* 1440–70 A.D.). In the time of this king were brought from Gu-ge 18 coats of mail, the most excellent of their number being the Dmu-khrab-zil-pa (the 'resplendent devil-coat-of-mail'), the Ma-moḥi-mun-sgribs ('devil-darkness'), the Khrab-chuṅ-dkaḥ-ru (the 'little coat-of-mail Heavy-weight'?), and the Lha-khrab-dkar-po (the 'white Deva-coat-of-mail'); 18 swords, amongst them being the Nam-mkhaḥ-khrag-ldag (the 'licking-blood off the sky'), the Ḥbroṅ-rtse-riṅs (the 'wild yak, long point'), and the Glog-dmar-me-gsod (the 'killer of the red lightning-flame'); 15 knives, whereof the best were the Ddud-gri-nag-po (the 'black devil-knife') and the Dam-gri-gẓuṅ-brgyad (the 'knife of eight marks', seals?); 15 turquoises, the best of these were the Lha-gyu-ḥod-ldan (the 'luminous deva-turquoise') and the Lha-gyu-dkar-po (the 'white deva-turquoise'); 20 saddles, amongst them the Sga-ma-ji-khri-steṅs (the 'raised glory-throne (?) saddle') and the Bkra-śis-ḥod-ldan (the 'good fortune, light-emitting'). [Also] ponies, viz. 50 grey ones, 50 isabel, 20 black, 30 piebald; also 20 young yak-cows, and 20 light-brown yak-bulls, besides sheep, etc., in short, tribute, revenue, and presents in vast quantities. Having conquered Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, [the state] grew much in extent and flourished.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Names given to weapons, etc., are very common in Tibetan literature. They present a serious obstacle in reading, e.g. the Gesar epic. Schlagintweit also, in this passage, failed to recognize the fact that it chiefly consists of proper names. Coats of mail in Ladakh usually were either chain armour or made of scales of metal. At Phyi-dbaṅ (Survey map: Phayang) lamasery a collection of such armour is still shown to visitors.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Probably during the reign of this king the expedition of the Kashmir king Ādam-Khān to Tibet took place. (See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92; Śrīvara, i, 71 and 82.) This king is also mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Trans., pp. 418–19, 460) as still living in 1532 A.D.; probably his descendants are called by his name. There his name is spelt Lata-jugh-dan. As mentioned above, a portrait of this king is found in the Byams-pa-dmar-po monastery at Leh. In the inscription below the picture he is named Blo-gros. Before becoming king he was a lama. As regards the Kashmir expedition, it is possible that Blo-gros took the side of the Kashmiris and assisted them in their conquest of Gu-ge. The booty indicated above may have been taken on that occasion. The Khri-dpon of Pu-rig seems likewise to have joined the Kashmir army (see inscription No. 192).

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VII. The Early Kings of the Second West Tibetan Dynasty

(*A* MS.) Lha-chen-Grags-pa-ḫbum (*c.* 1400–40 A.D.) had ruled over Rab-brtan-lha-rtse, Gte-ya (*L* MS. : Te-ba), etc. He built the royal city of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Rab-brtan-lha-rtse is the proper name of the palace of Basgo (Survey map: Bazgo), now in ruins. Gte-ya is situated near Sñuṅ-la (Sñuṅ-la; Survey map: Snurla), but off the main valley to the north (Survey map: Teah). Gtiṅ-sgaṅ is situated close to Gte-ya (Survey map: Temesgam). It is, according to our ideas, a village. It is one of the prettiest villages in Ladakh.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

A seal attributed to this king is still in the possession of the ex-kings of Ladakh. The impression of the seal which I was able to see was too indistinct to allow of any deciphering. It contains Sanskrit formulas in Lañtsha characters, but not a royal name. The king is mentioned in a votive inscription from Bde-skyid, Nub-ra.

His son was Lha-chen-Bha-ra (*c.* 1440–70 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name.

His son was Lha-chen-Bha-gan (*c.* 1470–1500 A.D.). This king being very fond of fighting, he and the people of Śel (*L* MS. : Śes), having formed an alliance, deposed and subjected the sons of the King of Sle (Leh, Gle), Grags-ḫbum-lde, [viz.] Blo-gros-mchog-ldan, Druṅ-pa-'A-li, and Slab-bstan-dar-rgyas (*L* MS. : Slab-bstan).

NOTES

Śel, vulg. Śe (Survey map: Shay), village 10 miles S.S.E. of Leh, on the right bank of the Indus. It has a palace of the Ladakh rājā (cf. *B* MS.). To this note by Dr. K. Marx let me add that the spelling Śes-pa would suggest the translation 'the wise men', as Schlagintweit actually took it. But, as Dr. K. Marx received his information from lama Bkra-śis-btsan-ḫphel, who was an authority on the history of Ladakh, I believe that his version, founded on the spelling of *A* MS., ought to be accepted. Śel is apparently the Śaya-deśa of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1107; cf. *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 460 n. It is probably the ancient capital of the country, and it is the town where the heir apparent must be born. This village contains a Sunni mosque, asserted to be more ancient than any of the mosques at Leh. It was probably erected by the Kashmir kings of the time.

During this reign, according to Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iii, 32, 396, 440–4), the invasion of the Kashmir king Ḥasan-Khān probably took place. It ended in the defeat of the Kashmiris. (See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92.) It appears strange that the second of Grags-pa-ḫbum-lde's sons had the half Muhammadan name Druṅ-pa-'A-li. Perhaps King Ḫbum-lde was compelled by Zainu'l-'ābidīn to marry a Muhammadan lady.

Bha-gan (Skt. Bhagavān) is the founder of the second West Tibetan or Rnam-rgyal dynasty. He called his two sons Rnam-rgyal (*L* MS.: Gnam-rgyal), or 'perfect victors', and the word Rnam-rgyal, combined with other names, is found in the names of all his descendants. Being the founder of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty, he possibly accepted the name Lha-chen-Kun-dgaḫ-rnam-rgyal, which is found in the Daru inscription. The latter contains also the name of his minister Phyag-rdor, and the name of the same minister occurs also in inscriptions (Nos. 152, 179, 180, 205) of his son Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal. This minister seems to have done service under two kings.

A certain Baghan is mentioned, as a *Chui* (*Jo*) of the provinces of Tibet, in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Trans., p. 463). Bha-gan was possibly still alive in 1532 A.D.

His sons were Lha-chen-Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1500–32 A.D.), these two. Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal had great bodily strength and dexterity.

But Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, the younger, being very crafty, caused the elder brother's eyes to be plucked out. Still, for the continuance of his race, he stationed him, together with his wife, at Liṅs-sñed. To him were born three sons: Lha-chen-Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, Rnam-rgyal-mgon-po, and Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. These three sons grew very tall in stature.

They grew taller within a month
Than others grow in a year;
They grew taller within a day
Than others grow within a month.

In his time the king Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal reigned. This king conquered [all the country] from Pu-rig upwards, and from Gro-śod downwards hither. He brought [home] herds of ponies in inconceivable numbers. He built the castle Slel-rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo, and founded the hamlet of Chu-bhi (*L* MS.: Chu-bi). He fought against an invading force of Turks (Hor), and killed many Turks. On the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill he erected the 'House of the Lords' (Mgon-khaṅ) and laid the corpses of the Turks under the feet of [the images of] the [four] Lords. (*B* MS.) Again, by building the 'House of the Lords', he obtained power over the demon that turns back hostile armies. (*A* MS.) He invited from Ḥbri-khuṅ (*L* MS.: Ḥbri-guṅ) the 'Real Buddha', whose name was Chos-rje-ldan-ma, and then built the lamasery called Sgaṅ-sṅon-bkra-śis-chos-rdzoṅ. He made the rule regarding the number of children that were to be sent by every village to become lamas, and introduced the doctrine of the *Bsgrub-rgyud.* p. 38. On the spot where the lamasery is seen [for the first time] he suspended a long prayer-flag. Whosoever, whether thief or liar, in short, anyone guilty of offence against the king's palace or life, if he escaped to this spot, should be rid of his crime. Again, he presented to the Ḥbri-khuṅ (*L* MS.: Ḥbri-guṅ), Sa-skya, Dge-ldan, Lha-sa, and Bsam-yas [lamaseries] cushions, gold-water, long prayer-flags, [tea for] tea-generals, all an hundredfold, etc. He also caused a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and *Bstan-ḥgyur* to be copied, besides many other books, and erected many *mchod-rtens.*

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Liṅs-sñed, Liṅ-śed (Survey map: Linshot) in Zaṅs-dkar, four marches south of Khalatse. Pu-rig, district crossed by the Kashmir road from the Zoji-la to the Photo-la. Capitals: Kargil and Kartse. The inhabitants are partly Buddhist, partly Shiah Muhammadans. They are a race distinct from either Baltis or Ladakhis. They wear an upper garment of a dark-brown colour, by which they may be distinguished from Ladakhis, and a small round skull-cap. The long locks of hair on the temples, in fashion with Baltis, are not seen with Pu-rig men. They all but monopolize the carrying trade between Ladakh and Kashmir, ponies—though not a very good breed—being their chief wealth. Gro-śod, name of a district about the twenty-fifth stage from Leh to Lha-sa between Maryum-la and [the river] Cha-chu-sangpo. The palace built by Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal occupies the very summit of the precipitous rock (Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo) at the foot of which the city of Leh is built. The 'Leh palace' (built by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, see later) is at a lower level. At present only some religious buildings remain, the fort itself being in ruins. Chu-bhi: about a dozen houses at the foot of the western declivity of the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo [hill]. Mgon-khaṅ: the temple and images still remain (information from Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel). Ḥbri-khuṅ, a Tibetan lamasery. It gives its name to a special order of lamas of the 'red' persuasion. Sgaṅ-sṅon-bkra-śis-chos-rdzoṅ is the proper name of the lamasery at Phyi-dbaṅ, 8 miles west of Leh, vulgarly called Sgaṅ-sṅon-dgon-pa. As has

already been mentioned, it contains a collection of ancient armour. Sa-skya, Tibetan lamasery of 'red' lamas. It gives its name to the Sa-skya-pa order. This order is represented in Ladakh by the Maḫ-spro lamasery (south of the Indus, near He-mi). Dge-ldan (Dgaḫ-ldan), Lha-sa, and Bsam-yas are lamaseries belonging to the 'yellow' persuasion.

Regarding *btsun-gral*, 'tax order of children to be made lamas.' Under the old régime every family of more than one or two male children had to give up one—not the eldest, however—to be made lama. At present, of course, this tax is no longer compulsory, and hence the great falling off in the number of lamas. The lama child, Btsun-chuṅ, stays at home until his 8th year, wearing the red garment and the red or yellow cap from the first. Then he goes to a lamasery, or is apprenticed to a lama, in order to receive his primary education, until he reaches his 14th or 15th year, being all this time called Btsun-chuṅ. Then he goes to Lha-sa, where his studies receive the finishing touch. After a sojourn there of one or two years, or longer—now under the name of Dge-tshul (*upāsaka*)—on passing an examination, conducted by the head lama of the respective lamaseries, he is baptized, and thereby made a Dge-sloṅ (*Bhikshu*). Then he usually returns to his own country, in order to perform there the functions of a village priest, or to enter one of the lamaseries, where special duties await him. N.B.—There is a prevalent error regarding the dress of lamas, which is propagated even by Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, pp. 268 and 278), viz. that the dress of lamas of the 'red' persuasion is red, that of the 'yellow' persuasion yellow. This is not so. The dress of both the 'red' and 'yellow' lamas is red (with the exception of one special order of lamas belonging to the Dge-ldan-pa, who, to my knowledge, exist only in Zaṅs-dkar, whose dress also is yellow); but lamas of the 'red' persuasion also wear red caps and red scarfs round their waist, whilst in the case of the 'yellow' lamas these, and these only, are yellow. The *Bsgrub-rgyud* is a 'treatise on Esoteric Doctrine'. Gold-water, i.e. gold, finely divided by long trituration, suspended in water, extensively used for gold-washing the images. Regarding the sentence which occurs only in *B* MS., I am not quite confident as to the correctness of my translation; but if *mthaḫ dmag* means 'the hostile army', and not the army of the country 'operating at the frontier', I think the sentence could not be rendered differently.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Liṅs-sñed. I visited the place and found the palace of the kings of Leh in ruins. I could not trace any more traditions regarding the blind king Lha-dbaṅ, who had once resided there. Pu-rig, often spelt Bu-rig. Bu-rig is probably the original form. Pu-rig is the outcome of an attempt of many people at pronouncing the name Bu-rig after the fashion of Lha-sa. Thus, the personal name Bu-khrid was also converted to Pu-khrid. Many Ladakhis who have been to Lha-sa do their best to introduce the eastern pronunciation of Tibetan into Ladakh. Bu-rig means 'clever boys', probably because the Dards, the ancient inhabitants of the country, were superior to the Ladakhis in general culture. The Dard language is still spoken between Kargil and the Zoji Pass. The district consisted of two principalities, one with the capital of Cig-tan, the other with Dkar-rtse as its capital.

An inscription mentioning Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal was found at Gtiṅ-mo-sgaṅ; see my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 38. An inscription and a portrait of Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal exist in the Mgon-khaṅ temple at Leh. I visited this temple, and found the figures of the four lords artistically carved in wood. The principal figure represented Rnam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa). Another inscription of Bkra-śis is found in the Gsum-rtsag temple at Alci, which he renovated. *Ladakhi Songs*, No. v, refers to this renovation. The pedestal of his flagstaff is still in existence at Phyi-dbaṅ. I am inclined to believe that he erected the flagstaff because he wished to appease his own conscience. He himself had committed a *crimen læsæ majestatis*. By embracing the flagstaff himself he hoped to get rid of the crime. He was apparently a great politician. When the Turkomans invaded his country, he instigated them to fight all his disobedient chiefs one after another (cf. the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 422); but possibly he was killed by the Turkomans in 1532 A.D. There is in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 422) a Balti or Nub-ra chief of those times called Bahram. He is probably the Bhag-ram-Mir of the Nub-ra inscription (No. 41 of my collection). The Turkomans call Bkra-śiś-rnam-rgyal Tashi-kun, which corresponds to Bkra-śis-mgon. It is remarkable that the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (pp. 423, 460), after having told of Tashi-kun's death, goes on to speak of him as if he had never died. I believe that the Turkomans, when once they had grasped the name of a Tibetan chief, did not let it go again, but called his successor by the same name. This would also explain why they speak of Blo-gros-mchog-ldan as still living in 1532 A.D. It was his successor, whom they called by the same name.

Then the incarnate king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1532–60 A.D.) was invited to assume the royal functions. Going to war, while yet quite a young man he conquered [all the country] from Ṅam-riṅs in the east (*L* MS. : in the north) downwards hither, (viz.) Blo-bo, Pu-hraṅs, Gu-ge, etc.; to the south, Hdzum-laṅ and Ñuṅ-ti, both; in the west as far as Śi-dkar and Kha-dkar (*L* MS. : Khab-gar). He also said that he would make war against the Turkomans (Hor) north [of Ladakh]; but the people of Nub-ra petitioned him, and he desisted. He brought the chiefs of all these [districts], (*S* MS.), having spoken to them in a friendly manner, (*A* MS.) [with him] as hostages, and placed his own representatives in [their] castles. All Mar-yul grew much in extent and flourished. Gu-ge had to pay as tribute and dues annually 300 *žo* of gold, (*S* MS.) silver, 100 three years' sheep, and one horse. (*A* MS.) Ru-thogs had to pay 260 *žo* of gold in addition to 100 three-year-old sheep, one riding horse, ten tanned skin bags, and [the proceeds from the royal domains] of Hkhar-ḫo-ldoṅ and Žiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ; [indeed], from all sides they brought in tribute and dues in inconceivable quantities. The king came to consider: 'My ancestors have, on the pattern of Lha-sa and Mtho-gliṅ of Gu-ge, placed the bones of the Buddha-Elephant on the Rtse-mo; but, as the people do not go there on pilgrimage, or in order to worship, or to offer up sacrifices, or perform circumambulations, I will, instead, (*S* MS.) for the benefit of the creatures, (*A* MS.) build a monastery and establish the doctrine of Buddha on a basis similar to what it had under my ancestor Ral-pa-can.' But, as his work on earth was finished, he went to heaven.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ṅam-riṅs, on the road from Lha-sa to Ladakh, twenty-one marches from this side of Lha-sa. Hdzum-laṅ, not known. May be identical with Jumla in Nepal. Śi-dkar (Shigar), a large village (and principality) in Baltistan. Kha-dkar (Khaskar, *d* preceding *k* in Ladakh being frequently pronounced like *s*). There certainly is a Kashkar (Chitral) further west, but it is very improbable that the Ladakh Empire should ever have extended so far. Trade with Chinese Turkestan is almost essential to the welfare of Nub-ra. It is in Nub-ra that all the caravans going to or coming from Yarkand obtain their supplies for man and beast. Consequently most grown-up people in Nub-ra know the Turki language fairly well. Hkhar-ḫo-ldoṅ and Žiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ are said to be the names of two estates near Ru-thogs? (Let me note that on Montgomerie's map of the Western Himalayas there is marked a place Darchan a little north-east of the Manasarowar Lake.—F.) The Rtse-mo is the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh.

Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal is supposed to have been an incarnation of Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi). Gautama Buddha, in one of his births, figures as an elephant. His bones are supposed to be the relics referred to in this passage. They were destroyed by the Baltis during the time of Hjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. (Communication by Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel.) Ral-pa-can is the name of one of the ancient kings of Tibet (see *ante*).

Gte-pa, 'hostages' (according to Jäschke, Dict.; the MSS., however, are unanimous in writing *ste-pa*; pronunciation also *ste-pa*). One *žo* of gold is stated to weigh ¼ *tola*, equivalent to almost 3 grammes. Its value in silver is said to be equivalent to from 15 to 18 rupees. This would correspond to the British guinea. One *žo* of gold is the price charged, e.g., for large printed volumes like the *Mdo-maṅ*, which may be had at Leh lamasery, printed to order for this price. *Sems-can-gyi-las*, 'his work on earth.' It would be far-fetched to explain this by 'the work (*karma*) of a prior existence in their efforts being exhausted', as suggested by Schlagintweit ['the merits of living creatures (i.e. his people) were exhausted'?—F. W. T.].

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

It is not at all improbable that Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's empire extended to Kashgar (Chitral). As we know from the Balti chronicles (see Ahmad Shah's account), the Balti kings actually held Chitral. Dr. A. Neve, of Srinagar, tells me that he was shown at Chitral a chenar-tree which, according to local tradition, had been planted by a Balti king. When the Ladakhi king beat the Baltis, he gained power, of course, over all their possessions. Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal built the Byams-pa monastery at Bab-sgo, where there is a portrait of him, together with those of his two brothers. His conquest of Kulū (Lahul) is confirmed by the chronicles of Ko-loṅ (Lahul). For a song of old Bum-bha, his minister, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs,' No. vi. Rock-inscriptions referring to constructions of roads by this king are found under Nos. 44 and 77 of my collection.

Upon this all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads. Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal reigned (*c.* 1560–90 A.D.). In the time of this king two chiefs in Pu-rig did not agree. He came with the Ladakh army to the assistance of one of them, Tshe-riṅ-malig. But the time had now come when the period of darkness should supervene, the period when royal supremacy should well-nigh be destroyed. The army of 'A-li-Mir, Duke of Naṅ-goṅ (*C* MS. : of Skar-rdo), broke forth. They met, and by dint of stratagem, [ever] putting off [fighting] from one day to the next, [he succeeded in holding them on] until all the passes and valleys were blocked with snow, and the king with his army, wherever they went, were compelled to surrender. All Ladakh was [soon] overrun by Sbal-tis, who burnt all the religious books with fire, threw some into the water, destroyed all the monasteries, whereupon they again returned to their own country. After this it pleased 'A-li-Mir-Śer-Han (Khan) to give his daughter, Rgyal-Kha-thun (*L* MS. : Rgyal-Ka-thun) by name, who was an incarnation of the white Sgrol-ma (Tārā), to Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal to be his wife.

(*B* MS.) After he had sojourned there for no long while,
[It happened that] 'A-li-Mir had a dream.

[He dreamt] he saw, emerging from the river below his castle, a lion, which sprang and disappeared in [the body of] Rgyal-Kha-thun. It was at the identical time that Rgyal-Kha-thun conceived. Now, after 'A-li-Mir had prepared a feast for all the soldiers, and Rgyal-Kha-thun had put on all her jewels, he invited Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal to mount the throne, and then said :

p. 39. Yesterday in a dream
I saw a lion [emerging] from the river in front [of the castle];
And, jumping at Rgyal-Kha-thun, he disappeared into her body.
At the same time also
That girl conceived.
Now it is certain that she will give birth to a male child,
Whose name ye shall call Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal!

Having said this, he gave [the king] leave with the army of Ladakh to return home and to resume his royal functions. (*A* MS.) To him were born two sons : Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal, these two. At that time Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal bethought himself : 'In the first instance I went with my army to the assistance of Tshe-riṅ-malig of Pu-rig ; the consequence was that all Ladakh was laid waste. Now

I will employ any means that may serve towards the propagation of the religion of Buddha and make it spread. But, as the religion of Buddha is entirely dependent upon the people for its propagation, I must, on my part, relieve them from all taxation, and protect them like my own children!' Having thus resolved, he equalized rich and poor three times. This king united under his sway [all the country] from Pu-rig upwards, and from Braṅ-rtse downwards. Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-mo, the daughter of Ḥjig-rten-dbaṅ-phyug, whom he had married before he took Rgyal-Kha-thun, also bore him two sons, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bstan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. These two sons were sent to Dbus-Gtsaṅ (Central Tibet) in order to [lay down] before the precious Jo-bo (Buddha) gold-water and cushions. At Ḥbras-spuṅs and Ra-luṅ gold, silver, pearls, coral-beads, amber, trident-banners, [tea for] tea-generals, all in numbers of one hundred. At De-rnams long prayer-flags, and also messengers to invite the Ḥbrug-pa incarnation [to Ladakh]. For the sake of his reputation during his lifetime (?) he caused a copy of the *[B]rgya-[r]tog-gser-gsum*, the *Dkar(Bkaḥ)-rgyud-gser-ḥphreṅ*, and other [books] to be written in gold, silver, and copper. For the sake of posthumous fame he would have very much liked to rebuild and present anew whatever had been destroyed by the Sbal-tis, but, his life being short, he went to heaven [without having been able to accomplish his purpose].

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Naṅ-goṅ, 'central and upper [districts],' viz. of Baltistan. Braṅ-rtse (Survey map: Tankse), well-known village east of Leh, on the road to the Paṅ-koṅ Lake and Byaṅ-chen-mo. The limits given here include less territory than there had been under the kings of Ladakh at any other time. Ḥbras-spuṅs, a Dge-ldan-pa lamasery in Central Tibet. Ra-luṅ, also written Smra-luṅ, and once Ḥbrug-ra-luṅ, an important lamasery of the Ḥbrug-pa order, near Lha-sa. De-rnams, a lamasery (Dge-ldan-pa), two or three days' journey west of Lha-sa.

Jo-bo: I am informed there are really three images called by this name; two of them, the best known of all, are the Jo-bo-Riṇ-po-che and Jo-bo-Mi-skyod-rdo-rje (Akshobhya-vajra), both in the Jo-khaṅ at Lha-sa, one on a lower, the other on an upper platform. The third, Jo-bo-Śākya-muṇi, is the one at Ra-mo-che. The Jo-bo-Mi-skyod-rdo-rje was brought by the queen Khri-btsun from Nepal (see above, p. 83, n. 1); the Jo-bo-Śākya-muni, on the other hand, by the queen Koṅ-jo from China (see above). Where the Jo-bo-Riṇ-po-che came from I do not know.[1] *Cab-dar*, not *Cob-dar*, a long tuft of silk threads, suspended from a trident (*kha-ṭam-kha* or *rtse-gsum*) and supported on a pole. It may be carried about or placed on the roof of lamaseries and palaces. The Ḥbrug-pa incarnation is probably an incarnation of Dpal-Ye-śes-mgon-po, the tutelary deity of the Ḥbrug-pas. *Brgya-rtog-gser-gsum* is a religious trilogy, consisting of the *Brgya-stoṅ*, the *Rtog-gzuṅs*, and the *Gser-ḥod*. Frequently the last-named title is applied to the whole. (A copy of the *Gser-ḥod-dam-pa*, written throughout in the ancient Tibetan orthography, was recently discovered at Kyelang. It was bought by the Archæological Department.—F.) *Ḳar[Bkaḥ]-rgyud-gser-ḥphreṅ:* Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel, late head lama of the Stag-sna lamasery in Ladakh, and probably the most learned lama in the country, informed me that this is a kind of clerical genealogy, or a list containing the names of the chief lamas of his own order, the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, from its very commencement. The Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, who are supposed to derive their name from this genealogy, are a subdivision of the Ḥbrug-pa order. (Let me add that in No. 128 of my collection of inscriptions the names of the 'church-fathers' of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa order are given as follows: (1) Rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ, (2) Ti-li (Te-lo-pa), (3) Na-ro, (4) Mar-pa, (5) Mi-la, (6) Rgam-po, (7) Thar-sab-pa, (8) Gnas-phug-pa, (9) Dpal-ldan-ḥbrug-pa. The images of several, if not all, of them may be seen at the Lamayuru monastery.—F.) Although polygamy is not common with Ladakhis—polyandry being more in vogue—yet no one objects if a man, in case his first wife has no children, takes a second wife. The first wife is then

[1] [According to Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa* (p. 201), it was brought by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's wife Koṅ-jo from China; cf. also Landon's *Lhasa*, vol. ii, p. 310.—F. W. T.]

called *chan-chen* (*lcam-chen*?—F.), the second wife *chan-chung* (*lcam-chuṅ*?—F.); *chan-ma* is said to be 'a woman who prepares food'; the spelling of the word is uncertain.

Żag-ci-ḫgro, 'what day do you think [we shall fight]?'; *ḫgro*, 'it is likely' (Jäschke, *Dict.*). *Yal*, 'succumbed, lost, waned.' *Rgya-mar*, the same as *Rgya-mar-phyag-rjes-su*.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The two chiefs of Pu-rig who did not agree were the Khri-Sultan of Dkar-rtse and the Pu-rig Sultan of Cig-tan. Both had recently embraced Muhammadanism. For a song on Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's alliance with Tshe-riṅ-malig of Cig-tan see my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs', No. viii, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68. In this song the Ladakhi king is called Mdzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal (Cārumant). Rnam-rgyal-mgon-po seems to have reigned for a short time before Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal ascended to the throne (see the Mdo-mkhar inscription, No. 103 of my collection). For an inscription referring to Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's marriage to a Sbal-ti princess see my article 'Rock Inscriptions at Mulbe', *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 79–80. For Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's position in Sbal-ti history see my remarks on song No. v of my collection, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1909. The word *mtsho*, 'lake,' which is found in the 'Song of Ali-Mir', refers to the Indus. The broadest part of the Indus at Skar-rdo is called *Rgya-mtsho*, 'ocean' (see Vigne's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 268, Gemtsuh).

Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal and his wife (Kha-tun) are mentioned in a votive inscription at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ (No. 208).

His son was the king of faith, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1590–1635 A.D.). From his childhood he was very strong, and in wrestling, running, jumping, shooting with [bow and] arrow, as well as matchlock, and riding—in every kind of sport—he was to be compared with Don-grub (Siddhārtha), the son of Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana), of olden time. The king, yet a youth, made war against the back-steppes of Gu-ge. Even so far as from the northern slope of Ti-se (Kailāsa) he carried away ponies, yaks, goats, and sheep, and filled the land with them. Some time later he made war against the central provinces of Gu-ge also. Śa-waṅ (a kind of game?) and Żа-ye (*L* MS.: Żа-yas?) he allowed to be killed, and he made all La-dvags to be full of yaks and sheep. He married the princess (owner) of Ru-śod, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, and made her queen. He invited the King of Siddhas (*grub-thob*), called Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, [to Ladakh]. This Buddha, who had obtained the rainbow-body, had visited India (*L* MS.: India and China), 'O-rgyan (Udyāna), Kha-che (Kashmir), etc., and had seen all the eighty Siddhas face to face. In fulfilment of his father's intention he erected at Bab-sgo an [image of] Byams-pa (Maitreya), made of copper and gilt, in size [as he will be] in his 8th year, and adorned with all kinds of precious stones; (*C* MS.) he offered up turquoise and coral jewellery and other things. (*A* MS.) He introduced the great deities of all India, east and west. He appointed for the duration of the [present] Kalpa five lamas to be in perpetual attendance, and to offer up sacrifices and keep the sacred lamps burning both day and night. He set up sashes made of the most wonderful Chinese silks, [and also] umbrellas, long prayer-flags, etc. Again, in fulfilment of his mother's intention, he sent, to be laid down at the feet of the incarnation of Ḫphags-pa-rab-ḫbyor (Subhūti), the
p. 40. Pan-chen, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan [A.D. 1569–1662], golden earrings, silver earrings, amber [pieces of] the size of apples 108, smaller ones 108, coral beads of the size of fowls' eggs 108, pearls of the size of Chinese peas 108, and smaller ones a great many. (*B* MS.) At . . . Lha-sa, Khra-ḫbrug, Bsam-yas, and other [monasteries], he offered up sacrifices, everywhere one thousand. To the Dge-[ldan], Ḫbras-[spuṅs], Se-r[a], Ḫbrug-Ra-luṅ, Sa-skya, and all the other lamaseries both great and small, he made presents of [tea

for] the tea-generals, and other things, all numbering one hundred, in plenty. (*C* MS.) At Wam-le, Rgod-yul, Kha-nag, Gtsaṅ-dmar, Skyu-dmar-naṅ, Me-ru, Dar-rtse, he gave the entire population [to the monasteries]; and, besides, in Upper and Lower Ladakh and throughout his dominions, he gave estates as sites for religious purposes for the duration of the present Kalpa. (*A* MS.) To the Siddha Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, the same [as mentioned before], he gave, in the several districts that belonged to himself, estates as well as sites in plenty for religious buildings; and Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, during the reigns of both the father Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and the son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, the father then being in the decline, and the son in the prime of his life, satisfactorily completed (*S* MS.) innumerable monasteries, of which the chief were these three, the Byaṅ-chub-bsam-gliṅ monastery of He-mi, the Theg-mchog monastery of Lce-bde, and the Bde-chen monastery of Wam-le, (*A* MS.) also the Bkra-śis-sgaṅ monastery and others. Thus the law of Buddha made progress and flourished. (*C* MS.) To the great Siddha, Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, the supreme, he presented 100 ponies, 100 yaks, 100 cattle, 1,000 sheep, 1,000 goats, 1,000 silvers (Ladakhi rupees), 100 *žo* of gold, 3,000 loads of grain, one string of pearls, one string of coral beads, one string of turquoises, 25 matchlocks, 25 spears, 25 swords, 15 coats-of-mail, 25 pieces of silk, 10 pieces of brocade, 25 pieces of gauze with and without a pattern, 25 pieces of broad gauze for 'scarfs of blessing', and other presents inconceivable. Then he reared the Sle-chen-dpal-mkhar (palace) of nine stories, and completed it within about three years. His own private utensils for religious worship were all made of gold and silver, and very numerous. He also caused a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* to be copied in gold, silver, and copper, and, besides, many other [religious] volumes and books. (*S* MS.) Then also, he built a *sku-gduṅ* (kind of stūpa), six stories high, furnished with copper and gilt prayer-wheels. At Leh he erected three *man-thaṅ* (Mendong, *maṇi* walls), and in Zaṅs-mkhar one, with altogether 100 millions of *maṇi* stones. As a scent-offering he erected the images of the golden chain of the Dkar(Bkaḥ)-rgyud lamas, and the great Thub-[pa] (Buddha) at Śel (Śeh). [Thus] he caused the precious teaching of Buddha to rise like the sun over all men. (*B* MS.) All his dominions lived according to the rule of the ten virtues, and thus the whole earth was filled with the saying: 'In the whole world is there a king like Seṅ-ge or a lama like Stag; the priest and the donor; sun and moon, a pair?' After this, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal bethought himself: '[My] uncle Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal ruled indeed as far as Ṅam-riṅs in the north-east; but he did not live long, and during the reign of [my] father Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal all the vassal princes again rose.' So he again went to war [and came] as far as Ṅam-riṅs in the north. At Śi-ri-dkar-mo he stopped (or, he was routed at Śi-ri-dkar-mo). Upon this there arrived an ambassador from Tibet, and it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before, and that his dominions should include all the country up to Dbu[s]-Gtsaṅ. On his return journey he died at Wam-le. (*L* MS.) Further, [this king] made many small offerings and gave many hundreds of loads of saffron, different kinds (?) of linen, and tufts of silk threads. As an 'offering of the word' [he presented] the *Stoṅ-phrag-brgya-pa*, the *Mdo-sde-Bskal-bzaṅ-po*, on five

occasions copies of the five divisions of the *Byams-chos*, and on two occasions copies of the *Brgya-[r]tog-gser-gsum*. He caused the biography of Stag-tshaṅs-ras-chen and the *Mgur-ḫbum* to be copied in gold, silver, and copper. He caused many hundred million of *maṇi* formulas to be recited, and for them offered many sacrifices of a hundred or a thousand each. Besides he built the Stag-sna [and other monasteries], although in reality he did not build them, but they came into existence by a miracle. He introduced the teaching of the *Bsgrub-rgyud*. During the time of this king, 'Adam-mkhan, the king of Sbal-ti, having brought in the army of Pad-cha-Śa-ḫjan, they fought many battles at Mkhar-bu, and, many Hor (Mughal soldiers) being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy. An army being sent against Gu-ge, its chief and owner was deposed, and Rtsa-braṅ of Gu-ge, as well as [the] Los-loṅ (the really blind one), were seized. The 'Aṅ-pa (chief?) of Ru-thog was also deposed, and Ru-thog was seized. [Then] war was made against Dbus-Gtsaṅ, and Śi-ri as well as Kyar-Kyar were made
p. 41. tributary. The King of Dbus-Gtsaṅ, Sde-pa-gtsaṅ-pa, presented many mule-loads of gold, silver, and tea; and after [Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal] had paid his respects (?) he went home together with the army of Ladakh. He also brought Lho-mo-sdaṅ into his power. He reigned from Bu-raṅ, Gu-ge, Zaṅs-dkar, Spyi-ti, and Bu-rig, as far as the Mar-yum pass in the east. Ru-thog and the districts as far as the gold-mines were brought under his sway, and La-dvags spread and flourished.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ru-śod, an upland district (about 15,000 feet elevation) between Ladakh and Lahul and Spiti, usually called Rupshu (Drew) or Rukshu (Survey map). The present 'queen' of Ladakh is also a Rupshu princess. Bab-sgo, village on the River Indus, about 18 miles west of Leh (Survey map: Bazgo). The temple and image (the so-called Se-ljaṅ monastery) still remain, whilst the palace is in ruins. The place is well worth a visit. Khrag-ḫbrug is a Dge-ldan-pa lamasery at Lhasa. Bkra-śis-sgaṅ, in Tibet, about two marches from the frontier, on the River Indus (map of Turkestan: Tashigong). He-mi, famous lamasery in Ladakh (Survey map: Himis), about 18 miles S.S.E. of Leh. The Himis fair in summer is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladakh. This lamasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladakh, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The lamas are of the Ḫbrug-pa order of the 'red' persuasion. Theg-mchog of Lce-ḫbre is a sister lamasery to He-mi, north of the Indus (vulg. Chemre; Survey map: Chimray). Byaṅ-Ṅam-riṅs; Northern Ṅam-riṅs: the word Byaṅ has probably come to be a compound part of the name. Śi-ri-dkar-mo, name of a small lamasery on a rock on the right bank of the River Charta-Sangpo (map of Turkestan). The difficulty of crossing the river may to some extent account for the defeat of the Ladakh army (cf. Koeppen, ii, p. 146, n. 1). Rgod-yul is the name of the Hanle (Wam-le) district Kha-nag (Drew's map: Kharnak; Survey map: Khanuk; vulg. Kharnak), a valley in Zaṅs-dkar. Gtsaṅ, abridged from Gtsaṅ-kha, a valley near He-mi. Dmar, abridged from Dmar-rtse-laṅ (Drew: Marchalong; Survey map: Marsahing), near He-mi. Of the combination Skyu-dmar-naṅ: Skyu = Skew or Skio (Survey map) in the valley of Dmar-kha in Zaṅs-dkar; Dmar stands for Dmar-kha (Drew and Survey: Markha); Naṅ, probably a hamlet in the same valley. Me-ru (Survey map: Miru), on the Rgya River, one march south of He-mi. Dar-rtse? (A village called Dar-rtse is found in the upper part of the Bhāga Valley, Lahul.—F.) The Sle-chen-dpal-mkhar is the palace of Leh, a conspicuous building immediately above the city. (A picture is given in Cunningham's *Ladak*, where there is also another of the Wam-le (Hanle) monastery.)

Grub-thob, *Siddha*, according to Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 536), seems to denote the degree next to and below Arhatship. This passage, however, properly refers to Jainism. The word occurs again in the text four lines further down, where the eighty *Grub-thob* are mentioned. The only 'eighty' referred to anywhere in Buddhistic literature are, I believe, the 'eighty great disciples', *Mahā-śrāvakas*. They, indeed, were not

supposed to have attained to Arhatship during life, but became Arhats at the moment of their death. Hence the *Grub-thob*, or *Siddha*, would seem to be 'a candidate for Arhatship', one who will obtain *Grub-pa*, i.e. perfection, when he dies. Two characteristics of the *Grub-thob*, incidentally mentioned here, also prove that between him and an arhat designate is very little difference. The first is that he is able to have intercourse with the 'eighty great disciples', i.e. that time to him is of no account. The second is that he has obtained the 'rainbow-body' (*ḥjaḥ-lus*), i.e. a body which at death vanishes out of sight, not leaving any trace behind, just like the rainbow. Compare the seven Khri (thrones) in Chapter IV (*ante*). This, of course, amounts to obtaining *Parinirvāṇa*. Now, as according to Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 134), the third and highest degree of Arhatship is identical with Supreme Buddhahood, it is no longer difficult to understand why Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen should be styled a Saṅs-rgyas, i.e. a Buddha. Stag-tshaṅ is said to be the author of the little book of travel, the *Śam-bha-la-paḥi-lam-yig*, referred to once or twice in these notes. (Portrait statuettes of Stag-tshaṅ may be seen at He-mi and Lce-hbre.—F.) The *Rgyal-mtshan* is a crinoline-shaped kind of parasol, but cylindrical, not conical, in form, about 3 feet in height by 1 foot in width; it consists of two or three hoops with a covering of black woollen threads or of trimmings of calico. (It is of Indian origin.—F. W. T.) It is planted on the roofs of lamaseries and palaces. The Paṇ-chen-rin-po-che at Bkra-śis-lhun-po is not usually supposed to be an incarnation of Subhūti; but, as he may be an incarnation of Amitābha, of Mañjuśrī, of Vajrapāṇi, and of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, there is no reason why he should not be an incarnation of Subhūti as well. (But see Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 207, where Subhūti is placed at the head of the hierarchs of Bkra-śis-lhun-po.—F. W. T.)

Tibetan *glog* (i.e. *klog* reading)=fire-arms. As to Śa-waṅ and Ża-ye (Ża-yas) no information was available. Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel, however, was confident that *mar-jag-la-gtoṅ-ba* means 'to kill'. *Dgoṅs-rdzogs-la* really has a much more profound meaning than simply 'in memory'. I think its primary meaning is 'to complete what may be supposed to have been the intention of the deceased person to do, but was left undone'; a secondary meaning would be 'to perform meritorious works on behalf of a deceased person, so as to benefit him or her in the *bar-do* purgatory'; and thirdly (once in *C* MS., distinctly so), 'funeral rites and prayers read for the benefit of the soul.' The litany used on such occasions is called, in the case of the Dge-ldan-pa sect, *Sbyaṅ-lam*, 'the way of removing obstacles,' viz. in the road to a happy rebirth, and is usually read for forty-nine days (as Sir Monier Williams gives it, *Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 334). *Rgya-lha*, 'great deities'; I follow in this translation Bkra-śis-bstaṅ-ḥphel's explanation; but still some misgivings as to its accuracy remain. *Ḥbum-tshaṅ* are large earrings of silver or gold, consisting of a ring about 2 inches in diameter, on to which are strung, like beads, a large number of very diminutive rings of silver or gold. *Sa-phud*, a first offering, earnest of land. *Tsho-smad*, 'decline of life'; *tsho-stod*, 'prime of life.' 'The king was like a lion and the lama like a tiger' is an allusion to their proper names: *seṅ-ge*=lion, *stag*=tiger. *Mchod-yon*, *mchod*=lama; *yon*=donor, i.e. *yon-bdag* (*dānapati*), present lord. One Ladakh rupee is equal to $\frac{4}{5}$ rupee British coinage. *Rkyan-khab*=Urdu *Kimḳhwáb*, cloth. *Men-tse*, silk-gauze with dots; *gliṅ-ri*, the same without dots. The two words combined are *men-gliṅ*. *A-śe* is a broad variety of this kind of loose gauze. For 'scarfs of blessing' see Huc & Gabet's memoirs, etc. *Lo-ṅo-gsum*, compare Jäschke's *Dict.*, sub voce *ṅo*, *zla-ba-ṅo-bcu* means 'the first half of the tenth month', hence here we probably ought to translate 'the first half of the third year'. *Naṅ-rtan* means 'his own private utensils for religious worship'.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

As regards the works of literature mentioned in the above account the following may be said: The *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* is, of course, the well-known encyclopædia. The copy in gold, silver, and copper writing mentioned above is apparently still existent at Bab-sgo. The *Stoṅ-phrag-brgya-pa* is a well-known work of Mahāyāna philosophy, the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, comprising 100,000 ślokas. *Mdo-sde* is the name of one of the divisions of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, viz. the sūtras. (*Skal-bzaṅs* is the *Bhadra-kalpa*, the beginning of the *Mdo*.—F. W. T.) *Byams-chos* is perhaps the abridged title of the work *Byams-pas-żus-paḥi-chos-brgyad*; but this work has eight, not five, chapters as stated in the text. For *Brgya-rtog-gser-gsum*, the well-known trilogy, see notes on Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. The biography of Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen has not yet been discovered, but will probably soon come to light. The *Mgur-ḥbum* are the well-known 100,000 songs of Mi-la-ras-pa.

The additional lines from *L* MS. are of particular importance, for they tell us of Shāh Jahān's attempt to conquer Ladakh. He did not succeed, however, in capturing the town of Mkhar-bu. This town was built

on the top of a steep rock, and is now in ruins. On a plain below the ancient town, and above the present village of Mkhar-bu, there are many graves, possibly those of Mughal soldiers killed during that campaign. An obliterated inscription by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal is found on a rock below the entrance to the old town. It contains a date, possibly that of the battle of Mkhar-bu, viz. the water-dog year (1622+12=1634 A.D.). Cunningham, who on p. 322 of his *Ladak* gives a very similar account of that war, says that it was Jahangir who made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Ladakh. In connexion with the tale of this war the name of a Sbal-ti chief Adam-Khan, is given. This name, however, cannot be traced in any of the tables of Sbal-ti chieftains. On the other hand, the Cig-tan chief of those times was called Adam-Khan. Cunningham, in his *Ladak* (pp. 345 sqq.), says that the name of the Sbal-ti chief was Ahmed-Khan. This is quite in keeping with Cunningham's tables of Sbal-ti chiefs, for the most important of Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's sons was Ahmad-Khan. The note on the conquest of Tsaparang (Rtsa-braṅ) is also of great importance. This is in all probability the conquest which led to the end of d'Andrada's mission at Tsaparang. *Los-loṅ*, 'the really blind one,' is apparently the nickname of the Tsaparang king, who was favourably inclined towards Christianity. Two inscriptions, evidently referring to the same king, the last vassal king of Gu-ge, Khri-bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde, and to d'Andrada's mission, were discovered by me on my Spiti journey in 1909. In Duka's *Life of Csoma de Körös* (p. 96) we read that a work by a Romish missionary on Tibet, the Speculum veritatis, dated 1678, was discovered in an obscure spot of Kunawar, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dr. Gerard believed it to be connected with d'Andrada (or his mission ?). It was sent to Csoma. King Seṅ-ge's Central Tibetan expedition was directed against Sde-pa-Gtsaṅ-pa, 'the king of Tibet.' This Sde-pa-Gtsaṅ-pa is a well-known historical personage. He is mentioned in S. Ch. Das' article, 'The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama' (JASB., 1904, pp. 85, 86), as having fought against the yellow-cap church from 1615–41 A.D. Whether Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal was successful to the very end of his expedition or not, I find it as yet impossible to decide, the text not being sufficiently clear.

As regards dates referring to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign, the following may be mentioned. (It must be understood, however, that Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign overlapped that of his son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. This son had taken charge of part of his father's work before the latter died.) According to part xi of the chronicles, the famous willow-tree at Leh was planted in 1594. In the same year, under Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the Kashmir mosque of Leh is stated to have been built. This is somewhat doubtful. In Schlagintweit's inscription from the He-mis monastery the following dates are given: Erection of the monastery in the water-tiger year (1602+12=1614 A.D.); completion of the building in the water-horse year (1642+12=1654 A.D.); erection of the great maṇi wall at the Seṅ-ge-sgo doorway (at Leh or He-mi ?) in the iron-dog year (1610+12=1622 A.D. or 1670+12=1682 A.D.). Above the door of the Lce-hbre monastery there is a silver plate, which contains nothing but the following date, possibly that of the completion of the building: The water-ox year (1613+12=1625 A.D.). The Jesuit mission at Tsaparang came to an end in 1652 or 1656, according to H. Hosten's *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India* (p. 17, n.). Thus it lasted from 1624 to 1652 or 1656 A.D.

In K. Marx's *B* MS. the great Buddha statue and the great stūpa, both at Sheh, are stated to have been erected by Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Their construction was possibly begun under Bde-ldan's father, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The Bkaḥ-brgyud lamas are the nine church-fathers of the Hgrug-pa sect of Tibet. See notes under Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. According to the text, given above, this king introduced all the great deities of India. It was probably during his reign that 'the Ladakh people imbibed faith in the doctrine of Guru Nanak', as stated in the *Ḥdzam-gliṅ-ye-śes* (JASB., vol. lvi, p. 192). Even nowadays the Golden Temple at Amritsar is a Ladakhi place of pilgrimage. King Seṅ-ge's orders regarding the dress of his subjects are found in my manuscript collection of proverbs from Rgya. A picture of the royal household of his times is found on a temple flag at Ño-ma in Ladakh. The history of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's step-brother, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, is to be found in my 'History of Lahul', written for the *Ind. Ant.* Ṅag-dbaṅ's name is also connected, according to tradition, with the Ladakhi monasteries of Stag-sna and Ṅod. The following inscriptions of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's time are found in my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions*: No. 50, Report of the construction of a bridge at Sa-spo-la; No. 51, Hymn addressed to the king from Bab-sgo; No. 52, Votive tablet from Liṅ-sñed; No. 53, Decree from Stag-ma-gcig; No. 54, Hymn addressed to the king from Skyur-bu-can; No. 55, Historical inscription from Mkhar-bu; No. 56, Votive tablet from Roṅ-do, Nub-ra; No. 57, Votive tablet from Hun-dar, Nub-ra; No. 58, Votive tablet from Sa-spo-la.

VIII. The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh

(*B* MS.) To him were born three sons, Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1620–45 A.D.), 'In-da-bhoti-rnam-rgyal, and Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal. Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal was made king. (*S* MS.): He lived according to the ten virtues, even during his youth. He protected his subjects according to religion. He wrote a biography of his father, in accordance with his [father's] character (or acted after the manner of his father's life.—F. W. T.). He showed unceasing kindness to others, and his courage was as great as that of four heroes combined. (*B* MS.) 'In-da-bhoti-rnam-rgyal was ordained lama by Chos-rje-Smug-hdzin of Stag-sna, and came to be the most prominent amongst the disciples of Stag-[tshaṅ]-ras-[chen]. At the time of the erection of the He-mi and Theg-mchog [lamaseries] he was proclaimed [head lama?], and became the most excellent amongst the clericals who delight in the doctrine. (*L* MS.) According to the teacher Stag-tshaṅ's advice (*B* MS.) he was made ruler of Gu-ge. To the youngest son, Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal, Spyi-ti and Zaṅs-dkar were allotted, and he ruled there. Then Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal resided in Ru-thog in summer, and in La-dvags in winter. He united under his sway [all the country] from Bu-rig to Mar-yul (*L* MS. to the Mar-yum pass). (*C* MS.) He united under his sway Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, Ku-ge, Ru-thog, Maṅ-yul, Spyi-ti, Zaṅs-dkar, Bu-rig(s), Hem-bab, Skar-rdo, Śi-gar, Bhal-ti, all these countries, and protected them like children; they were happy. (*B* MS.) In fulfilment of an intention of his father (or in memory of his father) he erected at Śel an image of [Śākya]-Thub-pa, made of copper and gilt, three stories high; also a relic-receptacle (*mchod-rten*), five stories high, of which the thirteen wheels, the canopy and the crowning-piece were of copper and gilt. Carrying out an intention of his mother, (*C* MS.) he built on the plain at the head of the Lte-bar gorge a 'long maṇi wall' 500 paces long (*B* MS.), having at either end a stūpa, one of the great Byaṅ-chub, the other of the great Rnam-rgyal [type]. At the Leh palace he put up an image of [Śākya]-thub-pa made of copper and gilt, two stories high. As it had been customary with his father, so he likewise appointed permanently for Ldum-ra, Zaṅs-dkar, Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo), Gtiṅ-sgaṅ, and other places 108 lamas each, who were to perform the 100 millions of *Om maṇi padme hūṃ* incantations there once a year. Furthermore, for the sake of his own reputation with posterity, he erected at Slel an image of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita), made of copper and gilt (*C* MS. a silver Spyan-ras-gzigs), two stories high; an assembly-hall, and a silver stūpa, two stories (*C* MS. three stories) high. Also at that time he appointed his minister, Śākya-rgya-mtsho, field-marshal. In the female water-ox year (1613 + 12 = 1625 A.D.) the Ladakh army took the field. Many men and women of Mkhar-bu were carried away captive. He-nas-ku and Stag-rtse were reduced and brought into subjection. Next, Cig-gtan and Śa-dkar (*L* MS. Śa-gar) were taken (broken). Then he led his army on to Sod-pa-sa-ri. He took Sod castle and gathered in the harvest of the fields. On his way back he sent his army against Sum-hbraṅ and conquered it, then attacked Dkar-rtse and again was victorious, bringing away with him its chief, the Khri-Sultan. In the male wood-tiger year (1614 + 12 = 1626 A.D.) he marched against Kha-pu-lu and conquered Chor-hbad (Chos-hbad) and Mtho-rtse-

mkhar. These districts he assigned to Hatam-Khan (Hetan-Khan ?), Sultan-Khan, and (*L* MS.) 'A-li-Khan (*B* MS.), these three severally. The chieftain of Skar-rdo and all the Sbal-tis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawābs (Nawāb of Kashmir) [of these high-handed proceedings]. In anger [thereat] an army of Hor (Mughal) numbering 200,000 arrived at Pa-sa-ri ; but the minister Hbrug-rnam-rgyal of La-dvags and the forces occupying [the castle] fought a battle against the Hor army, and killed many Hor soldiers. They captured ensigns and kettle-drums, winning a complete victory over the enemy.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The Śākya-thub-pa of Shel is an image of Buddha at Shel which is still there, as well as the *mchod-rten*. The thirteen wheels of a *mchod-rten*: in Ladakh, wherever there are any, there are always thirteen of these wheels; but many *mchod-rtens* are entirely without them. They are almost always red, and decrease upwards in size from below, so as to form a slender cone. In this case they are of copper and gilt. I believe their number is in some way connected with Shamanism. Radloff, in speaking of the Shamanists in Siberia, mentions thirteen worlds, through which the man who strives to obtain perfection has to press upwards. The top ornament of a *mchod-rten*, which resembles a large open flower (lotus), is called *zar-ra-zag* (*za-ra-tshag*). There are eight types of *mchod-rtens* (stūpas); the *Byaṅ-chub* is distinguished by square steps, the *Rnam-rgyal* by circular steps. The name 'long *maṇi*' for *maṇi* wall is given in contradistinction from the 'round *maṇi*', the *maṇi* driven by water, wind, etc. The 'long *maṇi*' mentioned above is the most conspicuous *maṇi* wall in the whole country.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Local names. Hem-bab is the half Tibetan, half Dard name of the town and district of Dras, on the Tibetan side of the Zoji pass. It means 'snow (*hem, hima*) falling'. The Lte-bar (Te-bar) gorge is situated half-way between Leh and the Indus bridge, on the road to Chu-śod. Ldum-ra (lit. 'fruit-garden') is the classical Tibetan name of Nub-ra (lit. 'western realm'), a province of Ladakh in the Shayok valley, north of Leh. He-nas-ku is a castle and town in a side valley at the eastern end of the Bod-Mkhar-bu valley. It formed part, apparently, of either the principality of Cig-tan, or that of Dkar-rtse. After its conquest a branch line of the West Tibetan dynasty resided there (see later). Stag-rtse was a castle of the chiefs of Cig-tan, situated on the right bank of the Cig-tan River in the Bod-Mkhar-bu valley. Śa-dkar (Sha-gar) is another castle of the Cig-tan chiefs. It is situated in a side valley on the right bank of the Cig-tan River, a few miles below Cig-tan. Śod is a castle in the vicinity of Kargil (Dkar-kyil). Sum-hbraṅ is not known to me. Kha-pu-lu is a Sbal-ti principality on the lower Shayok. Chor-hbad is a district in the Shayok valley, north of the Chor-hbad pass. The situation of Mtho-rtse-mkhar is not known to me.

With regard to the war mentioned in the above account, it is, in my opinion, identical with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's Mughal war. Here we hear of Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal's exploits in that same war. The general drift of events seems to have been as follows:—At first Prince Bde-ldan marched against the two Pu-rig chiefs, those of Cig-tan and Dkar-rtse, who were subdued. Then he crossed the Chor-hbad pass and conquered part of Baltistan. The conquered districts were made over to three Muhammadan chiefs, possibly younger brothers or relatives of the reigning chiefs of those districts. Then the Sbal-ti chiefs asked the Nawāb of Kashmir to intervene. In consequence of this Shāh Jahān sent a large army of Mughal soldiers against the Ladakhis. Then King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal himself had to march against the enemy, and, in the end, the Mughal army was compelled to leave Ladakh without having conquered it. I do not yet know of any clear account of this war from a Mughal point of view. It is incidentally mentioned by Bernier (London, 1914, pp. 421 sqq.). But the date given by Bernier evidently refers to the battle of Bab-sgo (see later). 'In-ḍa-bhoti-rnam-rgyal was made vassal-king of Gu-ge, on Stag-tshaṅ's recommendation. His Lamaist training made him particularly fitted for the post of exterminator of Christianity in that principality. Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal became vassal-king of Zaṅs-dkar and Spi-ti. Several inscriptions containing his name were discovered by two Tibetan munshis, sent to Spi-ti by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kulū. The line of Zaṅs-dkar kings which ended with Rin-chen-don-grub-rnam-rgyal in 1841 A.D. was probably descended from him.

Also King 'Aṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal of Zaṅs-dkar, a contemporary of Mi-pham-mgon, who is mentioned in a document from Phug-thal, was apparently a descendant of Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal. The following inscriptions of my collection refer to King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal:—No. 59, votive tablet from Da-ru; No. 60, votive tablet from Da-ru: No. 61, votive tablet from Tag-ma-cig; No. 62, votive tablet from Dpe-thug; No. 63, edict of Kha-la-rtse, relating to the irrigation water; No. 64, hymn in honour of Bde-ldan; No. 65, votive tablet from Phe; No. 106, votive rock inscription from Mdo-mkhar. The campaigns under this king are also related in two land-grants addressed to the generals Śākya-rgya-mtsho and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje.

His son Lha-chen-Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1645–80 A.D.) came to the capital. p. 42. At that time the people of Lho-ḥbrug (Bhutān) and the Tibetans had a dispute. Now, [the head-lama of] Lho-ḥbrug was the patron-lama (patron-deity) of the King of Ladakh. The latter sent a letter to Tibet, saying that he was prepared to take up his quarrel. The Tibetans carefully considered the matter: 'Supposing,' they said, 'the king's army should arrive here first, it would, in accordance with his name, lead to an overturn of the State (*Bde-legs*, lit. 'good fortune', and *Sde-brlags*, 'overturn,' may have a similar sound in Tibetan pronunciation). Would it not, therefore, be well to raise an army [here] first?' To this suggestion they all agreed. At that time there happened to be at Dgaḥ-ldan lamasery a Mongol lama, called Tshe-dbaṅ. The calculations pointed out him [as the destined leader]. He, accordingly, turned layman, and, heading the Mongol tribe and a powerful army [of Tibetans], he [soon] reached [Ladakh]. After a first engagement at Źva-dmar-ldiṅ the Mongol army in due course arrived at Ba-mgo (Baḅ-sgo). At that time the king was staying at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ castle, whilst the Ladakhi general and some forces following him seized Ba-mgo castle. Although they fought for three years, the Mongol army would not return [to Lha-sa]. So the King of La-dvags despatched a messenger to the Nawāb of Kha-chul (Kashmir). Then, an immense army appearing on the scene, a battle ensued on the Bya-rgyal plain near Ba-mgo. The Tibetan army was routed; they left behind them a large quantity of armour, bows, and arrows. Their rout continued until they reached Dpe-thub; the Mongol army in its flight [eventually] reached Bkra-śis-sgaṅ. There they built a fort, shut it in with a wall, and surrounded it with water. Inside they made it secure against an assault of armies, and there they abode. Upon this the Sde-pa-gźuṅ (Lhasa government), apprehending that the King of La-dvags might once more come and bring succour, and that thus another war might ensue, desired the Ḥbrug-pa-Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po to go and negotiate for peace. Accordingly the Ḥbrug-pa Omniscient [undertook the journey] and arrived at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ. Simultaneously some other messengers of the Tibetans arrived there as well. (*C* MS.) The King of La-dvags heard that the patron-lama of his forefathers had arrived. What these two agreed upon was not to be overturned again. [The result of their deliberations was as follows:—] As in the beginning King Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon gave a separate kingdom to each of his sons, the same delimitations still to hold good. (*B* MS.) The Tibetans have come to consider that, since Tibet is a Buddhist, and Kha-chul (Kashmir) is a non-Buddhist country, and since Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions have nothing in common and are hostile to each other, if at the frontier the King of La-dvags does not prosper, Bod (Tibet) also cannot enjoy prosperity. [This being so], the occurrences of the recent war should be

considered things of the past. The King, [on the other hand], shall in future keep watch at the frontier of Buddhist and non-Buddhist peoples, and out of regard for the doctrine of Buddha must not allow an army from India to proceed to an attack [upon Tibet]. As to privileges of Kha-chul (Kashmir) [the following agreement was come to]:—The fine wool of goats of Mñaḥ-ris-skor-gsum shall not be sold to any other country; the price of fine and coarse wool mixed shall be fixed at eighty *ñag* to two rupees (*C* MS.) [or] the price of fine and coarse wool mixed be fixed at forty *ñag* to one rupee, (*B* MS.) [to be paid in both money and kind]; the Byaṅ-[thaṅ] people shall not be allowed to use the *ñag* of Roṅ (Indus gorge?); it shall not be said of the wool of Byaṅ-[thaṅ] that it contains soil, stones, or moisture. To Ru-thog proper none but the court merchants [of Ladakh] are to be admitted. [Regarding] the goat wool [trade]:—four Kashmiri merchants shall reside at Dpe-thub, and do the trading with the Kashmiris of Kashmir. Besides these men, who are called Kha-chul-ḥgro-rgya, no Kashmiri of Kashmir shall be allowed to go to Byaṅ-thaṅ. Those Ladakhi-Kashmiris who go to Byaṅ-thaṅ shall not be allowed themselves to go down to Kashmir with loads of wool of goats. Regarding Mñaḥ-ris-skor-gsum Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po's stipulations were to this effect:—It shall be set apart to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers [offered] at Lha-sa; but at Men-ser (*C* MS. Smon-tsher) he king shall be his own master, so that the kings of La-dvags may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Gaṅs-mtsho [lake]; it shall be his private domain. With this exception the boundary shall be fixed at the Lha-ri stream at Bde-mchog. From Tibet the government trader shall come with two hundred loads of tea; and nowhere but by La-dvags shall rectangular tea-bricks be sent across the frontier. Should the government trader fail to come every year, then the above stipulations shall no longer be binding. The King of La-dvags, on the other hand, shall on the occasion of the *Lo-phyag* (biennial embassy) offer presents to the clergy. (*C* MS.) This embassy has to be sent with presents from La-dvags to Tibet every third year. (*B* MS.) As regards presents to ordinary lamas, the quantity is not fixed, but to the Bla-braṅ steward shall be given ten *thur-żo* of gold (*C* MS. two *thur-żo* of gold) (ten *tolās*); ten *sraṅ* of scent (saffron); six pieces of calico from Hor (the Mughal empire? or Turkestan?); and one piece of soft cotton cloth. Throughout their sojourn [the members of the Lo-phyag] shall receive [daily] rations. For the road [shall be supplied] [beasts of burden, to carry] 200 loads; (*C* MS.) 25 riding horses; 10 men [to act as] groom, cook, and servant; (*B* MS.)
p. 43. 15 baggage ponies, 10 riding ponies, and 3 men to act as groom, cook, and servant. (*B* MS.) There [in Tibet] the horses shall have fodder without restriction. For the steppe-districts (Ḥbrog-sde) [will be given] one large tent and [three] small tents for the leader, the head-cook, and the treasurer. The baggage ponies [will be supplied] according to stages and (*C* MS.) both going and coming the goods shall be transported on well-trained docile ponies. (*B* MS.) It also had been stipulated that with every mission (Lo-phyag) one of the three [provinces of] Mñaḥ-ris-skor-gsum should be made over to (*C* MS.) Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po; (*B* MS.) but the King entered a request with the Sde-pa-gżuṅ that he, begging to differ from Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po's decisions, would prefer

that they should give three districts in Tibet proper to Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po, in the place of Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum. Thereby a provocation to Mṅaḥ-ris-[skor-gsum] might be avoided. Accordingly, the Sde-pa-[g]żuṅ made over to Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po three estates. Gu-ge, Ru-thog, etc., were annexed to Lha-sa in order to defray [from the revenue derived from these districts] the expenses of sacrificial lamps and [the reading of] prayers. Then the Nawāb of Kha-chul sent his army back [to Kashmir], and the Nawāb and the King of La-dvags became friends. Likewise, the King of La-dvags had to send his filial share to Kashmir every third year, and along with that 18 piebald horses, 18 pods of musk, and 18 white yak tails; (*C* MS. or 6 every year); whilst it was also settled that 500 bags of rice (*C* MS. 300 bags of rice each year), being the revenue accruing to the King of La-dvags from his *jagir* Na-gu-śa-har (Naushahr) should every year be sent up from Kha-chul. This rice ceased to be sent when the Ladakhi kingdom was overthrown by the Siṅ-pa (Dogras). Peace and prosperity being restored, the king in all his acts and plans had no superior, and his kingdom received great extension and flourished. (*S* MS.) When this Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal began to reign, the Mongol Dgaḥ-ldan-tshaṅ, who had eyes like a bird, brought an army.

The king, occupying Bab-sgo,
With the assistance of an army from Kashmir,
Beat the Mongols,
And the Mongols had recourse to flight.

Again the kingdom flourished as before, and enjoyed the highest felicity of virtue and happiness.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The treaty between Lhasa and Ladakh is still in force to this day; only a few slight alterations in favour of Ladakh have been made. The Bla-braṅ steward is an official of the Dalai Lama; see Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, ii, p. 334. Instead of 200 loads, as stated in the above contract, the caravan conveys 260 loads nowadays. *Thur-żo*, 'delicate pair of scales,' gold weights. Twelve *ñag* are equal to one *batti* (4 lb). Żva-dmar-ldiṅ is situated half-way between Bkra-śis-sgaṅ and Gar-kun-sa. Sde-pa-gżuṅ, the palace of the Dalai Lama, has usually the meaning of 'Supreme Government'.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Of this campaign we have a fuller account in the grant of land to General Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje (see 'Minor Chronicles', *infra*). From the grant to Śākya-rgya-mtsho (*infra*) we learn that the names of the Nawābs were Ibrāhim Khān and Tīmūr Beg.

The date of the battle of Bab-sgo:—Moorcroft says (vol. i, p. 336) that it took place one and a half centuries before 1820 A.D., viz. 1670 A.D. The Chronicles of the Bashahr State place it in the middle of the seventeenth century, viz. 1650 A.D. As regards Bernier's account (ed. 1914, pp. 421 sqq.) of a Mughal campaign in Ladakh, it shows traces of the battle of Bab-sgo as well as of Shāh-Jahān's siege of Mkhar-bu. He says that the Mughal army besieged a castle. This might refer to the siege of Mkhar-bu; but, when he adds that they took it, the account reminds us of the battle of Bab-sgo, when the Mughal troops were victorious. According to Bernier this expedition to Ladakh had taken place seventeen or eighteen years before 1664, viz. in 1646–7 A.D. It is quite probable that the people who told Bernier of these campaigns were unable to distinguish between the two. That the battle of Bab-sgo must actually have taken place before 1664 A.D. is moreover indicated by Bernier's note on the Leh mosque. He says that the representative of the King of Ladakh who treated with Aurangzīb in 1664 A.D. again promised (p. 424) that a mosque should be built at Leh. This was

one of the conditions of the 'Peace of Gtiṅ-mo-sgaṅ'. The present mosque of Leh was erected, according to a Persian inscription, in 1077 A.H. I believe that we shall not be mistaken, if we accept *c.* 1650 A.D. as the probable date of the battle. It is remarkable that, whilst Cunningham gives (*Ladák*, pp. 327–8) a Tibetan date of the battle, none of the MSS. at my disposal contain such a date. If Cunningham's dates were correct, we should have to place the battle about ten years earlier. But Cunningham's account is not quite trustworthy; for he places the battle in King Bde-ldan's reign, whilst it certainly took place under King Bde-legs, as stated in all my MSS. Mīr-Izzat-Ullah, who wrote in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* (vol. iii, pp. 103 sqq.), adds the following items with regard to Bde-leg's dependence on the Mughal emperor:—(1) Bde-legs had to accept the Muhammadan name of Akabet-(or Akabal) Mahmūd-Khān; (2) he had to coin the *jau* (a Ladakhi coin worth $3\frac{1}{4}$ annas, pictured in Cunningham's *Ladák*, pl. xii) in the name of Mahmūd-Shāh; (3) a mosque had to be erected at Leh; (4) one of his sons, Ḥjig-dpal (? Cunningham's Jigbal), had to go to Kashmir as a hostage. A document with Aurangzīb's seal was discovered at Lamayuru by Moorcroft (ii, p. 14). It testifies to the dependence of the Ladakhis on the Mughal emperors after the battle of Bab-sgo. Inscriptions containing the name of Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal as King of Ladakh have not yet been discovered; but some mentioning Mi-pham-mgon (Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po) as regent of Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo have been found at Sñur-la, Rgya, and Phug-thal (compare No. 108 of my collection). After the battle a treaty was concluded between the Tibetan and the Bashahr State. Several documents of this treaty have come to light recently. A fresco representing the treaty is to be found in a garden house of the Rājā's palace at Rampur. A song of the siege of Bab-sgo (Ba-mgo) is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from W. Tibet', *Indian Ant.*, 1909, song No. X. According to popular tradition the numerous ruins at Mkhar-rdzoṅ in Nub-ra are connected with the Mongol general Dgah-ldaṅ-tshe-dbaṅ, of whom a portrait head may be seen at the Bde-skyid monastery, where it is placed in the hands of the ogre Mgon-dkar.

(*B* MS.) His sons were Lha-chen-Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (*L* MS. Ṅa-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal), Dbaṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal, (*L* MS.) Don-grub-rnam-rgyal, and (*B* MS.) Dgaḥ-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Of these four (five) brothers Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1680–1720 A.D.) was made king. (*S* MS.) Through the prayers of the brave-minded religious kings (Mahāsattvas) he erected all kinds of religious buildings and statues, according to the religious merit of all beings. (*B* MS.) In accordance with the rule of acting upon the model of the biographies of the ancient kings of faith,

He lauded the virtuous,
And suppressed evil-doers.

In pronouncing judgment even he never merely followed what first presented itself to his own mind, but [always] in the first place consulted his state officers. From every village he appointed as elders men of superior intelligence to assist him, and such as wanted his decision in rescripts, questions relating to field or house [property], he did not leave at the mercy of interlopers or partial advisers; but, having instituted [the councils of] three state officers and elders, he introduced the oath on the three symbols (body, mind, and word); first he investigated the primary origin [of any dispute], and extracted the root whence future [evil] report might spring. This edict surpasses in excellence any of those that were passed by all the dynastic kings of Tibet.

(*C* MS.) He lauded the virtuous
And showed honour to excellent men.
p. 44. Old men were respected
And devotion was shown to the lamas.
Evil-doers were suppressed;

The laws were purified.
He was impartial towards the nobility,
And his subjects he loved like children.
He was appreciative to both master and servant.
Sacrifices were offered to the gods on high,
And alms were given to the poor below.

And so on. Continually, and without break, innumerable *mchod-rtens* and other monuments were erected. At Lha-sa the great lamas received offerings of one hundred severally. To the monasteries of the Uplands, as well as to those of his own dominions, he was merciful and appreciative without partiality towards particular districts. He extracted beforehand the root of the tree of [future] evil reputation, and in its place planted good report. (*B* MS.) This same King of Faith presented to all the monasteries in Tibet, but especially to Lha-sa and Bsam-yas and similar(?) lamaseries, gold-water and sacrificial lamps. To all the great lamas without distinction he made presents, whilst the brotherhoods were invited to tea-generals. The congregations that were under his own sway, great and small, received honours without distinction. [He erected] images of the Lha (god) that he himself worshipped out of gold and silver, [caused] holy books [to be written, and built] the Rdza-naṅ-gi-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo (a maṇi wall). Materials were collected for erecting the symbols of body, word, and spirit (the image, the scriptures, and the stūpa); printing blocks were made for the *Hjam-sdud-bzaṅ-gsum*, the hymn to *Hjam-dbyaṅs* called *Gaṅ-blo-smon-lam*, the *Śes-bya-kha-dbyiṅs*, the *Gser-ḥod-gyaṅ-skyabs*, the *Bkaḥ-sgyur-ro-cog* (*mchog*) and the *Le*(= *Las?*)*-bdun*. All these having been satisfactorily completed, he distributed sacred books amongst all the laity. He [also had] a *Ma-ṇi-then-skor* (prayer-wheel) put up, made of gold, silver, and copper. (*C* MS.) Many *Dhāraṇīs*(?) were completed (engraved), and Maṅ-yul clave together like curdled milk and was happy. (*B* MS.) Again, amongst all the people there occurred neither strife, nor robbery, nor theft; it was a life passed in happiness such as that of a child with his fond mother. After this, when the king's wife had given birth to a son, Lha-chen-Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, she died. He having afterwards married Zi-zi-Kha-thun of Bu-rig, she bore a son, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and a daughter, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-mo, in all two children.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The *maṇi* wall called Rdza-naṅ-gi-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo is found near the Leh bridge over the Indus. [This must be a mistake. People tell me that it is found near the village of Dga-ra (Skara). Thus we had better say, 'near the bridge over the Leh-brook'.—F.]. It is generally asserted that it was built by the Mongols, which is an error.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Jesuit Desideri visited Leh in 1715 A.D. He calls the king Nima-Nimghial, and testifies to the absolute independence of the Ladakh Empire. The Latin Bible found by Moorcroft (vol. ii, pp. 22–3) in Ladakh was probably left there by Desideri. It came from the Papal Press, and was dated 1598 A.D. For a legal document and inscriptions of this king see my article 'Archæology in W. Tibet', *Indian Ant.*, vols. xxxv, xxxvi. Inscriptions of the time of this king are very common. The following are found in my collection:—No. 66,

votive tablet from Tag-ma-cig; No. 67, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal from Sa-spo-la; No. 68, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 69, construction of a road under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal A-ci-na-thaṅ to Ha-nu; No. 70, votive tablet from Skyur-bu-can; No. 71, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, from Bde-skyid in Nub-ra.

In the list of the king's brothers at the beginning of the paragraph the name of Ḥjig-dpal is missing. It was probably erased on account of his conversion to Muhammadanism.

Regarding the works of literature I must confess that I cannot trace them anywhere. The *Bkaḥ-sgyur-ro-mchog*, 'sweet commandments,' must not be confused with the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* itself. The *Gser-ḥod-dam-pa* has been mentioned previously; the *Gser-ḥod-gyaṅ-skyabs* is perhaps a chapter of that work. [Possibly *Ḥjam*, *Sdud*, and *Bzaṅ* are abreviations for three several works.—F. W. T.]

The modern castle of Charasa in Nub-ra is said to have been erected by this king: of his treasury at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ we read in Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra war (see 'Minor Chronicles', *infra*).

(*B* MS.) Later on Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1720–40 A.D.) married Ñi-zla-dbaṅ-mo of Lho-mo[n]-sdaṅ (*C* MS. Lho-mon-thaṅ), and himself was appointed king. After a son, Sa-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, had been born, [the two] separated on account of disagreement of temper, and the queen returned to the south. (*C* MS.) Then Kun-ḥdzom was asked to become queen, and a son, Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, was born. (*B* MS.) Subsequently the king married another wife and a son, Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, was born; (*L* MS.) [and also] Rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal. (*B* MS.) The state officials, council of elders, and the people having sent in a request that Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal should be ordained and become a lama, or else reside at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ palace, the father, Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, [once more] turned king of faith. Prince Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's mother having died prematurely, Zi-zi-Kha-tun took care of him; consequently, whatever his kind [foster-]mother said could not be refused. The government was good. Soon, through the persuasion of the queen-mother, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal was appointed to rule from the Pho-tog pass over all Bu-rig. At the Dṅul-mdog palace of Mul-bhe he built a reservoir(?) (or subterranean granary?). He married a daughter of the minister of Tog, but had no children. Princess Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-mo was taken by the King of Kaṣṭawar as his consort. Although prayed not to give her away, because the language as well as the religion of the people of India were different, the queen, saying, 'A child's
p. 45. rulers are father and mother!' would not listen, but gave her away. [Soon after, however], several servants, with Dgaḥ-phel as their leader, were sent to her. They said that she was not even allowed to see the light of day, upon which an army was despatched with orders to bring the girl back by whatever means. When the girl was being carried off, the king and queen of Kaṣṭawar, who were both very fond of her, said, 'Let us also go to La-dvags!', and set out with a few chiefs. But Zi-zi-Kha-tun here [in Ladakh] gave secret orders to this effect:—'If the King of Kaṣṭawar should arrive here, and not be killed in some clever way [beforehand], it might injure my son Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal's rule [over Bu-rig].' So without the knowledge of the authorities [at Leh] a servant of the queen went, and at the bridge on the frontier, between Kaṣṭawar and Pa-ldar, the servant, approaching the king in the manner of a servant with a request, threw him into the water. The fatal rumour soon spread all over the country. Consequently, although Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal and the elder son Sa-skyoṅ

deserved to be made lords of the castle, the younger brother, Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, through treachery of his mother, made him (Sa-skyoṅ) lama at He-mi.

NOTES

Lho-mon-sdaṅ, or Lho-mon-thaṅ, is a town situated a few miles north-west of Muktināth of Nepal. Pho-tog-sa is situated on the road from Lamayuru to Zaṅs-dkar. The above passage seems to refer to a pass in the vicinity. A pass named Pho-tho is found in Pu-rig, just above Lamayurn. Kaṣṭawar (Kishtwar) is a principality in the Chenab valley, between Kashmir and Chamba: nowadays it forms part of the Kashmir State. Pa-ldar is a town on the Chenab, a little east of the town of Kaṣṭawar.

For a song on little Prince Bde-skyoṅ see *Lad. Songs*, No. XVI, 'The Girl of Sheh.' According to an inscription at 'A-lci Bde-skyoṅ restored the outer court of the Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad temple at 'A-lci. Votive inscriptions mentioning this king are found under Nos. 72, 73 of my collection.

(*B* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal reigned (*c.* 1740–60 A.D.). But his uncle Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal tried to seize the rule over the Kashmir traders and [Phun-tshogs'] Ladakhi subjects by soft means as well as by beating. (*C* MS.) Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal were quarrelling about the government. (*B* MS.) The report reaching the Rgyal-ba-rin-chen (the Dalai Lama), viz. that a disturbance with the king on the frontier (in Ladakh) had arisen, and that this might be made an occasion for an Indian army to enter Tibet, at that identical time, just when he was in contemplation as to whom amongst the Bkaḥ-rgyud lamas he should give an order to act as peacemaker, it happened that the 'great man of wisdom' (*rig-ḥdzin*) of Bkaḥ-thog, Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu, arrived from Kham[s] on his way to Nepal, where he intended to replace the 'Wood of Life' on the great *mchod-rten* of Bal-yul (Nepal). At the same time the Rgyal-ba Omniscient (Dalai Lama) sent word to the 'great man of wisdom', 'The task of making peace in La-dvags being laid upon you, you should go!' He, extolling the word of the Rgyal-ba, promised to go to La-dvags. He arrived at Sgar. There, following the suggestion of the King of La-dvags, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and the ministers, the ministers of Zaṅs-dkar and Graṅ-dkar went as chamberlains to meet the saviour, the great wise man. They explained to him the condition of Upper and Lower La-dvags. Thereupon, together with messengers of the two governors of Sgar, he arrived at Wam-le lamasery. There he met with the King of La-dvags and his ministers, and in due course the Bu-rig king and minister arrived. They then deliberated upon the terms to be made. They all agreed to the decisions and obligations imposed upon them by the saviour, the 'great man of wisdom'. The results arrived at through these deliberations were :—Whatever the number of sons born at the castle of La-dvags may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become lamas at Dpe-thub, Khri-rtse, etc., but there shall not be two kings. The King of Zaṅs-dkar, having his dominion at the Indian frontier, shall remain king as before. The He-nas-sku [rulers], obviously being of royal descent, and their kingdom of little importance, shall also remain. With these two exceptions, it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Bkaḥ-thog is a district in Tibet. *Rig-ḥdzin* is the name of an order of married lamas. (As the dictionaries are not in keeping with this rendering, I have preferred to take the word in its ordinary sense, viz. 'Man of wisdom'.—F.)

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

King Phun-tshogs' name is connected with a rock sculpture of Mañjuśrī in the Maṅ-rgyu valley. The inscription below the sculpture is found in my *Second Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 113. This inscription was re-examined in 1909, and a few errors in my first reading of it were corrected. Other votive inscriptions of the reign of this king are found under Nos. 74, 75, and 114 of my collection.

Graṅ-dkar is the capital of Spi-ti. Sgar is the Garthog of the maps, in Gu-ge.

(*L* MS.) His son was Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. (*B* MS.) He was elected king. (*S* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal's sons were Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1760–80 A.D.) and Mi-ḫjigs-tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, the two. The elder son reigned in La-dvags, and the younger in Zaṅs-khar(dkar). (*B* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, mother and son, having equally divided the property at the castle of Slel (Leh), appropriated it, afterwards residing at the castle of Khri-rtse (Gser-khri-mkhar [1]), Baṅkha (?). Sa-skyoṅ entered at He-mi the order of the Rig-pa-ḫdzin-pa; and queen Kun-ḫdzom bore a son, Skyabs-mgon-rgyal-sras-mi-ḫpham-tshe-dbaṅ-[ḫphrin-las]. Clerical authority (?) increased. Another son was born, who became very clever in medicine, and went to Lha-sa. There was [also] a daughter, who was taken to Tibet as a wife of a Hor-khaṅ-gsar. King Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, as long as he lived, remained ruler at Bu-rig. Afterwards it was united with La-dvags. By this settlement and agreement all the noblemen and the council of elders, as well as the whole empire, were rendered happy and contented. The princes were reconciled, and the lamas and chiefs went to the Śel palace. At that time a messenger of the Nawāb of Kha-chul arrived with the request that the [plain] 'A-phi-chen-moḫi-thaṅ should be cleared of water. On the occasion when the messengers had their audience
p. 46. the tea from one silver teapot [miraculously] in consequence of a blessing sufficed for all the men who took part in the banquet (were sitting in their order). The messengers believed, and went home. After that, the great *Rig-ḫdzin* deposited a copy of the settlement at the palace of Slel (Leh), one at the palace of Mul-bhe, one in Zaṅs-dkar, and one at He-mi lamasery; thereupon he returned to Tibet. Later on [a princess from] Bzaṅ-la castle was asked to become King Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's wife. About that time it happened that the devil entered the king's mind, and, giving way to the influence of bad servants, he married a [woman] called Bhe-mo-rgyal, (*C* MS.) a Bhe-mo from Tshaṅ-ra. (*B* MS.) The Bzaṅ-la queen consequently returned to Bzaṅ-la, and became the wife of the king of Zaṅs-dkar. His doings, etc., were not as before; unusual and strange. He had one groom only for each 500 horses, and a lamp, etc., in grandest style [at night]. The horses' feet and genitals (?) were paid much attention to (for finding felicitous days?). [Text very uncertain.] The princes and the people could not endure such doings [for long], and once, when the king, through his royal prestige, made the taxes payable by the people three times [in one year], (*C* MS.) the noblemen and the subjects offered a petition, praying him not to do such things. But he would not listen. As no other means remained, they collected many soldiers, pressed into the palace, turned the Bhe-mo out and imprisoned her. The minister of Tog also was deposed and

[1] Additions in parentheses without reference to a particular MS. are taken from Dr. K. Marx's English translation. Such names or dates cannot yet be traced elsewhere.

imprisoned. (*B* MS.) Then they asked Bhe-kim-dbaṅ-mo (Bhe-khyim-dbaṅ-mo) (*C* MS. Bi-kim-dbaṅ-mo) of Sod (Śod) to become queen. She had three daughters and two sons. The name of the elder son was Lha-chen-mi-ḫgyur-Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal; that of the younger son, Tshe-dpal-mi-ḫgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal. The lesser queen, Kha-tun-Tshe-riṅ, had one son, who was called Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. Then king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal died, and Skyabs-mgon of He-mi held a council with the princes and the noblemen.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Hor-khaṅ-gsar is the name of an important family in Lha-sa. Bzaṅ-la is a castle in Zaṅs-dkar (Drew's map: Zang-la). A Bhe-mo is a Mohamedan woman of the lowest caste, masc. Bhe-da. Tshaṅ-ra is a village in Bu-rig. Tog (Stog) is a village opposite Leh, south of the Indus. Sod is a village and castle in Bu-rig, near Kargil. The Council of Elders (Rgan-gsum) is in Ladakh polity the lowest grade of councillors of the king. The Council of Elders consisted of about three or four persons of some standing and experience, specially selected. The second grade were the hereditary Blon-pos (ministers), also a small number; the first grade were the Bkaḫ-blons (prime-ministers), likewise four or five only, and also hereditary.

NOTES BY THE PRESENT AUTHOR

The above account contains a number of doubtful passages. Whenever I could not obtain any certainty concerning them, I have followed Dr. K. Marx's translation. The following renderings are doubtful:—*mo-spyid*, clerical authority; *ti-bi-chag*, horse; *gsaṅ*, genitals.

In the above account the word *Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa* is used as if it actually signified an order of lamas. This does not imply, however, that *Rig-ḥdzin* must have the same meaning. The word *Bhe-kim*, etc., is explained by the natives as the Tibetan pronunciation of the Urdu word *Begam*, lady. According to an inscription Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal restored the Likir monastery after a fire; and the restoration of the Maṅ-rgyu monastery was apparently also carried out during his reign (inscription). The following votive inscriptions of my collection mention king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal:—No. 76 from Pho-tog-sa, No. 78 from Mdo-mkhar, No. 79 from Skyur-bu-can, No. 80 from Skyur-bu-can, No. 115 from Skyur-bu-can. Inscriptions of the time of this king are not at all rare. In 1915 Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh discovered an interesting document treating of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's marriage of a low caste woman which lead to his abdication.

(*B* MS.) On behalf of Prince Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1780–90 A.D.) they asked at Pas-kyum castle in Bu-rig for a consort, and that prince was appointed to the government. (*C* MS.) At that time there arrived from Tibet the Ḥbrug-pa Omniscient Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba, who stayed at the He-mi monastery. King Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal made him a present of 50 ponies, 50 yak-cows, 1,000 goats and sheep, 25 ingots of silver, 3,000 Nānak-Śāhī rupees, 100 *žo* of gold, one string of coral beads, 15 pieces of brocade [*kinkhāb*], one piece of red broadcloth, [one piece of yellow broadcloth], 25 pieces of calico, 25 pieces of silk tafetta. Besides there were presents from the nobility more than can be conceived. (*B* MS.) The younger prince Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal became lama at He-mi. The son of Kha-tun Tshe-riṅ became lama at Khri-rtse. One daughter was given in marriage at Pas-kyum castle, and another [daughter] was given to the minister (Bkaḫ-blon) Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, the young nobleman (No-no) Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, who was made minister. The third went and stayed at Gzims-cuṅ. Afterwards, when king [Tshe-brtan]-rnam-rgyal was grown up, his personal appearance was very beautiful. (*C* MS.) This king was very strong, and he was clever at [fighting with] a sword, or a spear, or [bow and arrow], all three.

(*B* MS.) He was diligent, and obtained proficiency in Tibetan grammar and mathematics, Persian letters and language, the Kashmir language, (*C* MS.) the Yar-khen language, and (*B* MS.) other such languages, which he knew thoroughly. (*C* MS.) He was devout, and knew well the duties of kings. Before the enemy he was fearless. His solicitude for the welfare of his people was great. Between himself and another he saw no difference. As there had been thus far no principle regulating the taxes and revenue, he [made a rule] that henceforth taxes should be raised only [in accordance with the income], great or little proportionately. It is certain that this king was superior to all the kings that preceded him in their order. (*B* MS.) With a view to fulfilling an intention of his father he built a great *maṇ-thaṅ* at the lower end of the Kyi-gu (*C* MS. Kyiu) [gorge]. (Kyi-gu-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo). (*C* MS.) It was 350 paces long, (*B* MS.) with high *mchod-rtens* at either end of the *rnam-rgyal* and *byaṅ-cub* types. (*C* MS.) At the palace he erected a silver *stūpa*, two stories high. (*B* MS.) He also knew well how to govern, and he gathered merit through overpowering foreign foes by
p. 47. his splendour. He had no son. An epidemic of small-pox breaking out in the country in consequence of want of merit in the people, he died in his 24th year at Kar-zu. Then the Hbrug-pa Omniscient [Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba], being present at He-mi lamasery, (*C* MS.) performed the funeral rites in grand style.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The castle and village of Pas-kyum (Dpal-kyum) is situated near Kargil in Bu-rig, on the Wakha brook. The Kyi-gu-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo is found opposite Leh. At its head is the Muhammadan graveyard. Kar-zu (Dkar-bzo) is the old royal garden at Leh. At present it is the British Joint Commissioner's compound.

NOTES BY THE PRESENT AUTHOR

Gzims-cuṅ is not known to me. Yar-khen is Yarkand. The Yar-khen language is the Turkoman language. In the seditious placard at Leh in Moorcroft's time (vol. i, p. 458) King Tshe-brtan's reign was compared favourably with that of his younger brother. Tshe-brtan was a great polo-player. There is a song still known, according to which he used to play on the polo-ground of the Mu-rtse garden, below Leh. Popular tradition says that once his pony shied, ran away with him, and threw him off. In this accident he is said to have lost one eye. The following votive inscriptions from the times of this king are found in my collection :— No. 81, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 82, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 83, from Bde-skyid in Nub-ra; No. 116, from Ñur-la; No. 117, from Skyur-bu-can.

(*B* MS.) Thereupon Tshe-dpal-[mi-ḥgyur-Don-grub]-rnam-rgyal, the monk of He-mi, was induced to turn layman, and was invested with royal power. (*S* MS.) As the life of the first son, Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, was uncertain (he died soon), the younger one, Tshe-dpal-mi-ḥgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal [reigned] (*c.* 1790–1841). (*B* MS.) A daughter was born to Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal after his death. While he was king, a daughter, Bhil-cuṅ, and a prince, Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan[-rnam-rgyal], were born to him. Through the profound wisdom of the Prime Minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub [the kingdom] was united in friendship with the kings on the frontier (neighbouring states), and letters as well as presents were exchanged in a virtuous manner from both sides. Like a mother, he brought the kingdom to prosperity and to the side of virtue. Then, beginning at a certain time, some deleterious influence (*C* MS. : the devil) took possession of the king's mind.

All the servants in his presence were upstarts, and with them only he took counsel. In the country many fields and houses became ruined ('went wrong'). No oath was ever observed. In judgment also he regarded the riches of men. (*C* MS.) Until an oath was sworn, the king himself would not allow [the culprit] to go anywhere; he was sealed up and put aside. (*B* MS.) The private servants in the palace were not allowed to sleep or lie down at night, as in the daytime they had to sign a written contract [that they would not sleep?]. The king also did not sleep the whole night. He rose when the sun grew hot. In the morning, when washing his hands, he required twelve buckets (*C* MS.: 12 or 13) full of cold and hot water mixed to wash his hands. A regulation [of the water-buckets] was established, lasting from the first till the twelfth supply of water: in this way he washed his hands. When he travelled about in the provinces, he went only at night with lamps and torches held aloft. With the officials of the old régime he could not agree. This king took the privy seal from the Prime Minister [to the palace], and himself consulted with the headmen of villages, lords, etc., all men of a new type. The noble families he did not attend to. The king of Zaṅs-dkar, the minister of Bu-rig, and others were kept in La-dvags imprisoned. The new men that stood before him were made governors of the palace, and everywhere the old good customs were destroyed. At that time, having passed through Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) and Dkar-żva (Lahul), the Baḍa-Sahib (Moorcroft) and the Choṭa Sahib (Trebeck) came with great wealth to Sle (Leh). They gave all sorts of rich presents to the noblemen of La-dvags and others. 'We must see the king!' they declared. It was said, 'What evil may come from men (India?), one cannot know!'; and, all having consulted, an audience was for several months refused. At last they saw the king. They presented a variety of things, chief among which were a penknife, scissors, and a gun. They said, 'We have come to see the way in which you yourself, your ministers, workers, and servants manage things, and your own wisdom; and, as there is some danger of this country being conquered by others, we might build a tower (fort) here, which in the end might prove useful to the king.' The king and ministers, considering the case, said, 'If they build a fort, no one knows what harm may come!', and did not allow them to build. Then they gave him (the king) a letter in a box and said, 'May the king himself accept this; it may cure the king's mind!' After staying through both summer and winter, they departed. These were the first European Sahibs who came. Next the army of Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) invaded Spyi-ti, and, after having destroyed the villages and carried away all the property, returned home. They petitioned [the king] that he should wage a war of retaliation, but he said, 'You yourselves are of no use,' and punished them. Later on, Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) and Khu-nu (Kunawar) of Dkar-żva conspired against Zaṅs-dkar, and laid waste [Dpal-ḥdum-mkhar] and the central districts. The symbols of Body, Word, and Spirit were destroyed. They robbed ponies and yaks and whatever there was of property, and again returned home. Later on Ratan-Śer-Khan of Pa-ḍar brought an army, and destroyed every village from 'A-tiṅ to Dpal-ḥdum. Throughout Dkar-żva and the central districts, on both sides of the river, they fought; and, although afterwards peace was concluded and they went back, yet the king said, 'You yourselves are of no use,' and punished them. One year later a Maṇḍe

p. 48. and Waran army came and devastated Upper Zaṅs-dkar up to Duṅ-riṅ. They burnt the villages with fire; and whatever they got of wealth and cattle they carried back with them. As the king again paid no special attention, the treasures he had passed into the hands of other nations. At that time the treasure was lost beyond recovery. Afterwards, as a memorial for himself, the king rebuilt the palace of Tog. He lived at the Dkar-zu [garden] of Sle, and there he built a palace, a Kha-tun-ban (*khaṭmband*), etc. The queen sent a messenger to Tibet to ask for a wife for her prince. A request relating thereto was addressed to the Sde-pa of Lha-rgya-ri. As a residence for the same the Sku-mkhar-so-ma (New Palace) was built at Sle above the temple of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita). In the end, however, through some accident happening in Tibet, the Lha-rgya-ri princess could not be asked to come here. The king erected an image of his own patron deity, Phyag-rdor (Vajra-pāṇi), in size like the king himself, made of gold and copper above the throat, which was of silver. He also erected a *stūpa* of silver, with a top ornament of gold, variegated with precious stones, one story high. In the Iron-Tiger (Water-Tiger) year (1770 + 12 = 1782; or 1782 + 12 = 1794 A.D.) he erected at Sle in the Theg-chen-goṅ-ma (hall) an image of Guru Padma-ḥod-ḥbar, made with thirteen maunds of silver. At Śel he erected an image of Rgyal-ba Tshe-dpag-med, made with seven maunds of silver. And at Tog palace he erected an image of the revered White Sgrol-ma (Tārā), made with nine maunds of silver. Then, after a while, in the Wood-Ox year (1805 + 12 = 1817 A.D.) the Master of Perfect Insight, Yaṅ-ḥdzin (Yoṅ-ḥdzin)-lña-pa, realized that the prince was an incarnation of Sku-żabs Bhil-ba-rdo-rje of He-mi. He then made his residence at both He-mi and Theg-mchog. [Having thus become] so important a personage, he found it difficult to obey even father and mother. The queen travelled about in Bu-rig, Ldum-ra, and La-dvags, never remaining at one and the same place. She also asked the prince to join her, and took him with her. For the sake of the prince's amusement they passed their time, both day and night, in dancing and singing. Not heeding the king's command, the queen herself listened only to the repeated suggestions of her own steward, Bsod-nams-dbaṅ-phyug, and Prince Mchog-sprul's mind turned in the same direction. Even before this the king, the ministers, and others had for some time attempted to induce him to marry, for the sake of the dynasty; but he refused and would remain at He-mi. But, as there was no other son, and as a Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa must reign in the sphere of the world (kingdom), as well as in the sphere of religion, he consented to the [united] intercessions of the king, the ministers, the council of elders, the lords, the stewards of the twin lamaseries, the *Sgrub-dbaṅ*, the *Atsaryas* (*Ācāryas*, teachers), and others, and married the younger daughter of Prime Minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma by name. Before one year had elapsed the princess conceived. After that he married Btsun-mo Bsod-nams-dpal-skyid of Pas-kyum castle and Zo-ra Kha-tun. These three ladies he married in one year. In the following (Water-Horse) Wood-Horse year a Siṅ (Dogra) army arrived in La-dvags (1822 + 12 = 1834 A.D.). (*S* MS.) During the time of his (Tshe-dpal's) son, Mchog-gi-sprul-sku, the army of the Siṅ (Dogras) tampered with his minister (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), and robbed the king of his dominion.

NOTES

Local names:—Dpal-ḥdum is the capital of Zaṅs-dkar, the Dpaḥ-gtum of the Zaṅs-dkar chronicles, and the Spadum, Padum, Padam of the maps. 'A-tiṅ is a town in Zaṅs-dkar, situated on a tributary from the left-hand side to the Zaṅs-dkar river. Waran is the Wardwan valley. The Wardwan river is a tributary of the Chenab in Kashmir State territory. Manḍe is probably a valley or town in the vicinity of Wardwan. Duṅ-riṅ is a village in Zaṅs-dkar, but I do not know its exact situation. The Dkar-zu (Dkar-bzo) garden at Leh once contained a royal palace and a *khaṭmband*. The latter kind of building is distinguished by its ceiling, as Joseph Tshe-brtan tells me. Most of the Tibetan houses have ceilings made of twigs only. A *khaṭmband* has a ceiling made of a number of little boards put together in such a way as to form geometrical patterns. The Lha-rgya-ri province of Tibet is not known to me; nor do I know where is the Theg-chen-goṅ-ma hall at Leh.

During the reign of king Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal Ladakh was visited by Moorcroft and Trebeck, between 1820 and 1822. Moorcroft mentions a war between Ladakh and Baltistan, see vol. I, p. 336. He was asked to interfere. A Tibetan document referring to this war was published by me in my article *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse*, ZDMG., vol. lxi, pp. 583–614. Another document, treating of wars between the Ladakhis and Baltis during that period, is entitled "The services of Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, minister of Sṅon-dar". A tender of allegiance from the Ladakhis to the British Government was communicated by Moorcroft, but not accepted by the East India Company. A letter from the Czar of Russia to the king of Ladakh was shown to Moorcroft. Trebeck witnessed a war between Kuḷū and Ladakh: see Moorcroft, vol. i, p. 456, vol. ii, pp. 63–4. Rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Mchog-sprul-rnam-rgyal are two different names of the same person. Rab-brtan probably received the name Mchog-sprul when he was discovered to be an incarnation of Bhil-ba-rdo-rje. As we know from Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra war, Prince Mchog-sprul was made Regent of Ladakh a short time before Zorawar overran the country.

A seal of this king in Tibeto-Mongolian character is still in the hands of the present ex-king. The following votive inscriptions of my collection refer to the reign of this king:—No. 84, from the road between Mdo-mkhar and Skyur-bu-can; No. 85, from Hun-dar in Nub-ra; No. 86, from Dpe-thub; No. 87, from Da-ru, in honour of the minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub; No. 118, from Mdo-mkhar; No. 119, from Skyur-bu-can. This king is mentioned in *Ladakhi Songs*, Nos. i and ii. The latter song contains also the names of his son Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, of his minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, and of his wife Dpal-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo. The name of Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan's wife, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, is found in Song No. xvi.

IX. The Dogra War

(*Cc* MS.) History of the war waged by Mahārādza-Gulāb-Siṅg's soldiers against Ladakh and Tibet.

After that, there arrived at Man-ldra-baḥi (Mandre and Waran), together with a great host of soldiers, Zo-ra-war (*Ca* MS.: Zo-ra-war of Gu-lo-ri), the wazir of the reigning Maharaja Gu-lāb Siṅ, and generals Ne-rdab Siṅ, Mi-yan Siṅ, Mi-ya-no-ta, Ba-sti Ram, 'Ab-dar-bi-zar, and Mir-za Ra-sul Beg. At that time Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug of Sa-phud, father and son, were in command of the castle of Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru [valley]. When they heard [of the appearance of the enemy], they sent a report to the king at Slel (Leh). The king appointed the minister of Tog, Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, chief of the army, and sent him off with a great army. Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug of Sa-phud, father and son, gathered together about 200 soldiers at Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru [valley]. Then the Wazir [Zorawar] also arrived there. They fought for about two days; but [the Ladakhis] p. 49. could not resist. Father and son both died in that battle. Then the minister of Tog

arrived with his army at Laṅ-gar-(mkhar)-rtse. Three or four great battles ensued. But neither side gained a victory nor was beaten. They remained equal. Then during one or two days snow fell more or less. The Wazir sent Lasu-mandru, a merchant from Kastrawar, to Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, to tell him [as follows] :—'If you are ready to pay a tribute [*nazar*] of 1,000 silver [rupees] to my government, we shall certainly go back [to Jammu]!' Then the minister of Tog wrote to the king of Slel (Leh) in a letter, 'If you will graciously pay a tribute of 1,000 rupees, they will go back! Therefore do graciously pay the money! If you will not show us this favour, I shall take six *jau* (a coin) from every soldier here.' Although the king as well as Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Don-grub-rnam-rgyal could see the necessity of this, queen Zi-zi would not listen. She said, 'The minister of Tog is of no use. Therefore Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and the minister of Ldum-ra both shall go and bring the Wazir [Zorawar's] head!' Night and day reinforcements were sent [to the army]. Then both [the new generals] arrived at Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. On the following day a great battle was fought, which lasted from sunrise till past noon. On the other side many Si-pas were killed. Then they remained one day without fighting. The following day they fought from dawn. A little after noon Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, the minister of Tog, was hit in his right shoulder by a bullet. Although Mi-ya-Ne-rdab-siṅ at once surrounded the minister with twenty-five sword-bearing youths, he, standing on a boulder and seizing his sword with his left hand, did not allow anybody to come near him. But, a certain Rohila firing a bullet, the minister died. Then Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin also with his army appeared on a mountain ridge, and he [also began to] fight. About fifty Si-pas were killed. Just before sunset Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was hit by a bullet in his right wrist. [Then] the minister of Ldum-ra as well as Ḥgur-med, together with their army, fled; and Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, his servant Bya-luṅ-(Bya-ruṅ)-tshaṅ, and Myur-lha, these three, were left alone. As no other choice remained, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin gave his servant a packet of 100 rupees, which he had carried in his breast pocket, and sent this money, together with his humble salutations, to the Wazir [Zorawar]. The Wazir showed him [much] respect, and guarded him like the apple of his eye. The minister of Ldum-ra with his great army went across the river, and escaped through La-luṅ-bsil-mo. Later on No-no Ḥgyur-med also went before Wazir [Zorawar]. But Rta-mgrin, the Wazir of Mul-bhe, was in command of 300 men of Upper Bu-rig. While he stayed [in the valley of] Srin-po-sna-ḥgugs (sna-khuṅ), the Wazir [Zorawar] arrived there unexpectedly by way of Sar-re (?). The Wazir Rta-mgrin with his army attacked him on the road and killed between fifty and sixty Si-pas. Two bullets at least hit the Wazir [Zorawar]'s palanquin, without hurting his person. [Zorawar's] treasurer (quarter-master ?) died there also. On that day the Wazir [Zorawar] became stupified (?) and did not know what to do. [Text uncertain.] But the Wazir Rta-mgrin, seeing the great army of the Wazir [Zorawar], ran away over night. Then the Wazir [Zorawar], who had no more fighting men against him, marched to Pas-kyum by way of Dkar-skyil. He broke the castle of Pas-kyum, and turned the chief (*Jo*) out. All the treasures that he found he sent to Kastrawar, [accompanied by] 100 Si-pas. Then Baṅ-kha-pa, heading 300 soldiers from Gśam (Lower Ladakh),

marched across the Sod pass. He pursued those 100 Si-pas and caught them at Bhatura. He killed them all, not leaving a single one. Carrying away the treasure, as much as he found, he fled to Skar-rdo. Then, in course of time, the Wazir [Zorawar] arrived at Bab-sgo. The king of Slel (Leh) went there also, and both met. All went to Slel, the capital, and there they remained for several days. The kingdom was returned to the king, and not a single Si-pa or other man was placed in the fort as a guard. It was arranged that 5,000 Rs. should be paid uninterruptedly as tribute to the [Jammu] government. Then [Zorawar] returned to Su-ru.

NOTES

Place-names:—Man-ldra-baḥi stands for Mandre and Waran, as I am told. Sa-phud seems to be the name of the territory on the Manasarowar Lake, which remained in the hands of the Ladakhi kings after the peace of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ. Laṅ-mkhar-rtse is a town in the Suru valley, below Dkar-rtse. La-luṅ-bsil-mo seems to be the valley of a small tributary of the Indus from the left; it falls into the Indus opposite to Chulichan. (Map: Laloo–Simool.) Bya-luṅ or Bya-ruṅ is the name of a house at Leh. Srin-po-sna-ḥgugs (sna-khuṅ) is the name of a rock in the Suru valley, as I am told. The Sod pass is probably identical with the Hamoting pass. Gu-lo-ri = Kahlur, Bilaspur, the home of Zorawar in the Panjab.

With the above account of the campaign the accounts of Bastī-Rām and Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse should be compared. Bastī-Rām, a Dogra officer and governor of Leh, wrote his reminiscences of this war at the request of Cunningham, who published them in his *Ladák* (pp. 332 sqq.). All the numbers given by Bastī-Rām are evidently wrong, either exaggerated or diminished. But the general course of events seems to be accurate. Both accounts are to be found in the Minor Chronicles (*infra*).

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
1. On the 16th August, 1834 A.D., the first battle in the Suru valley. The Tibetan general was Maṅgal (?).	1. First battle at Saṅ-khu.	1. First battle near Dkar-rtse. The Tibetan general was Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug.
2. The Dogras advance to Suru, where they stay eight days.	2. Dogras advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	2. Three or four battles near Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.
3. Conquest of Pas-kyum and Sod; capture of 6,000 (?) Ladakhis.	3. Dogras advance to Pas-kyum, remain there for fifteen days.	
4. Negotiations at Mul-bhe.		4. Negotiations about 1,000 Rs.
5. Baṅ-kha-pa attacks the Dogras in the rear.		
6. Dogras retreat to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	6. Dogras retreat to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	
7. Baṅ-kha-pa advances to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. Battle at Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. 1,200 Ladakhis are made prisoners, among them Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and his son Ḥgyur-med.	7. 9,000 Ladakhis advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. Battle at Skyid-mar-rtse; 300 Ladakhis are killed, among them the minister of Tog.	7. Ladakhis under the minister of Tog, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, and Baṅ-kha-pa advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. The minister of Tog is killed in the battle. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and Ḥgyur-med are made prisoners.
8. Dogras advance to Pas-kyum, Mul-bhe, Mkhar-bu, Lamayuru, Bab-sgo.	8. Dogras advance to Mkhar-bu, Lamayuru, Wanla, Sñe-mo, near Bab-sgo.	8. Conquest of Pas-kyum. Baṅ-kha-pa recaptures the treasure of Pas-kyum.
9. At Bab-sgo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar; both go to Leh (April, 1835).	9. At Sñe-mo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar.	9. At Bab-sgo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar.

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
10. Zorawar remains at Leh for four months. Peace concluded. The Ladakhis have to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 Rs., and 50,000 Rs. for the expenses of the war.	10. Peace negotiations in the Karbzo garden at Leh. Every peasant has to pay an annual tribute of 10 Rs. 6 As. 2 Paisa.	10. Peace negotiations at Leh. The Ladakhis have to pay an annual tribute of 5,000 Rs.
11. Zorawar goes back to Suru, by way of Sod.		11. Zorawar goes back.

On the whole, the agreement between the three versions is all that could be desired. The only difficulty is the conquest of Pas-kyum, followed by an attack of Baṅ-kha-pa, which in Bastī-Rām's account (see his Nos. 3 and 5) is placed before the battle of Laṅ-mkhar-rtse, and in the *Rgyal-rabs* after that battle (see No. 8). Possibly Pas-kyum was conquered twice.

Then Baṅ-kha-pa and Bsod-nams-dbaṅ-phyug became chief councillors and gave the bad advice that an army should be sent after the Wazir [Zorawar]. A *si-pa* [called] Dam-bha and several others who did not wish the king well sent a secret letter to the Wazir. At Raṅ-ḥdum this letter reached the Wazir's hands, and he, passing through Zaṅs-dkar, reached Sle [again]. He turned the king out of the castle and gave orders that [the village of] Tog only was to provide him with provisions, wheat, and butter for
p. 50. food, and with grass, wood, etc. He also assigned [to the king] a *jagir* of 1,159 Rs. $11\frac{3}{4}$ as. and established him there. Prince Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan fled to Spi-ti, passing through Ldum-ra and Draṅ-tse. (*Ca* MS.) After having stayed there for one or two months, Mchog-sprul died. (*Cc* MS.) Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was elected viceroy. At Kara (Dgar-ba) a Ki-la (Qila) was erected and handed over to Magna, the Tha-na-dār. It was agreed that an annual tribute of 9,000 Rs. was to be paid to the [Jammu] Government. The Wazir [Zorawar] then returned [to Jammu, travelling] through Žiṅ-spyan. (*C* MS.) To Queen Zi-zi (Mchog-sprul's wife) a son was born, whose name was (*Cc* MS.) Ḥjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge-mi-ḫgyur-kun-dgaḫ-rnam-rgyal. (*C* MS.) To another Zi-zi was born (*Cc* MS.) Bstan-sruṅ-gyul-rgyal, who became king of Maṅ-spro. They also received a *jagir* of 507 Rs. $12\frac{1}{4}$ as., together with wheat, butter, grass, wood, etc. Then Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin reigned for five years.

NOTES

Raṅ-ḥdum is a monastery on the road from the Suru valley to Zaṅs-dkar. Ka-ra (Dgar-ba, Skara) is a village one mile below Leh. Žiṅ-spyan is said to be a village on the Zaṅs-dkar River near Phyi-gliṅ. Maṅ-spro is a village on the left bank of the Indus, immediately above He-mis. It is still the residence of Bstan-sruṅ-gyul-rgyal's descendants.

The following is a comparative table of the above campaign, according to the three authorities:—

Bastī-Rām (*Ladák*, pp. 340 sqq.)	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
1. The Sikh governor of Kashmir excites the Ladakhis to revolt.		1. The Ladakhi king is calumniated.
2. Zorawar marches to Zaṅs-dkar. The chief promises to pay a tribute. News of insurrection at Leh.		2. Zorawar marches to Zaṅs-dkar.
3. Zorawar marches to Leh.		3. Zorawar marches to Leh.

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
4. The Ladakhi king waits on the Wazir at Chu-śod. He is deposed.		4. The Ladakhi king is deposed.
5. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin is made king of Ladakh.	5. Drag-śos of Kha-la-rtse refuses to be made viceroy of Ladakh. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin accepts the dignity.	5. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin is made viceroy.
6. The queen and her son go to Leh (?).	6. Mchog-sprul's flight towards Lahul. Drag-śos is punished.	6. Prince Mchog-sprul's flight to Spi-ti, where he dies.
7. A fort is built outside Leh.	7. A fort (Kyi-la) erected at Leh.	7. A fort (Ki-la) built at Leh (Dgar-ba).
8. Zorawar goes to Jammu. Bastī-Rām is sent against Balde (?).	8. Zorawar on his way home destroys the treasury of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ.	8. Zorawar returns to Jammu.
		9. Two sons are born to Prince Mchog-sprul's wives.

Ladakhi Songs No. i is a song written by minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin. No. xviii is addressed to the same person.

In the sixth year the Wazir himself came back [again to Ladakh], and reached Zaṅs-dkar. The [old] king of Slel (Leh) went to meet him. At Pi-pi-tiṅ he met with the Wazir, and the Wazir showed him great kindness. Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin and the minister of Ba-mgo arrived there one day later, and met with the Wazir at Pi-pi-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar. [He] would not accept their presents. He pretended to be angry, and they all travelled to Slel. [Then the Wazir] said to Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin: 'The tribute of five years has not been fully paid!' Having abused the rāja, he fined him 50,000 Rs.: the minister of Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo) was fined 30,000 Rs., the Jo (chief) of Rgya 15,000 Rs., and all the other officials proportionately. [The old] king was made king again. [Then] the Wazir's army, as much as there was, marched off to make war against Baltistan, together with the king and the ministers of La-dvags. The chief of Khar-maṅ led the way, and the castle of Skar-rdo was ruined. The chief 'Ag-mad-Khan (of Baltistan) was dethroned, and, after all Baltistan had been conquered, [the armies] marched back to Slel. The father-king of Ladakh was taken ill in Baltistan with small-pox and died. Mgon-po, the steward, escorted the corpse to Tog, where it was cremated. Then Ḥjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge-mi-ḫgyur-kun-dgaḫ-rnam-rgyal-ba was appointed king, and invested with throne and power. The Wazir, rising himself, presented him with a suit furnished with gold trimmings [*kinkhāb*], a double girdle of wool, a piece of velvet, and a pair of golden finger-rings. He said:

"Thy father fled, and left thee alone (behind).
During my life-time I have had the pleasure of seeing thee grow up.
Thou art a king even over me: reign over me!

18,000 Rs. annually have to be paid to the high government! What can be got out of La-dvags beyond this sum may be considered as the king's own property!"

NOTES

Pi-pi-tiṅ is a little village near Spadum in Zaṅs-dkar. Mkhar-maṅ is identical with the principality of Khartakchan and Parkuda. The Jos of Mkhar-maṅ (or Parkuda) are a family of Balti chiefs, from whose daughters the kings of Baltistan used to select their wives. When the Balti Prince Muhammad-Shāh was disinherited in favour of his younger brother Muhammad-Alī, he fled to the chief of Mkhar-maṅ, his uncle, who took up his cause. It was only natural for the chief of Mkhar-maṅ to assist the Dogras in their campaign, because in particular the latter professed to defend Muhammad-Shāh's right to the throne of Baltistan. Bastī-Rām's narrative ends immediately before the Balti war. The remainder of the history was compiled by Cunningham from 'Other Information'.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE BALTI WAR ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Bastī-Rām (pp. 343 sqq.).	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. Gulāb Singh is displeased with Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin's election.		
2. Zorawar conquers Balde and Chatrgarh, then Zaṅs-dkar.		2. After six years Zorawar goes to Zaṅs-dkar.
3. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin runs away, but is seized at Ta-bo.		3. The old king, as well as Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, both go to meet him at Pi-pi-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar.
4. The old king reinstated, the taxes being raised to 23,000 Rs. annually.		4. The old king is reinstated. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin is punished.
5. Zorawar goes back to Jammu.		
6. Next year he comes to Leh again, to make war against Baltistan.	6. After six years the Ladakhis and the people of Pu-rig start an insurrection. Zorawar arrives at Leh, coming from Zaṅs-dkar. War is made against Baltistan.	6. War is made against Baltistan.
Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 346 sqq.).		
7. Prince Muhammad-Shāh is to be placed on the throne of Baltistan.		
8. Submission of the chiefs of Khatakchan and Khapulu.		8. The chief of Mkhar-maṅ acts as guide to the Dogra army.
9. Mia-Nidhân-Singh with 5,000 men is beaten by the Baltis.	9. Battle of Tse-tse-tsan: several Si-pa are killed (Dogras beaten).	
10. Bastī-Rām builds a bridge across the Indus. The Baltis are beaten at Marwan.	10. Zorawar beats the Baltis.	
11. Skar-rdo surrenders for want of water. Muhammad-Shāh is placed on the throne of Baltistan.	11. Skar-rdo surrenders after a siege of twelve days. The chiefs of the insurgents are cruelly punished.	11. Skar-rdo is conquered.
12. Don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh dies of small-pox.	12. The father-king and Baṅ-kha-pa both die at Skar-rdo. They are cremated at Tog.	12. The father-king dies of small-pox. He is cremated at Tog.
13. Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal is acknowledged king of Ladakh.	13. Back to Leh. Zorawar spends the winter at Leh.	13. Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal is acknowledged king of Ladakh.

The chief difficulty with regard to the events told in this chapter is the tale of Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin. According to Bastī-Rām he was deposed a long time before the Balti war; but according to the Tibetans it was immediately before the war, after a reign of five or six years (1835–40 or –41). According to Bastī-Rām he ran away to Spi-ti as soon as he heard of Zorawar's approach; but according to the *Rgyal-rabs* he went to meet him in Zaṅs-dkar. With regard to Prince Mchog-sprul, Cunningham says in this chapter that he went as far as Kotgur, where he died in 1839, being 21 years old. A 'Song of Prince Mchog-sprul's flight' is found in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 152), where we find also (p. 160) a song on King Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal.

No long time after [that event Zorawar] deliberated with regard to the question of sending an army against Yar-khen (Yarkand) and Byaṅ-thaṅ. As it was a long way to Yar-khen, he resolved to send an army against Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum. Therefore the Wazir with as many officers and soldiers as he had with him; the Ladakhi [chieftain] No-no-Bsod-nams; the minister of Ba-sgo (Bab-sgo); Go-lam-Khan; Mgon-po, the steward; the minister Sa-bi; and all the other great councillors and soldiers went to make war against Mṅaḥ-ris. (*Ca* MS.) Mi-yā-Mag-na, the Tha-na-dār, was made responsible for all Ladakh. (*Cc* MS.) The He-mi monastery contributed 12,000 bushels of grain, 300 horse-loads, and 70 horses. At first they marched across the Byaṅ-la [pass]. Ru-thog was destroyed; and the minister of 'A-lci was stationed there as commandant of the castle. It was very doubtful whether a Tibetan army would ever arrive [there], excepting the 500 soldiers who were natives of Mṅaḥ-ris. The Wazir marched off with a great army, fought against Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, and brought it under his sway. At Sgar (Garthog) he built a fort (*qila*). Si-pas, soldiers, and castlewards were stationed in Bu-raṅ, Ru-thog, and other places, and then he retired to Sgar, together p. with his army. Four days after the Wazir's return from Bu-raṅ, a Tibetan from Bu-raṅ, the chief of the archers, with 300 cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers, arrived there. Those fifty Si-pas who were stationed at Stag-la-mkhar (*Ca* MS. Dvag-la-mkhar) in Bu-raṅ were attacked and everyone of them killed. The Tibetan army remained [there]. Eight days later a minister, a *ru-dpon*, three responsible commanders, with 500 cavalry and 7,000 foot-soldiers, arriving from Bu-raṅ as reinforcements, are said to have been in Gro-śod. More [soldiers] were expected to arrive by and by. Meta Basti-Rām with 300 Si-pas was stationed at Do-yo. Basti-Rām uninterruptedly, by day and by night, sent reports to the Wazir. At that time two or three days had elapsed since the Wazir's arrival at Sgar. Then a letter with news arrived from Basti-Rām. It was conveyed by Ran-thag-(Raṅ-ḥthag)-Bkra-śis-don-grub, a Ladakhi, together with four men. On the following day the Wazir together with his army and the Ladakhi noblemen went back, not leaving a single soldier [at Sgar], and once more he arrived in Bu-raṅ. The queens (Zorawar's wives) were sent to La-dvags with No-no Don-ldan of Phyi-dbaṅ. A little below Do-yo he established a camp and remained. Then five or six great skirmishes took place. The Tibetan army, remaining inside the castle, did not incur much loss; but on the Wazir's part, being outside, many Si-pas were killed. Then snow fell, and the old men among the Wazir's Si-pas perished of cold. The stronger men [among the Dogras] and the Ladakhi noblemen, wearing their armour [fought ?] day and night without a break. (Text uncertain.) One day very early, at first dawn, the Tibetan army left the castle of Stag-la; 3,000 cavalry,

about 5,000 infantry, a captain of the archers, a *ya-po* (hangman, executioner), two *ru-dpons*, and two captains. They surrounded the Wazir's camp. From early dawn till sunrise both sides were engaged in fighting, and the firing was without intermission. Those who died on both sides were equal. When the sun rose on the mountain peaks, the Tibetan officers, as many as there were, and 3,000 cavalry, came out [of the castle], and Mig-dmar-tshes, the steward, without looking back or hesitating, leaped into the [Dogra] entrenchments. They fought for one or two spaces of three hours. [Then] the Wazir uttered the following vow: "Either the Tibetans will take my head and neck, or I shall take it myself (commit suicide)!" Then, shouting Sri-Gu-lāb-Siṅ's name, [he said]: "The omens are not good!" The Wazir fought on horseback with a sword in his hand. After he had killed four or five Tibetans, the executioner, knowing that he was the Wazir, hurled his spears against him, regardless of his own life. Then, going in front [of the Wazir], he thrust his spear right through the Wazir's chest. The Wazir fell to the ground, not uttering a single sound; his sword escaped his hand. Once more the thought occurred to him to seize his sword; but he could not. The executioner, drawing out the spear, took his sword from the belt, and, cutting off [the Wazir's] head, carried it off. Then the Dogra soldiers lost their heads (thoughts). When the Tibetan infantry also pressed into the entrenchments, the [Dogra] officers as well as the Ladakhi noblemen became confused. He who could save [his life] fled; the remainder were killed. On that day, a little after noon, the battle came to an end. The Tibetans had gained a victory. On the following day the captain of the archers and the *ru-dpon*, and 300 cavalry, in pursuit of the fleeing Siṅ-pas, reached Sgar. But, as this took place in Byaṅ-thaṅ (a desert country), they could not capture a single Siṅ-pa. After they had finished examining [the desert], they remained at Sgar. At that time reinforcements from the Upper and Lower gold-mine [districts] reached the camp, 300 horsemen arriving all at the same time; and it wa eported that 3,000 infantry would follow soon. Then Mgon-po, the steward, No-no-Bsod-nams, the minister of Ba-mgo, Go-lam-Khan, the minister of Sa-spo, several other noblemen, several officers of the Siṅ-pas, and all those Siṅ-pas who had been taken prisoners were despatched to Tibet.

NOTES

Local names:—Yar-khen is Yarkand (or Turkestan in general). Byaṅ-thaṅ is the districts north and east of Ru-thog. The Byaṅ-la [pass] is found on the road to the Paṅ-koṅ Lake, soon after Sak-ti. Sgar is the same as Garthog of the maps. Stag-la-mkhar (Dvag-la-mkhar) is stated to be situated in Bu-raṅ. It is found exactly south of the Manasarowar Lake. Gro-śod is a Tibetan province north of Bu-raṅ. Do-yo (Toyo) I cannot trace on a map. Sa-spo (Sa-spo-la) is a large village on the Indus, opposite A-lci, the seat of a minister.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 351 sqq.).	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. Zorawar threatens to invade Yarkand and Tibet.		1. Zorawar threatens to invade Yarkand and Tibet.
2. In May, 1841, he marches to Wam-le, Bkra-śis-sgaṅ, Ru-thog and Sgar.	2. Ru-thog is seized and plundered.	2. Ru-thog is conquered; a fort is built at Sgar.

Cunningham's 'Other Information'.	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
3. He establishes his headquarters at Tīrthapur on the Sutlej.	3. The Dogras dam up the water of a river in Grog-po-rab-gsum and the Tibetans retire.	3. Zorawar goes to Bu-raṅ, and comes back to Sgar, where he establishes his headquarters.
4. Bastī-Rām is stationed at Stag-la-mkhar, on the Karnali river.		4. Bastī-Rām is stationed at Do-yo.
5. Rahīm-Khān and Ghulām-Khān of Chu-śod plunder Spi-ti.		
6. On the 7th November No-no-Bsod-nams' force is annihilated at Kar-dam. On the 19th November he and Ghulām-Khān are taken prisoners.		6. The garrison at Stag-la-mkhar is annihilated by the Tibetans.
7. Zorawar advances from Tīrthapur. On the 12th December he is beaten and killed.	7. The Dogras follow the Tibetans to Upper Grog-po-rab-sum; Zorawar is beaten and killed.	7. Zorawar is encamped at Do-yo. The Tibetans from Stag-la-mkhar beat and kill him.
8. Among the prisoners are Ahmad-Shāh of Baltistan, General Rai-siṅ, Ghulām-Khān, No-no-Bsod-nams, the minister of Bab-sgo.	8. Peace is concluded and an agreement written.	8. Among the prisoners are Mgon-po No-no-Bsod-nams, the ministers of Bab-sgo and Sa-spo, and Golām-Khān.

As certain place-names, in particular Do-yo and Grog-po-rab-gsum, have not yet been traced on any map, we do not yet know how far the agreement between the three accounts extends. A song on Zorawar's death is found in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 169).

Between Mgon-po, the steward [of He-mi], and the Tibetans an agreement was made, and Mgon-po sent a secret letter to La-dvags: "The Wazir is dead, and the Tibetan army is reported in pursuit. Therefore, Upper and Lower [Ladakh], on all sides, should be made ready for war." The astrologer Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan was sent in advance [with this letter]. Mgon-po himself intended to watch events, saying, p. 52.
"The Tibetans will gather an army!"; and so he arrived later. Lha-bdag-Tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, the Wazir's quartermaster, had to supply the garrison of the castle of La-dvags and the Si-pas with food, grass, and wood. When the Wazir was dead, and no grass or wood arrived from Upper and Lower Ladakh, he said to the Kumidan and Magna, the Thanadār: "I am not sure whether grass and wood will arrive! It looks like a rebellion. I do not know what will happen!" Then these two became reflective also. They sent a petition to the Ser-kar [Jammu], and asked for an army. In accordance with what had been said [before] Mgon-po, the steward, and the noblemen of Gśam (Lower Ladakh) held a consultation. During winter, they equipped an army; and in the spring they sent the hosts from Upper and Lower Ladakh, Sbal-ti, Kha-pul, and Ldum-ra [to Leh]. A Tibetan captain of the archers, 100 cavalry, and 500 infantry were posted at Lce-ḫbre. Then the Ladakhi army surrounded both the Ki-la and the Cha-ḫon, and threw up entrenchments. Then they fought for twelve days without intermission. (*Ca* MS.) In the Ki-la there were 50 Siṅ-pas under Magna, the Thanadār; in the Cha-ḫon there were 300 Pal-ṭan Si-pas under a Kumidan. (*Cc* MS.)

On the following day [the Tibetans] surrounded the Cha-ḫon. The Kumidan was stationed at the Chag-rab (?) of the Cha-ḫon, and the Sbal-ti army was [encamped] round the gate of the same. Suddenly Miya-Ranu, together with 30 Si-pas sword in hand, issued from the Ki-la, careless of life and death. At first they surprised the Sbal-tis; and after they had killed several Sbal-tis the Sbal-tis fled. Then half the Pal-ṭans left the Cha-ḫon; but the combat came to a stop, and all the Ladakhi soldiers returned to their encampment. From that day for six days they fought night and day without intermission. At that time a letter arrived [at Leh with the news] that Dewan Hari-cand and Wazir Tunu had reached Kha-la-[r]tse with a great army (*Ca* MS.) and several guns. (*Cc* MS.) At night all the [Tibetan] soldiers encamped around the Ki-la assembled in the castle. On the next morning the King's minister, the Tibetan Lhags-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, destroyed the bridge at Lig-tse and remained [there] for several days. The Dewan Sahib arrived at Slel (Leh) and pursued the fugitives. Within two days he annihilated every trace of the [Tibetan] entrenchments and started in pursuit. At first he fought against those 500 Tibetan soldiers who were stationed at the Lce-ḫbre monastery, and killed as many as possible. The remainder were seized and sent to Slel. Then the Dewan Sahib, the Wazir Sahib, and the soldiers marched across the Byaṅ-la [pass] to Ḥdor-khug. Also the Tibetan army, the king, and the ministers of La-dvags fled from Lig-tse and went to Kluṅ-gyog-ma. Together with them an auxiliary force, consisting of the minister Zur-khaṅ and Ra-ga-śa and 5,000, arrived at Kluṅ-gyog-ma. They established a camp, and remained there. Afterwards about 2,000 Tibetan soldiers were sent off to fight [the Dogras]. On the plain of Rdo-khug they fought against the Dewan's soldiers for one day; but, being no match for them, they retired to their encampment. On the following day the soldiers of the Wazir and Dewan Sahib marched to Kluṅ-gyog-ma. There were mountains close on both sides of the brook, and they established their camp on both banks. For ten or eleven days they fought together; but neither side gained a victory or was beaten. One day, when the Si-pas, breaking up their camp, engaged in skirmishes, the cold of the plain caused much harm to the Si-pas, and an officer, Kumidan Maca-Siṅ, died. The cook of the Žib-chod (commissioner) cast fire [into the Dogra camp], and caused a conflagration in their camp, which did much harm. So they went back to the camp. After that Thaṅ-pa Bsod-nams-ḫbyor-ldan advised [the Dogras] to flood the Tibetan camp with water. He spoke to the Wazir and the Dewan, and the brook was dammed up; the narrow place [between the hills] was closed, and the water forced upwards. After three nights and days had elapsed the Tibetan camp on the plain became flooded with water. Their equipment, the powder, etc., became wet. As no other course was left, the Tibetans bowed their heads. The Wazir and the Dewan carried the following off to Slel: Pi-śi-śa-kra, the captain of the archers, Ra-ga-śa, Zur-khaṅ, and together with them fifty officers and men. The bulk of the army was allowed to retire, and they returned [to Tibet]. When Ra-ga-śa arrived at the steep defile of Wam[-le], he swallowed the diamond of his golden finger-ring and died.
p. 53. The captain of the archers and Zur-khaṅ were both escorted to Slel, and there peace

was concluded. The conquered La-dvags, according to the frontiers it had during the times of the [Ladakhi] kings, was annexed by the high government. On the Tibetan side of the frontier everything remained under Tibet. From Tibet the Tibetan government-merchants and from Ladakh the bi-annual merchants (*lo-phyag*) were to travel according to the former custom. The Ladakhi merchants were allowed to travel to Sgar, Ru-thog, and wherever they pleased; and the Tibetan merchants of Byaṅ [thaṇ] were allowed to travel to La-dvags. Everything was arranged exactly as it had been during the times of the former [Ladakhi] kings, and a contract was written. Then the captain of the archers was set free. Zur-khaṅ was taken to Jam-bu, where he was presented to Serkar Mahārāja Gu-lab-Siṅ. He was shown grace, and, having been presented with a brocade suit [*kinkhāb*], a golden ring, a girdle, and several other suits, he returned [to Tibet]. (*Ca* MS.) Ever since that time the Tibetans and Dogras have lived in peace (good order) without war; the bi-annual trade (*lo-phyag* and *gžuṅ-tshoṅ*) going on as before, according to the contract made. The Dewan Haricand promised to reinstal all the Tibetan ministers, and the Ladakhi king and queen with their whole court. From Gaṅs-ri in Tibet used to be sent via the king of La-dvags several men as servants, whom the king passed into the hands of the Dewan Haricand and the Wazir, and they then went to the castle of Slel. Henceforward in La-dvags not a single one of the old nobles retained the power which he had possessed during the old king's reign. However, the Dewan Haricand and the Wazir said, 'Only the minister Rig-ḥdzin, formerly a servant of the late Wazir Zorawar, who died in Pu-raṅ (Bu-raṅ), shall remain for ever, without change, a servant of the government!'; and so they committed to him the entire government of La-dvags and made him minister. Then the Dewan and the Wazir both took the Ladakhi noblemen, among them the Leh minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, 'A-jo-Mgon-po, and Bslab-dag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas along with them, and returned to Ḥjammu. In La-dvags they left the minister Rig-ḥdzin, and Magna the Thanadar, together with the soldiers in the Ki-lā.

NOTES

The Dogras had two forts at Leh, the Ki-la and the Cha-ḥon. The Cha-ḥon forms part of the present town of Leh; the Ki-la is situated about a mile below the commissioner's compound in Dgar-ba. Lig-tse village is on the Indus, above Leh (Map: Likchey). Rdo-khug (Ḥdor-khug), village west of the Paṅ-koṅ lake, on the river of the same name (Map: Durgo). The river is a tributary of the Shayok. Kluṅ-gyog-ma, the valley of the same river. Ḥjam-mu (Jam-bu, Dzam-bu), the capital of the Dogra State. The Wāzīr's name seems to be Ratunu, not Tunu. Lhags-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, Lha-bdag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, or Bslab-dag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas seem to be one and the same person.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 354–5).	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. In spring 1842 the Chinese and Tibetans, numbering about 3,000, lay siege to the fort of Leh.		1. The Tibetans as well as the Ladakhis lay siege to the two forts of Leh.
2. The Baltis rise. They are soon reduced by Wāzīr Lakpat.		

Cunningham's "Other Information."	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
3. Dēwān Haricand and Wāzīr Ratanu arrive with fresh troops.	3. Dēwān Haricand and Wāzīr-Ratun arrive at Leh with 8,000 soldiers.	3. Dēwān Haricand and Wāzīr-Tunu arrive at Leh with a great army.
	4. Lce-ḫbre is conquered by the Dogras.	4. Lce-ḫbre is conquered by the Dogras.
5. The Tibetans flee towards Ruthog, and take up a strong position.	5. Battle of Chu-śul. The Tibetans are beaten.	5. The Tibetans receive reinforcements, numbering 5,000. Battle of Rdo-khug, the Tibetans are beaten.
6. The Lhasa commander is taken prisoner.	6. Ra-ga-śa, the Tibetan general, is seized and killed by the Dogras.	6. The Tibetan camp is flooded by the Dogras. Ra-ga-śa, Zur-khaṅ, and Pi-śi-Śakra are taken prisoners. Ra-ga-śa commits suicide.
7. Peace is concluded. The old boundary between Ladakh and Lhasa-Tibet is re-established.	7. Peace is concluded. Exchange of prisoners.	7. Peace is concluded. Trade-contract and old boundaries re-established.

General Notes.—An interesting song on the minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin in prison is among my collection of historical folklore. A Sanskrit inscription in the Cig-gtan monastery possibly refers to the Dogra war. It speaks of an army and the crossing of a river on inflated skins. Rayim-Khan of Cig-gtan, the hero of the 'Polo Song' (*Ladakhi Songs*, No. 3), is probably identical with Rayim-Khan of Cig-gtan, of whose tragic fate we hear in Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra wars. The Rājā of Baltistan, Ahmad-Khān, who was taken to Lhasa as a prisoner, possibly returned to Kashmir State territory. His grave is shown in Kashtawar, as Dr. J. Hutchinson tells me. In Sherring's *Western Tibet* (p. 198) is reproduced a photograph called 'The tomb of Zorawar Singh', taken near Taklakar. As Dr. Longstaff points out, the ruin looks far too old to be Zorawar's grave. He connects the ruin with Haidar's Tibetan campaign in 1532 A.D. A 'Song of Zorawar's wife' is found translated in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 169). A document relating to the peace-contract between Tibet and Jammu is found in S. Ch. Das' *Yig-bskur-rnam-bẓag*, p. 52. This reproduction is so full of mistakes that it is practically unintelligible; but the names Zur-khaṅ and Lde-mkhan (Dēwān) Haridzan may nevertheless be deciphered.

X. (*C* MS.) The Later History of La-dvags, beginning with the Rule of Mahārādza Gulāb-Singh

During the lifetime of Sri Mahārādza Gulāb-Sing (*c.* 1842–57 A.D.), reigning over the capital; Jam-bu, Ka-śir, La-dvags, Sbal-ti-yul, Bu-rig, Zaṅs-dkar, Kastrawar, Bdur-ka, Dza-srod-dri, and Spyi-ti, in La-dvags the taxes of the great peasants amounted to 7 Rs.; of those who had only half [a portion of fields and houses], to 3 Rs. 8 As.; and of those who possessed only a quarter portion, to 1 R. 13 As. The nobility, the Prime Ministers, and the [other] ministers had to pay taxes in conformity with the monasteries; the taxes of the greater [noblemen] amounting to 70 Rs., of the ministers to 30 Rs.; while those of the smaller nobility were fixed at 19 Rs. All the monasteries were treated proportionately.

NOTES

Most of the place-names mentioned in the above account are well known. Only Bdur-ka and Dza-srod-dri are unknown to me. The spelling Ka-shir (Kashmir) is interesting, as pointing to the hypothetical Prākrit spelling Kaśvīra. It is strange to find Spi-ti mentioned among the possessions of Gulāb Singh. At present it certainly does not belong to Kashmir, but to British India.

From Cunningham's 'Other Information' (p. 355) we learn that 'in the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Shaikh Imām-ud Dīn in Kashmir, there was a slight disturbance in Zaṅs-dkar, which was promptly repressed by the Wāzīr Bastī-Rām, who is now "one of the confidential servants of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh". Since then the whole country has been quiet; and the passive Tibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist.'

When his son, Mahārādza Rāmbīr-Siṅ, reigned (*c.* 1857–83 A.D.), all the Ladakhi villages and peasants' [estates] which had suffered during the time of the former Dewans (during the Dogra war) were re-established. The village taxes were removed, and the custom-house fees of La-dvags were abolished. The register of peasants which had been previously drawn up by the Thanadār Magna and the Prime Minister Rig-ḥdzin and which had remained [in force] till Basti-Rām's time was abolished. In the Bi-kir-mi (Vikrama) year 1922 (1865 A.D.) Meta Maṅgal-Siṅ, the son of Meta Basti-Rām, drew up a new list of peasants. The taxes on a full [share of] fields and houses were fixed at 7 Rs. 11 As.; on half [a share] 3 Rs. 5 As. 3 Paisā; on a further half (half of half = one quarter) [share] 1 R. 15 As. 3 Paisā. A full share of victuals [to be paid as taxes] was fixed at one bushel and 20 *bre* of wheat; 5 *ser* of butter; 2 *sraṅ* of wood of roots, and 20 *ser* of wood of Tar. (As this is wood brought from [the village of] Tar in Gśam, having to be paid annually as a kind of tax, it was called Tar wood.) Things remained as stated above for twenty-one years, down to the Hindu Bi-kir-mi year 1941 (1884 A.D.). This king ruled in great happiness and power; his dominions spread and flourished; the harvests and the years were good; the water even became soft (or abundant ?); and not a hand's breadth of ground remained unploughed. He made a law-[book] called *Kanun*. All the soldiers were forbidden to take anything except their proper wages from anyone in the country, be he strong or weak! During the reign of this king the salt mine of La-dvags (*tshva-kha*), borax, soda, iron ore, and a gold mine were discovered. Water was led [in canals] to the [dry] plains; and Meta Maṅgal-Siṅ founded Rāmbīrpur (the town of Rāmbīr-Siṅ); Rāmpur (the town of Rām-Siṅ at Chu-śod); [the garden] Maṅgal-Bāg (the garden of Maṅgal-Siṅ near Caṅ-ga); and Partābpur (the town of Partāb-Siṅ in Ldum-ra). Great numbers of merchants came from all the frontiers, and cheats abounded; valuables arrived from the great cities, a vast store. People became clever and sharp; [they learnt] Persian and Drug-ra (Dogra, Sanskrit) grammar and arithmetic; they became haughty and bad in many respects. In Pal-dar a mine (treasure) of *iṇḍa-nila* (sapphire) was discovered. With regard thereto that [event] Bla-ma Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel of the Stag-sna monastery of La-dvags in the year 1938 (1881 A.D.), or in the ninth month of the Tibetan earth-snake year (1869 A.D. + 12 = 1881), made a petition. He was equal in character to the teachers of old. He wished to meet with the great Śri-Mahārādza and on the occasion of accompanying the high government (the Mahārāja) out of Kashmir, in 1938, when [leaving] Pāmpur of Kashmir, he told [the Mahārāja], without letting it become known to anyone of the nobility (?)—I myself (Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas) was travelling from Pāmpur with the great lama. The lama was sent to Pal-dar, and by way of clever tricks and prayers to the Jewels (*dkon-mchog*,

p. 54.

i.e. the deity) on the part of the great lama he succeeded in examining [the mine] and carrying away from the mine along with him about 20 maunds of *nilim* (sapphire). At Jammu he presented them to the high Mahārādza, who was much delighted. The lama, whilst living at Jammu, received a monthly salary of 120 Rs., and was promised an annual donation of 60 Rs., if he should prefer to live at a different place. It was arranged that henceforth people should be prohibited from taking *nilim* (sapphire) from the mine. It is rumoured that for a long time the superintendents of the Lahul trade, beginning with Bsod-nams-dṅos-grub, had through obtaining sapphires lived in affluence and enjoyment like gods. (A few words uncertain.) The Mahārādza, having secured this mine [for himself], posted there an officer with 100 Si-pas as a guard; so the government became owner of the mine. The precious sapphires, being polished, were passed on at 200–500 Rs. a *tolā*. Thus this king was exalted beyond his great forefathers. In the Darbār of the great English queen he ranked before all the other minor kings of India. He had a throne, number 1, and a salam of 41 guns. He [also] received the title of "Great King". No other rādza was equal to Dewān Kirpa-Rām, Wazīr Punu, and the Dewān's son, 'A-nat-Rām, these three; they were of one mind and skilled in affairs. From the time of the acquisition of the sapphire mine in Pal-dar the Mahārādza's health became weak; he became unhappy, and the regularity in affairs suffered (was shaken). He introduced a *Koṅ-sol* (council or councillor) to do the government work. [All this happened] in accordance with a Tibetan prophecy, where it is said:—

> In the kingdom of Modu-Hor
> There appeared an incarnation of a Bodhisatva,
> And the law [of Buddha] as well as the government began to spread!

p. 55. This king reigned for about 28 years. The Kingdom of Pu-nac (Punch) was given to the king's brother, Rādzā Muti-Siṅ. He himself had three sons. When he was [still] in good health, the eldest son, Mahārādza Partāb-Siṅ, was made Lord of the kingdom; the second, Rām-Siṅ, became field-marshal; and the third (youngest), 'A-mar-Siṅ, became the head of the Darmarthas (Dharma-'āt-mas). Each of them received a jāgir, and all their wishes were fulfilled. During the reign of this king salaries were given, ranging from 2,000 Rs. in the case of the higher (nobility) to 8 Rs. in the case of officials and soldiers (*si-pa*). Everywhere the higher officials (nobility) were placed in higher positions than those held by their forefathers. Accordingly, they received their spheres of work in their home-lands (own lands); and could show kindness [to their people] as before. Their salaries were also raised. The wazirs (viz. the wazir of La-dvags, etc.) were given between 900 and 1,000 Rs. monthly. These were granted only when their services were approved. The king did not wish that taxes should be imposed in the kingdom of La-dvags according to the particular pleasure of the wazirs and other people, as had been the case formerly. In the year 1938 (A.D. 1881) Jonsen-Sahib became wazir of La-dvags, and he acted according to the Mahārādza's orders (viz. according to his orders that he should survey the ground). In his opinion the Ladakhis were honest men and free from deceit. On the other hand, the expenses

of the government were great. And, as he knew [beforehand] that later on a dispute would arise [on account of the raising of the taxes], he assembled the nobility of La-dvags and [other] people of high rank, the wardens of the He-mi and Lce-bde [monasteries], the Kardārs and others, and told them what was going to happen. The country people agreed together, and were ready to pay four annas in addition to each four or five rupees [of their taxes]. In addition to this they wrote a letter, and everything was in good order. In the year 1939 (1882 A.D.) several influential and several ordinary people held a council under Nand-Rām, the prime minister of Slel (Leh), and the prime minister of Ba-sgo. As they did not agree with the wazir (Jonsen), they went to Kha-chul (Kashmir) to put up a petition. The great protector of the earth said half in fun that they [should pay] two annas [only] in addition to each rupee. They saying, 'We shall not even accept that (turn to that)!', the government became angry, and the wazir himself even, Nayib Deru-Mal, Munśi Don-chod, Biśin-Dās, and other munśis, numbering thirty [in all] were sent to survey the country. The ground was surveyed in such a manner as had never been seen before. At first turrets (seals) were erected along the frontier. Then square turrets [were erected] between the countries (provinces ?), and the various villages were divided by turrets [from one another]. Inside these the lands good and bad, according to the existing plans, the fertile valleys (water-valleys), the water canals, the willow groves, the lucerne fields, [in short] in those places of which plans, etc., existed from the times of the [Ladakhi kings], were marked off by little turrets of blue *pise* with flags of *al-wan* attached. The ground between the turrets was measured (divided); the names of the peasant, of the ground, and a number was written, and a ticket, to be produced on demand, was given. The peasant who held it was frightened on his [own] ground, and for the future a law was introduced for punishing wrongs. The taxes were fixed in accordance with the excellence of the harvest. In the year 1941 (1884 A.D.), by order of the Lord of La-dvags, the seven[fold] Mahārādza Rāmbīr-Siṅ. Dewan 'A-nat-Rām, whose paternal home was at 'Amritsar, a man well acquainted with Persian and English, was instructed to make a law-book like the *Kanun*. The taxes weighed heavily [on the country]; while formerly for sixty-one villages with the monasteries they were 26,942 Rs. 3 As. 2 Paisā, together with wheat 2,510 *maunds* 29 *ser* and 2 *pao*, butter 282 *maunds* 14 *ser* and 2 *pao*, 'wood of roots' 4,395 *rdo-sraṅ* and 25 *bati*; 'wood of Tar' 837 *rdo-saṅ* and 54 *ser*, at that time for those same sixty-one villages the taxes were fixed at 44,340 Rs. 5 As. 2 Paisā, barley to the value of 1,633 Rs. 1 A., 173 Rs. 1 A. as taxes on mills, 319 Rs. 5 As. 2 Paisā as taxes on food, and the equivalent of 312 Rs. 6 As. in provisions; total, 46,778 Rs. 3 As. [in cash], wheat 2,639 *maunds* 3 *ser* and 3 *pao*, butter 275 *maunds* 25 *ser*, 'wood of roots' 4,240 *sraṅ* 5 *bati*, 'wood of Tar' 985 *sraṅ* and 29 *batis*. In the year 1942 (1885 A.D.) the English reigned for a time (in between). As bad omens of the destruction of the flower of the life of the p. 56.
Sri-Mahārādza the fields in the whole country [suffered from] rust and cold winds; the sky and the earth became red. On the fourth day of the eighth month of the wood-hen year (1883), [or] on the 29th day of the month Bād-ruṅ of the year 1942 (1885 A.D.),

the day when the flower of his life was destroyed, hail fell in La-dvags, and in several villages the harvest was not satisfactory. In the same year, in Pāmpūr of Kha-chul (Kashmir) [a child] of unusual shape, neither male nor female, was born. A great earthquake took place in the country, and the fort, the king's own castle, as well as the little palace (Gzim-chuṅ), etc., were destroyed. At Slel the bad news of the destruction of the flower of his life was heard on the 14th day of the eighth month. Then the nobility and the great man, the Wāzīr, the Hindus as well as the Tibetans, cut off their beards. It was forbidden to wear coloured clothes, and they lamented for several months. The shops of the bazar were closed for three weeks (?). After that cheerfulness was resumed.

NOTES

Place-names:—The village of Tar, which is famous for its wood, is situated on the left bank of the Indus, in a side valley opposite to Sñur-la. Of the three towns founded during the reign of Rambīr Singh, viz., Rambīrpur, Rāmpur, and Partābpur, I have seen only Rambīrpur. It is situated on the right bank of the Indus, a little above Khri-rtse. It is already evacuated and in ruins. In 1870 the Rev. Heyde found it well peopled, see *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeinde*, 1871, p. 86. I do not believe that the other towns are in a better state. The garden, Maṅgal-Bāgh, is still existing. It is situated in the Indus valley, not far from He-mi. The sapphire mine is situated in Zaṅs-dkar, on the Pal-dar (Padar) frontier. The lama's action in betraying its existence to the Mahārāja was a kind of treason to his countrymen, who thereby lost a source of income. The lama was guided in his action by the wish to make the Kashmir king favourably inclined towards the monasteries. Pāmpur is a town on the Jhelum, twelve miles above Srinagar. Modu-Hor, the kingdom of the prophecy, is not known to me. The word 'Hor' would point to Mongols, Turkomans or Mughals. But I cannot see a connexion of this name with the Dogras.

The Ladakhis have not yet forgotten the Sanskrit school which was established at Leh during the first years of Dogra rule. The Tibetan pupils received Sanskrit names, which were kept up during their lifetime. Some of the Sanskrit MS. books of that time are still found in houses at Leh. In 1861 Heyde found forty pupils in the Sanskrit school. Of particular interest is the note that maps of the cultivated districts existed as early as the days of the Ladakhi kings. Such maps have not yet come to light. Mr. Johnson, wāzīr of Leh and first settlement officer of the country, must have been a remarkable man, in spite of a few faults. What I know of him was obtained from the Ladakhis, and for this reason I do not know whether it is authentic. He is reported to have been an ordinary English soldier, a corporal, who found favour in the eyes of the Mahārāja. He was made wāzīr of Ladakh, and in that position he gained the confidence of the Ladakhis to a remarkable degree. He actually took the trouble to study them. At the same time he was a great mountaineer, and ascended several of the high peaks around Leh. According to the opinion of the Ladakhis Johnson was poisoned or murdered by some other officials, who had become jealous on account of his high position in the Mahārāja's confidence. In 1875 a native of Ladakh made to the Rev. Heyde the following remark regarding Mr. Johnson:—'Johnson does not take care of the little stones which give stability to the wall' (*Missionsblatt*, 1876, p. 82). He meant that Johnson ought to have interested himself more in the state of the ordinary peasant, instead of making friends with the nobility. In 1877 Heyde found Johnson at Chu-Śod, where he built a fort (*ibid.*, 1878, p. 103). The inter-relations of the different lists of the taxes of Ladakh, as given at the end of the account, are not known to me.

As to the restoration of the villages which had suffered during the Dogra war, it was not so easily carried out. In the *Missionsblatt*, 1856, p. 49, we read that the Rev. A. W. Heyde, when he passed through Ladakh in 1885, found several villages of twenty to thirty houses absolutely empty. In 1865, when he visited Zaṅs-dkar, he was told that one-half of the inhabitants had left the country, being driven to despair by the Dogras. Lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel was apparently the lama who, as early as 1854, instructed the Moravian missionaries in Tibetan, and who read the *Rgyal-rabs* with Dr. Karl Marx. In the *Missionsblatt*, 1881, p. 49, Reb-slob in his account referring to 1880 gives an interesting characterization of Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel. According to Reb-slob this lama was very polite in the presence of the missionary and false behind his back.

On the 7th day of the fourth month of the fire-dog year (1886), [or] in the year 1943 (1886 A.D.), the high Sri-Mahārādza-Partāb-Siṅ-Bahādur was placed on the throne at Jammu. To be invested with the Ṭika (the coloured daub on the Hindu's forehead, see notes), he went to the old former Mandri (Mandar), and there a plate full of [various things], different musical instruments, a gun, jewels, gold, pearls, and diamonds, was twirled round his head and then thrown outside. Simultaneously there was a salām of forty-one guns; and then the representative of the great English queen, the 'secretary' who lives in India, having presented a garment [to the new ruler], read before the assembly: 'All the possessions (patrimony) of your father are your own dominion,' and so on. Then 101 guns and the lancers made a salām. The other great kings, etc., and the Rājā of Kaphurthala made their presentations, viz. horses, mules, jewels, crowns made of birds' tails, kinkhābs, and various things of which I do not know the specific names. The army was present at the meeting-place, and there were conjurers, Persian mimics, somersault-jumpers, and wrestlers. Fights of elephants, horses, buffaloes, rams, and cocks took place. At night there were lamps, and along the roads, wherever you went, on both sides, flag-ornamentations. I do not know what wonderful tricks were performed by the horses, elephants, and soldiers. For strength and dexterity the buffaloes were particularly remarkable. The somersault-jumpers performed three somersaults [at a time] in the air, and jumped through circles (?) formed by the outstretched arms of nine men. Poles were placed on men's heads, and [others] climbed up them. [There] was rope-walking and other wonderful feats. At the same time many vessels of fire (paper lanterns ?) were lit; and on occasion of a banquet in the theatre 3,550 sky-going fires (rockets) were sent off mingling with the stars. On the following day the high Mahārādza was invited to dine with Ram-Siṅ, the chief of the army. On the following day, when he went to dine and dance at Rājā 'A-mar-Siṅ, Rājā Muti-Siṅg, and other people's invitation, the King of La-dvags, Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal, and Bkra-śis-lha-dbaṅ, the King of Maṅ-spro, were present in Kha-chul (Kashmir). At Jammu, Rata-Kriśna-Kol, the wāzīr of La-dvags; Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-bzaṅ, the warden of He-mi; the great lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel; the prime minister Nand-Rām; the minister of Śel; the Ladakhi captain Sulacan; munśi Don-grub; munśi Dpal-rgyas, the Kardār of Chu-śod; Ḫbrog-mo, the chief of the [wood] gardens of La-dvags; the students of the monasteries, numbering forty persons; Bkra-śis, the chief of the petitioners (the speaker), and several people from various villages, all presented coronation offerings. On that occasion the students performed mask dances and Ladakhi games. Then they were made to perform also before the Rājā of Kapurthala, who gave them presents and clothes. The taxes weighed heavily on La-dvags, and the monks of the monastery and the warden of He-mi offered a petition. As it was known that the Ladakhis were not on good terms with their wāzīr (Rata-Krishna-Kol ?), they were sent to the Nawāb of Kha-chul (Kashmir), Sri-Dewān-Lekhman-Das, who was to listen to them. The Hakīm did not agree with the petition of the Ladakhis, which was as follows:—'If [the taxes of] the monasteries are not settled in the previous way, there can be no more large presents (?) of the monasteries [to the government], no

regular sacrifices, no sacrificial lamps, no annual support, no salaries of 12 Rs. for each monk annually, no food and drink for the water-carriers and goat-herds, and, moreover,
p. 57. no more tilling of the ground!' Such and other petitions were offered before the highest authority, [who replied], 'From the taxes of the country in general one or two annas in every rupee [may be] remitted; as regards the monasteries, one half of the new taxes [may be] remitted; the other half will be paid!' As they could not agree even on that, the great man became angry, and, using oaths, he said, 'I will not decide!' The government blamed its own servants, and the proverb of 'God and the hungry man' was being fulfilled. The wāzīr and the people of the country could not agree in their speech, and the old proverb

When the falcon and the little bird wrestle,
The ground becomes covered with feathers!

was being fulfilled. Whilst Lekhman-Dās, the Nawāb of Kha-chul, was investigating the case of the Ladakhi petitioners, who had come to Kha-chul from above (La-dvags), a letter was actually issued, and a Si-pa and an order were sent to the Ladakhi nobility, who were assembled at Jammu, commanding them to start at once [for Kha-chul]. They were not even allowed to wait for their house-mates; and the nobility, after they had spent two or three nights on the [open] ground, all huddled together, arrived in Kha-chul. There they met with the [ordinary] people of La-dvags. But at that time the relatives, near or distant, or people who lived in the same house, would not look at one another. The Dewān made a drawing and gave orders that any petitions were to be in writing, commanding the two Ladakhi kings, the warden of He-mi, and ten leaders (chiefs ?) to write a petition [of their own], and the ordinary people of the country to write separately. Thus the Ladakhis, being pressed on three sides, had no more consideration for near or far (neighbours or relations). They wrote that there were various estates in the country, that there were sites [which had been seized] by beating, bribing, or favouring a certain party; [and they wrote] many bad things about the wāzīr, which ought never to have been said. In his decision the Dewān [said], 'The Kings of Tog and Maṅ-spro both shall retain the jāgīrs given to them by the government. For it was right,' he said, 'that a king should have power to impose taxes.' But the 42 [Rs.] annually which they had taken in addition [to what was due to them] they were admonished to return to the people. To the descendants of Golām-Khān of Chu-śod, (viz.) Salām-Khatun and Golām was given a *jāgīr*, [which has remained in their hands] down to the present day. Through the intercession of Śer-Siṅ, who had formerly been in La-dvags as wāzīr, the Dewān said to the kings, the Kardārs, and the ordinary people, 'Tell me how much has been added to the taxes of the subjects in La-dvags in the former year 1941 (A.D. 1884) beyond what had been imposed by Meta-Maṅgal-Siṅ? Besides, how much do you want me to deduct from the taxes imposed by wāzīr Rādhā-Kriśna?' Thus he said. Then the nobility [of Ladakh] and the ordinary people with one accord [answered], 'Formerly Maṅgal-Siṅ fixed the taxes in proportion to the property [of the taxed]; but, since the survey was undertaken, through excessive partiality things have not gone straight. The rich people having paid bribes, some of their former

taxes have been remitted. The poor people have been falsely accused and beaten. Women without husbands have been compelled to marry, and those who refused have been sent to prison, and . . ." Thereupon the wāzīr and his retinue would not listen to the petitioners any longer. He rose and beat [the Ladakhis]. What had not been heard of since [the days of] Zorawar, viz. beating and main force (auction ?), were practised on the occasion of collecting the taxes. Not a jot of the new taxes were remitted. In addition to the old taxes imposed during the time from Meta Maṅgal to Wāzīr Jon-sen four annas had to be paid on each single rupee. Without having consulted with any of those [officials] who had at some former time lived in La-dvags the great Dewān on the 14th day of the fifth month of the Fire-Dog year (1886 A.D.) replied to the petition, " We have certainly listened to the petition of the people of the country, and the high and great Sri-Mahārāja Partāb-Siṅ loves his Ladakhi subjects and protects them with love; but in accordance with a council held with Dewān Lekhman-(Legman)-Dās, Meta Śer-Siṅ, Dewān Herānand, and Mīrzā 'Ag-bar Beg he has decided that they should be charged four annas in addition to each rupee of the old taxes." Down to the year 1942 (1885 A.D.) the taxes had been 32,887 Rs., 2 As., 1 Paisā. There being an increase of four annas (to each rupee), the increase was 8,221 Rs., 12 As., and the sum total for one year became 41,108 Rs., 14 As., 1 Paisā. Victuals, as butter, root-wood, wood from Tar, etc., were fixed at the rate of the old taxes. What had been taken in addition to these taxes was returned to all the kings and the nobility. Stamp duties, police [contributions], horse-taxes, sheep-taxes, mint-annas (they were formerly paid by the ordinary people, the nobility being exempted) were imposed on all, great and p. 58.
small. Then the people became as happy as before and full of cheer. They were ordered to return to La-dvags. In the year 1943 (1886 A.D.), on the fourth day of Har,[1] they all left Kha-chul. In their lot-casting at He-ḫbab (Hem-ḫbab ?) castle the lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel recognized the following:—It was found that the Lha (god) Lha-btsan-rdo-rje of the Mkhar-rdzoṅ-pass said the following:—

At first the weight of the taxes is like a thumb;
In the end it is like a little finger!

So it was found: it was the Lha who discerned it. In the year 1941 (1884 A.D.) a rumour spread that the Mhādi of the Musulmans had arisen.

NOTES

Local names:—Kaphurthala (Kapurthala), a well-known native state in the Panjab. The Mkhar-rdzoṅ pass is found in the range between Ladakh and Nub-ra, north of Leh.

As regards the great quarrel about the taxes, it is of particular interest that the antagonism between the nobility and the peasants of Ladakh thereby became evident. It was probably of more ancient origin. In the prophecy at the end of the account I have taken the word *chuṅ-ma* as meaning " small ". The proverb of " God and the hungry man " I do not know.

The first borrowed Urdū word in the *Rgyal-rabs* is found in the account of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. But Urdū borrowings have been on the increase ever since. In the last chapters of the *Rgyal-rabs* even a few English words are found.

Borrowed Urdū (or Persian) words are the following (for reff. see Index):—*'ab-brag* (*abrā*), outer fold of

[1] [Perhaps this represents the Panjābī or Kāshmīrī *Hāḥṛ* or *Hāṛ* (Sanskrit *Āṣāḍha*), the name of a month covering halves of June and July.—F. W. T.]

garment; *'al-wan* (*alwān*), flag, colours; *'a-na* (*ānā*), anna; *'aṅ-re-zi* (*angrezī*), English; *'ar-zi* (*'arẓī*), petition; *bab-ta* (*bāft*), cloth; *ban-do-bast* (*bandobast*), arrangements; *ba-ra-sa-hib* (*baṛā ṣāḥib*), great person; *bā-zār* (*bāzār*), market; *be-khyim* (*begam*), lady; *bha-bha* (*bābā*), father; *bhā-dur* (*bahādur*), brave; *bāg* (*bāgh*), garden; *cha-hon* (*chhā'onī*), cantonment; *choṭa-sa-hib* (*chhoṭā ṣāḥib*), unimportant personage; *de-wan* (*dīwān*), minister; *hā-kim* (*ḥākim*), chief; *hu-kum* (*ḥukm*), command; *ja-gir* (*jāgīr*), rent-free land; *ka-nun* (*qānūn*), law; *kar-dar* (*kārdār*), magistrate; *kha-tun* (*khātūn*), lady; *kha-tun-ban* (*khātamband*), a kind of house; *kha-ya* (*khiyāl*), thought; *rkyen-khab* and *kiṁ-khab* (*kamkhvāb*), gold-embroidered silk cloth; *ma-he* (*mahisha*), buffalo; *mal-mal* (*malmal*), muslin; *ma-na* (*man*), maund; *man-dri* (*mandir*), temple; *ma-śu-ra* (*mashhūr*), famous; *mas-jid* (*masjid*), mosque; *me-ta* (*mihtar*), headman; *mir-za* (*mīrzā*), prince; *mi-yā* (*miyān*), master; *miṅ-śi* (*munshī*), writer; *nag-śa* (*naqsha*), picture; *na-yib* (*nā'ib*), deputy; *na-nak-shahi-dṅul*, Nānak Shāh rupee; *na-wab* (*nawwāb*), governor; *na-zar* (*nazar*), tribute, present; *ni-lam* (*nīlām*), auction; *ni-lim* (*nīlam*), sapphire; *no-kar* (*naukar*), servant; *pal-kyi* (*pālkī*), palanquin; *paho* (*pā'o*), quarter; *pe-ne* (*paṇa*), a coin; *ra-sūm* (*rusūm*), customs; *sag-lad* (*saqalāt*, etc.), scarlet cloth; *sa-lam* (*salām*), salutation; *sa-na* (*sanat*), year; *sa-ra* (*sarā*), mansion, rest-house; *sar-kar*, *ser-kār* (*sarkār*), government; *ser*, a measure; *tha-li* (*thālī*), tin-plate; *tha-na-dar* (*thānādār*), officer of police; *ti-ka* (*ṭīkā*), tilak mark on forehead; *wa-zir*, *wā-zīr* (*wazīr*), minister; *za-min-dar* (*zamīndār*), landlord; *zar-rab* (*ẓarrāb*), mint-master; *zi-zi* (reduplication of *zī* on analogy of *jo-jo*), lady; *zu-lum* (*ẓulm*), oppression, injustice.

English words are the following:—*ra-pad*, report; *nam-bar*, number; *thi-ket*, ticket; *si-ke-ther*, secretary; *kap-tan*, captain; *ka-miś-nar*, commissioner; *ba-ro-me-tar*, barometer; *bi-gul*, bugle; *koṅ-sol*, council; *ku-mi-dan*, commandant; *kam-rag*, cambric.

English names are:—*Jon-sen*, Johnson; *Ma-ka-ra-phad*, Moorcroft; *'I-lai*, Elias; *Ke-li*, Cayley.

For page-references see the Index.

XI. Chronological and Taxation Tables

From the time when King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal gave a site for the Kha-che-mas-jid [Kashmir mosque] to the present year, A.D. 1910, 316 years . . A.D. 1594

From the time when the Gtsug-gtor willow (near the Chu-tha mill) was planted to this year, 316 years . . . . . A.D. 1594

From the time when Ma-ka-ra-phad (Moorcroft)-Sā-hib arrived, during the reign of King Tshe-dpal-don-grub, 168 years . . . . . A.D. 1742

From the birth of King Ḥjigs-med-kun-dgaḥ, in the time of Zorawar, to this year, 70 years . . . . . A.D. 1840

From Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan's flight to Spyi-ti and death there to the present day, 70 years . . . . . A.D. 1840

Since Bastī-Rām turned the king's best field (mother-field), which was called Yaṅ-ma or Te-tses-żiṅ, into a bazaar, to this year, 68 years . . . . A.D. 1842

Since Ke-li (Cayley), the commissioner, lived at Leh (at first, during two years, Mun-śi Ka-rīm-Bakś was in the place of a commissioner) to this year, 46 years A.D. 1864

Since the meteorological station (barometer) was established and a house built for it at Leh, to this year, 31 years . . . . . A.D. 1879

Since Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal was born (formerly the [royal] salary was 312 Rs., 8 As.; after that year it was 1,800 Rs.) to this year, 33 years . . . A.D. 1877

Since the great Sara was built by 'I-lai, the commissioner (Elias), and Jon-sen (Johnson) to this day, 43 years . . . . . A.D. 1867

Since Paṇḍit Rādhā-Kriśna made the polo ground at Leh to this year, 25 years . . . . . A.D. 1885

NOTES

The above table is of the same type as that given by Csoma de Körös at the end of his Tibetan Grammar. Not all the dates are correct. With regard to the first date let me note that it does not refer to the erection of a mosque, but to the grant of a site for the same. As to the date of the erection of the Kashmir mosque at Leh, it is contained in an inscription above the door of the mosque. According thereto the erection took place in the year A.H. 1077 (1667 A.D.), probably during the reign of King Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal. But possibly the site for the building was granted seventy years earlier by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, whose mother was a Muhammadan lady. The willow called *Gtsug-gtor* is still in existence at Leh. A pen and ink drawing of this tree by Dr. K. Marx was published in *Periodical Accounts*, a Moravian Mission magazine (1890, p. 65). The date given for Moorcroft is certainly wrong. He visited Ladakh in 1820–2 A.D. King Ḥjigs-med-kun-dgaḥ, etc., was born in 1835, and according to the chronicles his father Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan died in the same year; but according to Cunningham he died in 1839 A.D. The bazaar laid out by Bastī-Rām is the present principal bazaar of Leh, 1,030 feet long and 170 feet broad. At first the buildings of the meteorological station were erected on a hill south-east of Leh. At present the meteorological tower is found in close vicinity to the Moravian Mission buildings. The missionaries act as superintendents of the station. They entered Ladakh in 1886 A.D. The great Sarai built by Mr. Elias is probably that which is found directly south of the government hospital. From the *Missionsblatt* (1870, p. 84) the following dates may be gathered: the Rev. A. W. Heyde met Dr. Cayley at Leh in 1869; in 1878 he found Mr. Elias, as Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Johnson, as Wazīr, in Leh (*ibid.*, 1879, pp. 45–6). Thus Munshi Dpal-rgyas' date, 1867, for the erection of the Sarai is probably wrong.

The taxes imposed by Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, for six years, amounted to 9,000 Rs. annually . . . . . A.D. 1835–1841

Magnā, the Thānādār, was for six years wāzīr at Leh . . . A.D. 1841–1847

Bastī-Rām was wāzīr for fourteen years. During the time of these two the taxes amounted to 18,000 . . . . . A.D. 1847–1861

Maṅgal-Siṅ remained for five years; the annual taxes rose to 24,000 Rs. A.D. 1861–1866

'A-li-'Ag-bar remained for four years . . . . . A.D. 1866–1870

Gaṅgā-Siṅ remained for one year . . . . . A.D. 1870–1871

Jon-sen remained for twelve years . . . . . A.D. 1871–1883

Rādhā-Kriśna remained for three years . . . . . A.D. 1883–1886

During the time of these four the annual taxes amounted to 32,887 Rs., 2½ As.

After Rādhā-Kriśna had surveyed the ground the additional taxes were 8,821 Rs., 14 As., or the sum total of the taxes was then fixed at 41,108 Rs., 14 As.

NOTES.

The Ladakhis are not very clever at arithmetic, as we see. In the above example, for instance, the sum total should, of course, be 41,109 Rs., ½ Ana. The numbers relating to the taxes, as given in the above table, are in close agreement with those given at the end of the account of Partāb-Siṅgh's reign. But the high numbers given at the end of the account of Ranbīr-Singh's reign cannot be traced elsewhere. Possibly those high numbers were obtained by adding the value of the taxes in provisions to the taxes in cash. According to the *Missionsblatt*, 1883, p. 58, Johnson left Leh in 1882; Rādhā-Kṛishṇa arrived there in October, 1882.

During the time of the [Ladakhi] kings the peasants had to pay as taxes 1 *jaḥu* (3¼ As.) each.

During the time of the kings each peasant had to give 1 *sraṅ* of straw.

As a special kind of forced labour, all the peasants had to bring from Phyi-gliṅ (Ci-liṅ) 800 *sraṅ* of wood, and from Tar of Naṅ-śiṅ (?), Sṅon-dar (Hundar) of Ldum-ra, two outlying places, as much wood as was needed. Beyond this no taxes or tribute were taken, it is said, from the zamīndārs.

During the six years of Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin the taxes were 9,000 Rs.

From Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin till Bastī-Rām, during twenty-six years (?), the annual taxes were 18,000 Rs.

After the new list of peasants was drawn up, the new taxes together with the *Spaṅ-bcag* [tax on meadows] were 24,000 Rs.

The taxes paid till Jon-sen['s wazirat] were 32,887 Rs., 2 As., 1 P.

The sum total was finally fixed at 41,108 Rs., 14 As., 1 P.

In the year 1957 (1900 A.D.) an arrangement [survey] was made: the taxes were fixed at . . . [Has not yet been ascertained; will be reported as soon as known.]

In the year 1966 (1909 A.D.) an arrangement [survey] was made: the taxes were fixed at . . . [Has not yet been ascertained; will be reported as soon as known.]

This register, [based] upon inquiries addressed to Mun-śi Dpal-rgyas, was written down by me, Yoseph Tshe-brtan.

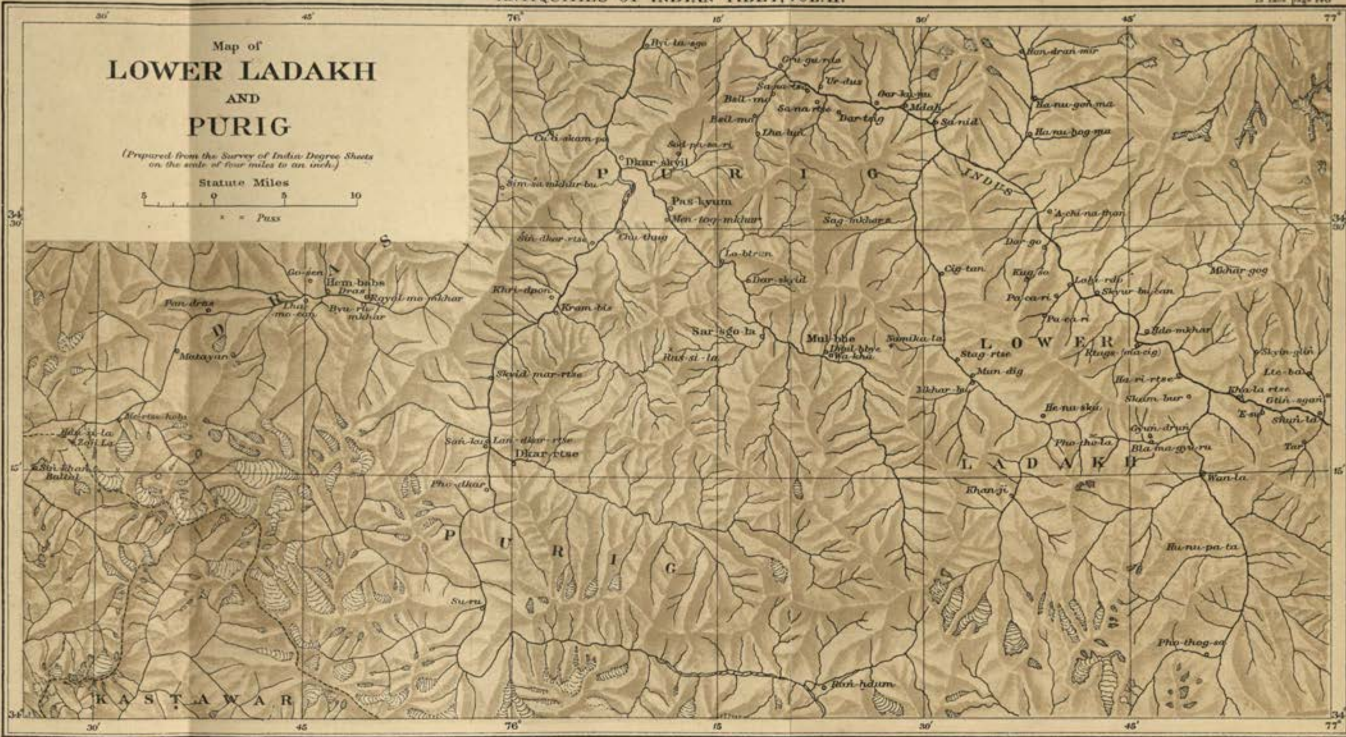
(Later addition.) Table of taxes for Ladakh, from [the country] above Gyuṅ-druṅ (Lamayuru).

In the year 1966 (1909 A.D.) the taxes were fixed as follows:—

In cash annually	43,256 Rs., 12 As.
Wheat annually to the value of . . .	2,977 Rs., 8 As.
Barley annually to the value of . . .	7,022 Rs., 8 As.
Wood annually to the value of	3,000 Rs., 0 As.
Mill-tax annually amounting to . . .	3,119 Rs., 12 As.
Tax on goats and sheep annually amounting to .	1,833 Rs., 0 As.
Sum total . . .	61,209 Rs., 8 As.

NOTES

With the above account of the state of taxation during the times of the Ladakhi kings Tshe-brtan's account, referring to King Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal's reign, should be compared. There can be no doubt that the Ladakhis had a better time under their own rulers. It is difficult to see how the twenty-six years between Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and Bastī-Rām come in. From what is said under *Later Addition* it seems to follow that all the numbers given above refer only to a small part of the country, viz. Ladakh from Lamayuru to the Paṅ-koṅ lake.



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MINOR CHRONICLES

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I. The Chronicles of Zaṅs-dkar

INTRODUCTION

In 1907, when stationed at Kyelang, Lahul, I made the acquaintance of a member of a family of chiefs of Ste-sta (Ti-sta) in Zaṅs-dkar, who passed through Lahul on his journey to India. As the chiefs of Ste-sta claim to belong to the family of the former kings (vassal-kings) of Zaṅs-dkar, I asked their representative to tell me if they were in possession of a chronicle. The kingdom of Zaṅs-dkar came to an ignominious end in the Dogra War, and at Dpaḥ-gtum, the capital, no ancient documents seem to have escaped the ravages of time. The chief of Ste-sta said that his family kept an old chronicle at Ste-sta, which, as he believed, was somewhat similar to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. The latter assertion does not hold true; but my informant had probably never taken the trouble to read the document.

When the Rev. G. Hettasch of Kyelang, in 1908, went on an itinerant tour to Zaṅs-dkar, I asked him to make inquiries about the chronicle at Ste-sta, and, if possible, to have it copied. Mr. Hettasch did according to my wish, and had the chronicle copied by my munshi, Bzod-pa Bde-chen of Kyelang. The accompanying text is based on Bzod-pa's copy, which consists of two folio sheets of Tibetan paper.

As a glance at the copy shows, the original at Ste-sta must be in a perilous condition. Whole passages are in quite the wrong place, and the orthography leaves very much to be desired. In many parts the writing is almost illegible, and Bzod-pa had to re-write many words and even sentences, which he had at first misunderstood. The text contains a great number of local names, which in many cases it would have been impossible for me to recognize as such, had not Bzod-pa thoughtfully marked a good number of them by adding the word *yul* ('land,' 'town') above or below them. In the same manner he also marked the clan names, by adding the word *rus* ('bone,' 'clan'), and some of the house-names, by adding the word *groṅ*.

As we learn from a note at the end of the MS., the Ste-sta chronicle is only an extract from a larger book, which once existed (or still exists ?) at Phug-thal. The book of Phug-thal is called *Bo-yig* (more correctly *Ḥbo-yig*), which means 'letter of measure.' It is apparently a book containing a list of the numbers of bushels which each peasant in the dependent villages had to send annually to the Phug-thal monastery. For this reason the historical portions of the book centre about Phug-thal. They tell the story of the various grants that were made at various times to that monastery.

As regards the history and archæology of Zaṅs-dkar very little has as yet been done. I may mention an article of my own entitled 'Kleine archäologische Erträge einer Missionsreise nach Zangskar in Westtibet' (*ZDMG.*, vol. lx, pp. 645–61, and vol. lxi, pp. 645–7). Then a note on some ancient sculptures at 'A-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 332–3; and, in addition, I am in possession

of a few hand-written notes by the Rev. G. Hettasch, which he made during an itinerant tour along the Dkar-rgyags brook. The brook is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicle. As Mr. Hettasch passed through a district which is of particular interest in connexion with the chronicle, I will briefly give his notes: 'Leaving the Lahul valley, and crossing the Shinggo (Śiṅ-kun) pass, we first reached Kargyag (Dkar-rgyags). Here we noticed the foundations of an ancient castle. The walls are very well built. Then we went to Draṅ-rtse. This is the seat of a Ga-ga (nobleman). Above the present village is situated an ancient monastery, if not a whole town. Ste-sta, on the left bank of the stream, is the seat of a No-no (chief). Between Ste-sta and Bya (Bcaḥ-ba), the next stage, ancient rock carvings were noticed. Bya is situated on the right bank of the stream. Above Bya the ruins of an ancient monastery, and below Bya those of an ancient castle, could be seen. On the bank opposite Bya ancient rock-carvings and inscriptions were noticed. Copies were made of the latter. (These inscriptions remind us of those at 'A-lci, in Ladakh; they are written in an ancient type of *dbu-med*, and cannot be later than A.D. 1000.—F.) From here a road branches off to the Phug-thal monastery. At the celebration of the *Tshes-bcu* festival a dried human hand, which once was cut off a Mongol, is publicly exhibited at Phug-thal. Spaṅ, the next stage, is situated on a brook with a stone bridge. Above it may be seen the ruins of a castle and deserted fields. Opposite Spaṅ, on the other bank of the stream, rises the town of Ichar (Gyi-char). The town is still in its ancient position on the top of a steep rock. Above it we noticed a deserted monastery and a square tower. The well-known Mu-ne monastery is situated between Ibcha (Bib-cha ?) and Re-ru.'

Zaṅs-dkar has the honour of having housed Csoma de Körös at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The place where he is said to have lived is given in Duka's *Life of Csoma* as Yaṅ-lha. I have not yet been able, however, to trace a town of that name on any map of Zaṅs-dkar, nor does it occur in the chronicles. Possibly Yaṅ-lha is a clerical error for Bzaṅ-la, a well-known village of Zaṅs-dkar: see the next chapter.

As regards the many names of places contained in the chronicle, we may refer to the map, in which are entered all the names which it is possible to locate.

TEXT

ཟས་དཀར་ཚགས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཨོ་རྒྱས་རྒྱར་ཙོམ་ཕྱགས་གཅིག། གདེ་ཚེགས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཀྱུག་བྱས། རྩེ་བཙུན་ཟླ་མ་དང་། ཡི་དམ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བསྲུང་མ་ལ། འབྲོ(འདོད་དགུ)་འཆོགས་མཐུན་དངོས་སྒྲུབ་རྩལ་བྱ(སྐྱལ་བ་)གསོལ། དེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཚགས་ཟས་དཀར་གནམ་ས་ཆོས་འཐུང་འདེར། བང་ཐོག་སྒིང་གེ་ནང་ཚེབས་དས། ས་ཐམས་ཅད་འགས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས། ཚུ་རྒྱུན་ཁ་རྡུ་ཚེབས་དས། མི་མ་ཡིན་རྣམས་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་སྟེ། ས་བཀྲ་ངན་ཁ་རྣམས་མནན་དས། ཀྱིན་མོ(སྲིན་མོ)་གན་ཀྱལ་བ་ཞུ་བཅུལ་བ་ལྟ་བུ། ས་གཞི་མཚེའི་ཁར་ས་རེ་ག་རེ་ག། སྐྱིང་ཁར་ཤི་ཤི་ཉིང་གི་གཤེའ་དམ་ཀྱ་བྱ། ཤིང་ཁའི་ཁར་ཐམས་སྒིང་གི་གཤེའ་དམ་ཀྱ་བྱ་རྣམས་ཞེངས་དས། རྒྱ་གར་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཁྱེར་བདེ་ལྡན་བར་ཡུང་བསྐྲུན། རེའི་སྐོ་སྡུང་ཤར་བྱ་ཅེ་རེ། སྟོ་ན་དཔལ་ལྡ་མོ། ཆུབ་ན་བྱང་ལྡ་ཁྲག་པ། ཐང་ན་ཡིད་གཞིན་ཀྱི་ནོར་ཐ་ཡོད་དེ། རེའི་ཀོར(དཀོར)་བདག་ཏུ་ཇོ་མོ་སྒྲུབ་གཅིག་མ། ས་ནི་ཚོག་དང་ཐ་རྣམས་བྱང་ཤིང་

དང་བྱང་ཐ་རུ་ལུང་བསྟན། ། མཁའ་འགྲོ་འབྱུང་བའི་གནས་སུ་ལུང་བསྟན། ། ཡུལ་ཚགས་ཆུམ་ཐང་ངོས་སུ་ངན་ཐག་ཤ་དང་ཅི་ནམ། ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་བིན་ཅ་དང་ཀུ་མི་ཚགས་བའི་ཐོག་མ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་གནས་རྣམས་ངིམ་བདུ་ཚགས ॥

དེ་ཆུས་སུ་སོང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཀ་རུལ་ཀྱི་གཡོག་ཐབ། ། དེང་ཇོའི་མཁར་ཁམ་བས་ཟིན(འཛིན)་བའི་བྱས་སུ། ཁར་ཆུང་ནས་རྡོ་ཤོར་མི་ཤོར་མང་བྱ་ཐུང་ནས། ། ཐོག་ཅི (?) ། ཁང་ལ་གཏོང་བ་སྟེ་ཚོགས་ཐབ་བས། ། ལན་བྱ་གི་གཅིར་དམག་ཁྲིད་ནས། ། ཟངས་དཀར་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་རྣམས་དང་། མཁར་ཐམས་ཅད་མེ་ཡིས་སྲེག ། མི་མང་པོ་བསད། ལྷག་ལུས་ཁེར་ནས ། ཡུལ་སྟོང་བྱེ་སོང་ ། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཐོགས་ཐོགས་ནས་མི་མང་པོ་ཡོང་བ་ལ་རྟེན། ཡུལ་ཚགས་བས། དཔལ་གཏུམ་ཞང་རྩྭང་གེས་བརྒྱང་ ། ཐང་དོ[སྣ]་རྒྱུ་བས་བཟུང་ ། སྟོང་སྡེ་ལྷ་ས་དང་གྲོན་ཁྲི་ཤང་གསུམ་ཀྱིས་བཅིན ॥

དེའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཀུན་རིག་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྟེན། མཁས་དམན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྟེན་པ ། སྒྲི་ཀྱིའི་གུ་གེའི་ཐོགས་ནས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་པ་ཟེར་བ་ཉིག་གདན་ཁུས་ནས ། ཟངས་དཀར་པ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཁངར ། དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་འབྲུ་ཤལ་ནས་ཁྲོངས ། ནང་པར་བག་ཚགས་ལ་ཐོན་པས་ལམ་དུ་ཡབ་སྲོད་པས་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྲོག་ནས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤག་ཐུབ་སྲོངས་སུ་བཞུགས ། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྐས་སུ་ཉིག་བསྒམ་ནས ། ཆུང་བའི་དུས་སུ་ཁས་ལེན་ཟིན། ། ཁོ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཚེ་ཁ་ཆུལ་དུ་སོང་ནས། ། ཐ་རོག་ཀུན་ཀྱི་མེན་ཁུ་བསྡུད་པས ། ཅང་གཅག[སྐ]་ངན་པའི་སྐབ་ཀྱིས་རིགས་བཟང་ངན་མ་ཤེས་ཏེ ། ཟངང་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དུག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པས ། ཆུམ་ཐ་བསྐྱེད་ནས། ། སྐས་མོ་བཙུག་སྟེ་དེ་ནས་ཤག་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་སུ་ལ་སྐས་མོ་བཙུགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་རིགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས ། མིང་སེང་ཁེ་ལྷོར་བཏུགས་ཏེ ། ཁ་ཆུམ་ཆུལ་ཁྲིའི་ཐུ་མོ་བཏང་ ། ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་སྲིད་སྐྱིན་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས ॥

དེ་ལ་ཐུ་གསུམ་སྐྱེད་པ་ལ ། ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་བསྟད ། ཁོང་དང་གཉིས་ཐུ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྲོན་པ ། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷེ་ལ་དཔོན་ཅའི་ཆུའི་བཅད་ས་ཆུ་ཚོང་ལྷོ་དོས་ཆུལ་སྲིད་བསྟད། ཞི་ནམ་ལྷེ་ལ་ཆུ་སྐྱོངས (ཆང་དོས)་དང་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཚ་ཟད་བཟང་ལ་མེ་ལྷུའི་གྲོག་ཁ་མན་ཆད་བསྟད། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷའི་ངུས་ཐུ་གེ་ནས་ཐོ་དཔལ་དང་ཅེད་བ་ཉིག་དེད་སྐྱེ་ཏེ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་ལ་གསེད་སྐུ་དང་། གཐུའི་སྐབ་ཁུ་ཐ་ཤས་མོ་བཙུགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ཁྲིའི་ཐུ་མོ་བཏང་ ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཆུལ་ཁོའི་ཐུ་མོ་བཏང་ ། ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་སྲིད་སྐྱིན་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས ॥

དེ་ལ་ཐུ་གསུམ་སྐྱེད་པ་ལ ། ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་བསྟད ། ཁོང་དང་གཉིས་ཐུ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྲོན་པ ། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷེ་ལ་དཔོན་ཅའི་ཆུའི་བཅད་ས་ཆུ་ཚོང་ལྷོ་དོས་ཆུལ་སྲིད་བསྟད། ཞི་ནམ་ལྷེ་ལ་ཆུ་སྐྱོངས (ཆང་དོས)་དང་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཚ་ཟད་བཟང་ལ་མེ་ལྷུའི་གྲོག་ཁ་མན་ཆད་བསྟད། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷའི་ངུས་ཐུ་གེ་ནས་ཐོ་དཔལ་དང་ཅེད་བ་ཉིག་དེད་སྐྱེ་ཏེ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་ལ་གསེད་སྐུ་དང་། གཐུའི་སྐབ་ཁུ་ཐ་ཤས་མོ་བཙུགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་རིགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས ། མིང་སེང་ཁེ་ལྷོར་བཏུགས་ཏེ ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཆུལ་ཁོའི་ཐུ་མོ་བཏང་ ། ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་སྲིད་སྐྱིན་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས ॥

དེ་ལ་ཐུ་གསུམ་སྐྱེད་པ་ལ ། ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་བསྟད ། ཁོང་དང་གཉིས་ཐུ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྲོན་པ ། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷེ་ལ་དཔོན་ཅའི་ཆུའི་བཅད་ས་ཆུ་ཚོང་ལྷོ་དོས་ཆུལ་སྲིད་བསྟད། ཞི་ནམ་ལྷེ་ལ་ཆུ་སྐྱོངས (ཆང་དོས)་དང་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཚ་ཟད་བཟང་ལ་མེ་ལྷུའི་གྲོག་ཁ་མན་ཆད་བསྟད། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷའི་ངུས་ཐུ་གེ་ནས་ཐོ་དཔལ་དང་ཅེད་བ་ཉིག་དེད་སྐྱེ་ཏེ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་ལ་གསེད་སྐུ་དང་། གཐུའི་སྐབ་ཁུ་ཐ་ཤས་མོ་བཙུགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་རིགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས ། མིང་སེང་ཁེ་ལྷོར་བཏུགས་ཏེ ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཆུལ་ཁོའི་ཐུ་མོ་བཏང་ ། ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་སྲིད་སྐྱིན་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས ॥

དེ་ལ་ཐུ་གསུམ་སྐྱེད་པ་ལ ། ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་བསྟད ། ཁོང་དང་གཉིས་ཐུ་དང་བཅས་པ་སྲོན་པ ། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷེ་ལ་དཔོན་ཅའི་ཆུའི་བཅད་ས་ཆུ་ཚོང་ལྷོ་དོས་ཆུལ་སྲིད་བསྟད། ཞི་ནམ་ལྷེ་ལ་ཆུ་སྐྱོངས (ཆང་དོས)་དང་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཚ་ཟད་བཟང་ལ་མེ་ལྷུའི་གྲོག་ཁ་མན་ཆད་བསྟད། ཟླ་བཟང་ལྷའི་ངུས་ཐུ་གེ་ནས་ཐོ་དཔལ་དང་ཅེད་བ་ཉིག་དེད་སྐྱེ་ཏེ། ཆུལ་ཁོ་ལ་གསེད་སྐུ་དང་། གཐུའི་སྐབ་ཁུ་ཐ་ཤས་མོ་བཙུགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་རིགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས ། མིང་སེང་ཁེ་ལྷོར་བཏུགས་ཏེ ། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཆུལ་ཁོའི་ཐུ་མོ་བཏང་ ། ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་སྲིད་སྐྱིན་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས ॥

རྟེས་སུ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྐུ་ལ་ཉེན་པ ། ཁེ་བ་དཀར་མོ་ཞེག་གི[ས] ་ལམ་སྟུ་བྱས། ཕྱག་འཚོལ་སྐང་དུ་མེཏས་པ་དང་ ། ཕྱི་ཁ་གངུ་སོང་ཚ་མེད་དུ་སོང་ ། སྐག་ཐལ་ནས་གྲུ་སྟྲོ་བརྟུད་བྱུང་བ་དང་ ། ཡང་མེཏས་ནས ། དྲང་སྲོང་གསུམ་ཀྱིས་བསུ་བ་དང་བཅས ། སྐག་ཐལ་དུ་ཕྱོན་མེཏས ། དྲང་སྲོང་གསུམ་ཀྱིས་སྟེགས་བཀྲམ་ཐུགས་ནས ། རིགས་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཚེ་ཞེས་ཤེ་བྱས་ནས ། དགོན་པ་དང་གཡུ་མཁར་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁྲལ་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་སྐལ་ནས ། དེར་གསུམ་ཀྱི་འདུལ་བ་རྫོགས་ནས ། ཕྱི་འདུག་པའི ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་བསྐུལ་པ་དང་ ། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་བརྟན་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་མངོད ། ཅེས་གསུངས་ནས ། དྲང་སྲོང་གསུམ་པོ་སྐག་པ་གཞན་དུ་མེཏས ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་ནས་ཚོང་ཁྱམ་ཆུལ་པོས་མངར་གྱིང་སྐལ ། སྟེ་སྐྱའི་གདེ་མཆོག་རྒྱུགས་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་གྲོ་ག་མ་ཅན་དང་ཡན་དང་ ། ཐང་སོ་མན་ཚད་སྐལ ॥

དེ་རྟེས་སུ་ཆང་སེམས་དང་ཚོང་ཁྱམ་པོ་གཉིས་པཀའ་གྲོས་མཛད་ནས ། གདེ་མཆོག་རྒྱུ[ས] ་པ་ལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་དེད་གཉིས་ལ་དགོངས་དོགས་བསོན་བཙུག་དགོས་པ་འདུག་པས ། ས་གཞི་ཞིག་ཕྱི་ཐེ་ཅེས་ཁུ་བ་མངོད་པའི། ཁོ་རང་ལ་ཞིང་དང་ལས་མི་ཁྲལ་པ་བཅས་སྡེ་ཐུ་བོར་ནས། དེ་ལྟག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཆུལ་པོ་བྱ་མ་གཉིས་ལ་སྐལ་ནས ། ཡུལ་དང་རྡེ་ཚོང་མ་སྐལ ། ཁེང་ས་གང་ཡིན་དེ་ཁོ་རང་ལ་སོང་བ་ཡིན ॥

ཁྲལ་ཡན་སུ་ཚོང་ཆུལ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་ཡར་ཀྱེན་ནས་མེག་ཟ་རྡུབ་དམག་གསུམ་སྐྱོང་ཁེར་དེ ། འོད་ནས་ནས ། ཚོང་ཆུལ་པོ་ཡུལ་མི་དང་བཅས་ལྷའི་ལུང་བརྡ་སྒོས་བཅས ། རྟེས་སུ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཁྲིས་ཟིན་པས (འཛོད་པས) ། ཚོང་ཆུལ་པོས་བཅའ་བ་མཁར་བཞི་ཚོས་བྱས་དགོས་པོ་འཛོམ་བཞི་རྒྱང་དུ་བཏང་སྐྱང་བས ། ང་ལ་གཏམ་སྐྱན་ཀུ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་ཅས་ནས ། གཤོད་དུ་བཅུག་པས ། ཆུལ་པོ་མཛོ་ཐྲུང་ངོག་པོ་དང་འགར་ཁ་ཕེས་གཉིས་ང་ལ་སྡུལ ། ཁེད་དང་ལ་གཡུ་མཁར་ཀྱི་གོང་གཉིས་རྟམས་ཟུལ་ཀུ་འདུག་ཅས་པའི ། མཛོ་ཐྲུང་ངོག་དང་འགར་ཁ་ཕེས་ཟུལ་བའི་མཚོག ། གཡུ་ཁར་པ་གོང་པ་གཉིས་ང་ལ་མི་དགོས ། ང་སྟེ་སྐྱ་པ་དང་ཡོན་མཚོད་ཡིད་པས་མི་དགོས་ཀུ ། མཛོ་དང་ཆུལ་ངོད་ཀྱི་ཞང་གཉལ (གསོལ ? སྡུལ ?) ་ནས ། རང་མེག་ཟ་རྡུབ་ཁྲིད་མི་སྡུང་པོ་ཞེག་མེན་ནམ ། འདི་ཅུ་མ་བསྡུད ། ཙོག་ལ་སོང་ ། མོན་པ་དུ་སྐག་དང་དམག་མང་པོ་དེ་རིང་རང་སྟེས་ཡོང་ཟེར་བས ། མེག་ཟ་རྡུབ་ཀྱེན་མཚོན་ཤོད་དགས ། སུ་ཏྲུ་དགར་ཅོ་ལ་ཟུབ་སོང་བ་དང་ ། དེའི་རྟེས་སུ་ཚོར་བ་ལ་ཙགས་ཅོ་མན་ཚད། ཁ་ཅེ་ལྷུབ་ཅོ་ཡན་ཚད། སྐག་ཐལ་བ་ལ་སྐལ་བ་ཡིན ॥

ཡང་ཚོང་ཆུལ་པོ་དུས་སུ་ཐུབ་པ་རགས་ཀེ་ཏོ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་པ་དགར་ཅོ་ཤོར་སོང་བའི ། དེའི་རྟེས་ཅ་ལྟེ་ཏོར་དམག་བསྐྱལ་ནས ། ཁྱོད་བའི་དུས་སུ ། དཔའ་གཏུམ་ནང་ཁ་ཁུ་ཅེ་ཐུང་ཡོད་བའི ། དེད་བསྟེབ་པ་དང་ ། དཔའ་གཏུམ་མཁར་ལ་ཇགས་ཡོང་བས ། སྐད་མེད་ཤུལ་ཁྱེར་བྱེད་ཅུ་ཤི ། མཁར་ཡུལ་མེད་པ་དམག་གེས་གང་ ། ཚོང་ཆུལ་པོ་ཕྱི་ལོག་ཀུ་བཅིང་ནས ། ཐུབ་སྟྲིའི་འབྲོག་མདའ་ལ་བཏགས་ཡོད་འདུག་པས ། སྐག་ཐལ་ནས་ཐུང་པ་རབས་སྐྱེད་མར་སྐྲོད་ནས ། ཆུལ་པོ་འབྲོགས་མདའ་ནས་བཏོལ ། སྐག་ཐལ་ནི་འཚོགས་བཟང་གེས་མགོ་ཐུས ། ནོར་མང་པོ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ་རྟ་ཞི་ཇོ་ལ་ཁུ་བ་སྐལ་ནས ། ཆུལ་པོ་ལ་ཁུས་ནས ། ཡུལ་མི་ཟལ་ཚེར་སྲོག ། དེ་ལྟག་ཁྱེར་ཏེ ། དགར་ཅོར་བསྲེབ་སོང་བ ། འཚོག[ས]་བཟང · · · ཚོང(ཚང?)་བསྐྱེད (བསྐྱང?)་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཐུས་བའི ། འཚོག[ས]་བཟང་ཟངས་འབྲི་ཁྱུང་འབྲི་ཐུས་བའི ། དེ་རྟེས་སུ་ཡུལ་དེར་མི་མང་ཅོ་ཤེ་བ་དང་ ། འཚོགས་བཟང་སྐག་ཐལ་དུ་སྐྱལ་བ་ཁྱོང་ ། དཔྱི (དཔྱིད ?)་ཀ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་པ་གཀས་པ་དཔལ་བཟང་ཚོ་ཤ་ཁ་སོགས་རྟ་ཞི་རྩོ་ལ་ཐུག་ཐུས་པ་འབྲུ་ཟོས་ཡོངས ། ཁ་ནས་ཁ་ལ་སྐད་བའི ། ཡང་འབྲུ་ཟོས་ཅོས་སྐྱ་ཤི་ཐུ་ཚ་ཅིག (བཤད་ཤེག་གསུངས་པ་དང་ ། དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱང་བས) ་སྐྱ་མདུན་ཀྱེས་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཤས་ཆེར་ཐུས་ནས ། སྐག་ཐལ་ཤེས་ནས ། ས་ཞི་པ་ཚུ་པ་དག་པེ་པི་ཏེད་དཔའ་གཏུམ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་མི་ཚོང་མ་ཁྱེར་ལོག་བཤྲད་ཅད་ཤས་ཆེར་འབྲུག ॥

དེ་དུས་སུ་སྐྱ་ནེ་ལྷ་རྩེ་མ་གོདྲོགས། སྐྱ་ནེ་ཡུལ་པ་དང་ས་ཁྲད་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐད་ལེ་ནས་ཞིང་ཞིང་ཤངས་ཅེག་ལ་སོགས་ས་ཁྲད་རྟམས་

རྒྱང་བ་རབ་གསལ་ལ་སྒལ་ཁ་ཕེབ། རྟ་ཞི་ངོ་དང་ཐོངས(ཐང་ངོས)་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་ཅི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསུམ་བཟང་འཕྲིག་བའི། ཐུ་རེགས་ཀི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཐང་ངོས(དགོངས་ཤ་དགོན་བའི་ཁོག་ཚང་ཤ་ཁ་ཡང་གནས་ཟངས)་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དཔའ་གཏུམ་ཅི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཚད་དོན་ཐུས་བར། ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་རྒྱང་བ་རབ་གསལ་ལ། དགོན་པ་འདེབས་བས་ས་ཁྲད་ཆོས་བཞི་དང་བཅས་པ་སྒལ་ན། བཟང་འཕྲིག་གསུ་བར་བཟུང་། ས་ཁྲད་སྒལ་ས་ལ་དགོན་པ་བཀའ་བའི་ས་ལ་ནག་ཚངས་ཡབ་ཆོད། ཆུ་སྟོན་ཀྱི་སྒང་མན་ཚད། ཆོས་བཞི་ལ་ལ ་བྱ་མ་ཁྱུག་གི་ཆུ་བབ་ས། གྲོ་ཞི་མན་ཐང་ཆུན། རྒྱ་ལམ་ཀྱེན་ཆོད་དཔའ་གཏུམ་ཀྱི་རབ་ཐག་ཡན་ཆོད། ཡུ་པ་རག་དང་ཟམ་ཤིང་གི་དཔུང་གནས་ལ་ཁམ་ཞེའི་ཆོོགས་བཅས་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། ||

ཡང་ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཉོར་མི་རིགས་ལན་གཉིས་བྱུང་བས ། ཁྱི་མ་ལ་ཉོར་མི་རིགས་འགྲོ་མ་ཤ་ན་བར། ཆུང་པ་རབ་གསལ་ཀྱིས་ཆེབས་གསུམ་སྒལ་བར་རྟེན་ཾོ་བར་སྒྲོག ། རིའི་གཤང་རབ་ལ་རྒྱ་གོང་འོག་གཤིས་[འ]ཚོག[ས]་དང་བཅས་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། སྒྲོང་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ད་དུག་ལ་བབ་སྒྲིའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དམག་བྱུང་བས ། དེ་དུས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ད་དུག་བས་མ་སྤྱབ་བར། སྒག་ཐལ་ནས་བྱ་མ་སྒྲོབ་དགོན་རྟོད་རྣམས་ཞེབས་ནས ། ནོར་མང་པོ་སྒལ་ནས ། ཁབ་སྒྲིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཁྲ་ཤ་ཁྲས་ནས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ད་དུག་པ་ནང་ཚོང་ཚོང་མ་ཚོ་ཟར་མེལ་ཅོ་ལྗང་པ་ནས་སྒྲོག་ནས་ཁྲིབས ། སྒྲོང་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་པོང་བཀལ་བས ། དེ་བདག་ཉིན་ལ་སྒྲོང་སྟེ་ཡུར་བ་སྤག་ནག་ཡན་སྒག་ཐལ་ལ་སྒྲོང་སྟེ་སྐང་ཡན་སྟེ་བ་ཅན་ཀྱི་ལ་ཁྱུན་ཚར། ངེ་མ་ལྗང་གི་ལ་ཁྱུན་ཚར། ཁ་སྤུག་གི་སྒྲོང་སྟེ་ (?) སྤག་ནག་རེར་བ་མན་ཚར། ཡ་ནམ་མཆོ་ཁྱུན་གང་ཁའི་ཆུའི་ཐོ་ཚེ་ཆེ་མན་ཚར་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། ||

རྒྱལ་པོ་བློ་བཟང་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་སུ་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཁ་གསེར་བོག་ལ་སྨྱེན་ལམ་ཀྱིས་ཚོས་བཞི་ཕེ་ཕེ་ཉེང་། ཞུབ་སྐྱེ་སུ་ཀུསུམ་མདོ་དང་བཅས་སྒལ ། ཡང་ཆོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཐུང་སེམས་ཚོས་བཞི་རུ་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། དཔའ་གཏུམ་བྱང་ཀ་གཅིག ། ཤེ་ལྡན་བྱང་ཀ་གཅིག ། ཁེ་ལ་རིང་ཁི་གུལ་ལྕོངས་ཀྱི་ཐ(?)་གུ ། ཐང་ལ་སྐོར་ར་རྩའི་མདུ་ཐང་བཅས་སྒལ ། ཡང་ཚོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ ། ཐུང་སེམས་དགོར་དུ་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། མཀར་སྨུད་པ་བྱང་ཀ་གཅིག ། གཉེར་པ་ཤ་ཁ་ར་ལ ། མཆོད་པ་ཡ་མ་དྲག་པ་དང་གསུམ་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན ། ཤེ་ལྡན་ནས་མཀར་དང་ཚུན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཞེབ་ཅེ་བཅས་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། སྲེ་སྐྱའི་ཇོ་ཤག་ལྷེའི་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། ཁི་ཅོ་ཟན་གང་ཤ་ཚུའི་ཚུན་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན ། ཇོ་ཁ་རིག་གི་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། ཞེང་ཀང་གསུམ་དང་ । ས་ཅི་དགོན་གཡོག་དང་བཅས་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། ཡང་ཐུང་སེམས་ལ་མར་ཡུལ་སྐྱོང་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མངའ་བདག་པས་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། རྩ་ཤོད་ནས་ལྗང་པ་ཤེས་རོད་ । ར་ཁོ་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་སྐྱིང་རྣམས་དང་ । ནག་ཚུན་རྡོ་ཀ་རྒྱུང་ཚུའི་བྱོག་ཁོ་གསུམ ། ཤེལ་མ་ཅི་ཅན་འགོ་ཡན་ཚད་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། ཀྱང་ཀི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། ཆོས་སྐུ་ཇོ་དགོན་པ་ཡན་ཆོད ། ལམ་སྡང་ཁེ་སྒིང་ । ཐུ་ཟུང་འབྲེ་གྲི་མོས ། ཁེ་བེའེ་ལྗང་པ་སྒྲ་མདོ་དང་བཅས་སྒལ ||

རྩང་པ་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྒོས་གཤང་ཤའི་དགོན་བདག་མཚན་ནས། དེ་རྩ་སྒྲུན་ནོངས་པ་དང་ । དགའ་ཤ་ཁས་བཀྲོན་བཤད་ । དེ་ནས་རྩང་ཡ(པ?)་ཚང་བསྟན་པ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེ་རིང་དཔལ་ལྡེ ། སྒོན་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྟགས་ཀྱིས་བདག་རྒྱན་མཚངས་པ་ཤེས་ཀིང་རུ་ཁྲོངས ། ཚེ་བཅུ་གཅིག་བཏུགས་ནས ། རྩང་པ་གོོང་ས ། ཡུར(ཐུར)་རྩང་པ་ཚོང་བསྟན་པའི་སྐྱམ་ན། ཁེང་ཆེ་ཆུང་བདུན་རྩང་པ་ཚོང་རབ་བསྟན་ལ་ཁྱོ་སྐལ་ལ་བཤིངས ། ཡང་གཡེ་ཅང་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཝེ་ཀྱེའི་སྒལ་བ་ལ ། གཡེ་ཅང་མཀར་སྡོང་པ་བཅའ་བ་ནས་སྲོད་མའི་མལ་སྒྲོ་བཟང་ཆོ་རིང་གི་མལ་གསུམ་སྒལ་བ་ཡིན། ||

ཅེས་སྒག་ཐལ་ཀྱི་བོ་ཡིག་སྐྱས་བའི་ལྷགས་ཤེག་དེ་ལྷར་ཉདུག ||

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Clerical errors have in most cases been corrected. In doubtful cases other possible readings are added in brackets. Passages which are evidently in the wrong place have also been put in brackets. In the case of local names I have had to make a selection among various spellings. The name of the Dkar-rgyags river is everywhere spelled Gar-ża.

TRANSLATION

[This is] an abridged mode of telling the tale of the origin of Zaṅs-dkar. Under the protection of the reverend lamas, who are an assemblage of well-being and complete excellence, and the tutelary deities, the fairies, and the protectors of religion, may we all find entire gratification of our nine desires! The high King Ge-sar of Gliṅ came to this blessed Zaṅs-dkar, where the religion of heaven and earth arose, and he broke the whole earth with his feet. 'U-rgyan-pa-dma came, and exorcized the demons; he kept down the bad Sa-bkra.[1] The female ogre was as if she had fallen on her back. The Sa-ni and Ka-ni-ka monasteries were erected on the head of the region, the Gña-nam-gu-ru monastery of Pi-pi-tiṅ on the heart, and the Gña-nam-gu-ru [monastery] of Byams-gliṅ on the feet. He uttered a prophecy similar to that of the Bde-ldan (Sukhāvatī) cemetery of India, [as follows]:—'The door-keeper in the east [of Zaṅs-dkar] will be Tse-re, in the south Dpal-lha-mo (Śrī-Devī), in the west Dur-lha-khrug-pa, in the north Yid-bżin-gyi-nor-bu (Cintāmaṇi). Its treasure-keeper will be Jo-mo-Spyan-gcig-ma!' There is also a prophecy [relating] to Sa-ni-tshog, Bya-rnams-dur-śiṅ, and Dur-bya. There is also a prophecy that it would be a place of assembly for the fairies. The origin of the country is [as follows]:—In the beginning Ran-thag-śa and Ri-nam arose in the north, Bib-ca and Ku-mi in the south. Then the others arose in their order.

At the time of the extension [of the settlements Zaṅs-dkar] was under Kashmir. When the castle of Draṅ-rtse was seized by the Kham-pas (Tibetans), a great flight of men and horses took place in all directions; and after that harm was done in various ways. In retaliation an army was led [by the Kashmiris?] against the throne of Gu-ge, and then the country of Zaṅs-dkar and all its castles were burnt with fire. Many men were killed. The remainder were carried off, and the country became empty. As many men arrived here afterwards from all directions, the country rose again. Dpaḥ-gtum was taken by [the clan of] Żaṅ-ruṅ, Byaṅ-ṅos (the north) by [the clan of] Skya-pa, Stoṅ-sde by [the clans of] Lha-sa, Guṅ-blon, and Khyi-śaṅ.

At that time many thieves, robbers, and such folk appeared. But, as a great *mkhas-dman* (counsellor) arose also, he invited the great god (king) Śākya-thub-pa from Spyi-ti and Gu-ge. All the people of Zaṅs-dkar acknowledged him their king. A queen was brought for him from Ḥbru-śal (Gilgit). Next year, when he was on his nuptial tour, the king of Yab-sgod carried off the queen, and then king Śag-[kya]-thub-[pa] died.

[1] Or is it Sa-dgra, 'enemy of the earth'?—F. W. T.

Later on a son was born to the queen. She nursed him while he was a babe. When he was five years old Yab-sgod-pa (or the king of Yab-sgod) said, 'He is not my son!' refused to own him, and [the boy] went to Kashmir. As he lived among the Ga-rogs (poor people ?) and exhibited a poor appearance, nobody knew whether he was of good or bad family. But, when he mounted grandly on an elephant and taught it manners and made it bow its knees [before him] and it bowed its knees before Śag-thub's son, they knew that he was of noble extraction. He was given the name Seṅ-ge-ldor, and he received a daughter of the King of Kashmir [as his wife]. They gave him the kingdom of Ka-skra-bar (Kashtawar), where he dwelt.

Three sons were born to him, the eldest of whom received Ka-skra-bar. The two (others) went away with their children. Blo-bzaṅ-lde received the southern part of the kingdom [of Zaṅs-dkar], including the region within the Dpon-tse brook. Khri-nam-[dpal]-lde received the region to the north of the water, and in addition to it Tsha-zar, Bzaṅ-la, and the region down to the brook of Me-ltse. During the time of Blo-bzaṅ-lde a chief called Dpaḥ-dar went there from Gu-ge and presented to the king a golden saddle and a turquoise bridle, and begged the three villages of Bib-ca, Bcaḥ-ba, and Śun. The chief Dpaḥ-dar conspired with the men of those three villages, killed seventeen merchants of Yar-yul (Yar-luṅ ?), and hid [their corpses] in the bank [of the river]. But the high water of the summer carried off [the corpses], and punishment pursued the originators [of the crime]. As they could not thrive at Śun, they fled to the middle of Mar (Ladakh ?).

At that time Blo-bzaṅ-lde had three sons. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, the eldest, received the region within the dividing waters of the Dpon-tse, Dbyi-khal, the Tsan-ldan road of Mar-gliṅ as far down as the valley of 'Ag-tse; Bcaḥ-ba also was made over during that time. [To the one called Bde-mchog-skyabs . . . (Text out of order) . . . to Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, the eldest, Ra-dug-rgyal-po, the middle one, and the youngest, called Bde-mchog-skyabs. . . .] Naṅ-so of Bib-ca was kept for Dpaḥ-dar's son. King Ra-dug received the country down to the valley in the innermost corner of Mar-thaṅ; upwards to the Tsha-zar-Me-ltse valley; the upper road of Stoṅ-sde of Phug-thal; [the region] within the 'black rock' of Ža-phyag; the Ya-nam lake; the region down to Tho-mo-che on the Gar-ża brook. This is the territory of Stoṅ-sde. At that time Blo-gros-dpal-grub was governor (or chief of the hunters ?) of Stoṅ-sde. Bde-mchog-skyab[s]-pa received part of Ste-sta, as far down as the 'Ag-tse valley; [the region] within the Gar-ża brook; and [the region] within the Śiṅ-kun pass.

During the reign of Khri-nam-dpal-lde's son Rgyal-bsam-rin-chen-dpal-lde and the queen mother Ḥdzom-pa, being patrons of [the lama] Byaṅ-sems, Dags-rkaṅ, Karlaṅ, Tsha-zar, these three [villages] were ceded as a religious foundation, and the great monastery of Tsha-zar was erected. After that, led by a white female mouse taking the form of a fairy, he (the king ?) arrived on the Phyag-ḥtshal ridge, and there the mouse disappeared. The sound of a bell was heard from Phug-thal, and, when he went up there, he met with three anchorites, and arrived at Phug-thal. The three anchorites saluted him and said:—'Oh, well done, son of

noble birth! By your giving a monastery together with a house and field at Gyu-mkhar, the austerities of us three are completed. We have been mice. You must give the teaching to these [people] and work for the great advantage of all beings!' Thus they said, and the three anchorites went to some other place (Thug-pa ?). At that time Tshaṅ-rgyal-po of Dpaḥ-gtum gave Mar-gliṅ, and Bde-mchog-skyabs gave Skyid-ñi of Ste-sta up to Gro-gra-ma-can and down to Thaṅ-so.

After that [the lama] Byaṅ-sems and Tshaṅ-rgyal-po both held a council, and said to Bde-mchog-skyab[s]-pa :—'As you have to provide a treasurer for both of us, give [us] a piece of land!' As they asked him thus, he kept for himself only a few fields, labourers, and tax-payers, and gave all that remained to the king and the lama. He presented the whole [cultivated] land and the mountains, and for himself he kept only what there was of hunting ground.

During the reign of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po Mig-za-dhar arrived at Khul-yan from Yar-kyen (Yarkand), leading 3,000 soldiers, and Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, together with his subjects, fled into the Lhaḥi-luṅ-pa [valley]. Later on he (Mig-za-dhar) seized the castle of Dpaḥ-gtum. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po sent Chos-grub of the Bcaḥ-ba castle before the assembled lords. He said, 'I have something nice to tell you!' He was urged to speak. 'Oh, King, give me both Mdzo-khyuṅ-rog-po (or a herd of black *mdzos* ?—F. W. T.) and Ḥgar-khra-leb! I will give you two peasants [estates] of Gyu-mkhar!' Thus he said. 'In exchange for Mdzo-khyuṅ-rog (a herd of black *mdzos* ?) and Ḥgar-khra-leb (the smith Khra-leb ?) I do not want two peasants of Gyu-mkhar. I am a fellow-citizen of the people of Ste-sta and a benefactor. I do not want them!' Then [Chos-grub], offering more *mdzos* and royal treasures, said, 'Are you not wise, Mig-za-dhar ? Then do not remain here! Go back! Even to-day many Indians, armed with rifles, will arrive here!' Thereupon Mig-za-dhar fled night and day, and came out of [the defile] at Dkar-tse of Su-ru. (Text very uncertain.) After that the region from 'Ag-tse in 'On-po up to Lhab-tse in Kha-ce (Kashmir) was given to Phug-thal.

During the reign of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po the chief of 'U-pa-rag, Ḥjam-dbyaṅ-pa, fled to Dkar-tse. After that the chief Ha-żi issued a call to arms, and, when he arrived there with his army, a cubit of snow had fallen at Dpaḥ-gtum. They went there, and, when they were climbing up to the castle of Dpaḥ-gtum, four women threw a heavy (?) stone from the smith's gate, and the chief Ḥjam-dbyaṅ died there. [Therefore] castle and country were ruined and filled with soldiers. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po was fettered outside [the town] and tied to the flagstaff of a corner-tower. Therefore Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan came down from Phug-thal and delivered the king from the flagstaff. Ḥtshogs-bzaṅ was the head of the Phug-thal [monastery]. Carrying great treasures, he petitioned the chief Ha-żi. Upon this petition the king sent back the greater part of the country people. Taking with him the remainder, he arrived at Dkar-tse. Ḥtshog[s]-bzaṅ . . . (unintelligible) . . . Ḥtshog[s]-bzaṅ marched to and fro. After that many people died in that country, and Ḥtshog[s]-bzaṅ was escorted and brought to Phug-thal. In spring (?) the messenger Grags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ of Dpaḥ-gtum and others bowed before the chief Ha-żi and said :—'A worm-pest has come; they sit all over the ground; send away

the worms on the 21st' . . . (text out of order) . . . thus it appeared (?): all his attendants laughed. He was pleased, and all the men from Sa-ni, 'U-pa-rag, Pi-pi-tiṅ, and Dpaḥ-gtum were sent back.

At that time, except the house Lha-rtse of Mu-ne, the people of Mu-ne and all the territory from Sur-le, houses and fields, etc., the whole district, were given to Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan. The chief Ha-żi, the northern king, and the king of Dpaḥ-gtum, these three, made an agreement. The king of Pu-rig and the king of the north (who occupied all the country below the Dkar-śa monastery) both made this proposal to the king of Dpaḥ-gtum:—'If you will erect a monastery for Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan, and present it to him, together with land and a religious endowment, our alliance will make progress. As regards the land to be offered:—as land of the monastery built, as far up as Nag-tshaṅs, as far down as the ridge near the "blue water" (*chu-sṅon*). As to that for the religious endowment: Lama Khyi-rug's place where the water comes down, the district within the maṇi wall (*man-thaṅ*) of Gro-żo, the district above the highway, as far up as the mill [district] of Dpaḥ-gtum, and the forest (?) of 'Am-be, which is situated near the summer-house of the peasant Raṅ-zam-śiṅ of 'U-pa-rag.'

Tshaṅ-rgyal-po was twice surprised by the people of Hor (Turkestan or Mongolia): the last time the people of Hor would not go away; but, when Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan offered them three horses, they turned back. In acknowledgment of [this service] both the upper and lower Rgya, together with the forest, were presented to him. King Ra-dug of Stoṅ-sde was attacked by the army of the king of Bab-sgo (Ladakh ?). At that time king Ra-dug-pa could not resist; and therefore the priests and teachers came from Phug-thal, offering great treasures, and entreated the king of Bab-sgo [to go back]. Then they brought back king Ra-dug-pa and all his family from the Tsha-zar and Me-ltse valley [where they had fled], and made him again king of Stoṅ-sde. In recognition of this service [the following places] were given [to the Phug-thal monastery]:—the region Stoṅ-sde up to the watercourse and the black rock; in Phug-thal the upper Stoṅ-sde road within the pass of Sre-ba-can, within the 'milk valley' (ḥo-ma-luṅ); of Ża-sbug (?) as far down as what is called Brag-nag (black rock) at Stoṅ-sde; the region within the Ya-nam lake down to Tho-mo-che on the Gar-żaḥi-chu.

In fulfilling a wish of king Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-lde (or, at the funeral of Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-lde, his father) Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po presented to Ża-gser-bog (the yellow-cap monastery ?) with a prayer [the following places] as a religious endowment:—Pi-pi-tiṅ, 'Ub-sti and Su-ru together with the valley. And, as a religious endowment to Byaṅ-sems, Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po presented one family of Dpaḥ-gtum; one family of Śi-lha; three families of Bib-ca; the inner valley of Te-la-riṅ-gri-gul; and also Mar-thaṅ of Thar-la-skor-ra-ru. And, in fulfilment of a wish of his father (or, at the funeral of his father), he offered to the treasury of Byaṅ-sems one family of the lower castle, and, for the sustenance of the steward, [the families] Mdzod-pa, Ya-ma, and Drag-pa, the three. From Śi-lha were given the castle and two great [peasants' estates], together with [the house] Żeb-le. As an offering of the chief Śag-lde of Ste-sta [was given] Phi-tse-phan within the

Gar-ża brook. As an offering of the chief Khra-rig [were given] three houses with fields, together with the lower monastery of Sa-ni. And as an offering of the powerful king of 'Upper Mar-yul' (Ladakh) were given to Byaṅ-sems the Śes-roṅ valley of Ru-śod (Rubshu); the region around the Ra-bo *mchod-rten*; Nag-tshur, Tshva-ka, the gorge of the Rkyaṅ-chu brook, these three; and the region up to Śel-ma-ni-can-ḫgo. As an offering of the king of Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū) were given the region up to the Chos-sku-tse monastery; Żo-gliṅ on the narrow road; Gye-mur; Ḫgre-gri-mos (?); and the upper and lower part of the Żi-bde valley.

When Druṅ-pa-Saṅs-rgyas-blo-gros was in charge of the Dkar-śa monasteries, he committed some fault and was turned out by the people of Dkar-śa. Then Druṅ-ya(pa ?)-Tshaṅ-stan-pa, king Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde, and the minister Rgyal-mtshan showed some kindness to him and brought him to Pi-pi-tiṅ. After he had remained [there] for eleven years, the Druṅ-pa died. Then, according to the late Druṅ-pa-Tshaṅ-bstan-pa's desire, seven fields, large and small, were given to Druṅ-pa-Tshaṅ-rab-bstan for his sustenance. And, as an offering of king Be-to of Gyi-char, [the following estates] were given:—of Gyi-char Mkhar-snaṅ-pa, of Bcaḫ-ba the estate of Srod-ma and the estate of Blo-bzaṅ-tshe-riṅ, these three.

This is a compilation (or extract) from the *Bo-yig* of Phug-thal.

NOTES

The chronicle was probably compiled a short time before the old line of vassal kings of Zaṅs-dkar came to an end. In c. 1620–40 A.D. a younger brother of the king of Leh, Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal, was made vassal king of Zaṅs-dkar. As, however, the use of rifles is mentioned during the reign of king Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, who is the most prominent figure of the chronicle, this king cannot have lived many years before 1600 A.D.

The pedigree which can be constructed on the basis of the chronicle consists of four generations only. The first king is purely legendary. Two more royal names which occur at the end, viz. Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde and Śag-lde, cannot be located with certainty, as the degree of relationship to the other members of the pedigree is not stated. But Tshaṅ-rgyal-pa, as a contemporary of Mīrzā Haidar, must have lived c. 1532 A.D.

The first part of the chronicle is of great interest, as it contains the popular traditions of the Zaṅs-dkar people with regard to the origin and early times of their country and nation, as they were current in c. 1550 A.D. Ge-sar (or Ke-sar) is the supposed creator of Zaṅs-dkar. The brief notes of the chronicle with regard to that event remind us of the story of the creation of the world, as we find it in the Kesar-saga (see my publication 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga', *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1134, pp. 17, 18). In the Kesar-saga we read that Doṅ-gsum-mi-la-sñon-mo, Ḳesar's prototype, killed an ogre and formed the land of Gliṅ (the earth) out of its various parts; the castle of Gliṅ out of its head, the Gro-ma plain out of its stomach, the rock Rgyab-rten out of its kidneys, etc. In a similar way here Ge-sar breaks the earth to pieces, and the female ogre, the personification of the earth, falls on her back. Then he erects the most ancient monasteries of the country on the head, the stomach, and the feet of the ogre.

It is very interesting that the Ka-ni-ka and Sa-ni monasteries are mentioned first of all, as the oldest monasteries of Zaṅs-dkar. Kaṇika is the Tibetan form of the name Kaṇishka, the great Kushaṇa king of Kashmir and Northern India. This monastery was possibly erected during the reign of that king. This supposition is strengthened by another note in the chronicle, where it is stated that Zaṅs-dkar was under Kashmir before it was seized by the Kham-pas (Tibetans).

In the following paragraph we hear of the conquest of Zaṅs-dkar by a tribe of Kham-pas. The word Kham-pa originally stands for 'inhabitants of Khams', an eastern province of Tibet. But in Ladakh it is used for any Tibetan who comes from a district east of the Manasarowar lake. I believe, therefore, that the conquest of

Zaṅs-dkar by a tribe of Kham-pas, as told in the chronicle, is identical with the conquest of that country by king Ñi-ma-mgon of the Lhasa dynasty, which took place in the tenth century. As the chronicle tells us, the country lost its original (Dard and Kashmiri) population, and was again peopled by Tibetans, some of whose clan names are given.

Then the origin of the vassal kings of Zaṅs-dkar is told. It had not yet been forgotten that they were a branch of the royal dynasty of Gu-ge (Lde dynasty); but the chronicler mixed up with this tradition the story of the first king of Tibet, Gña-khri-btsan-po. Gña-khri-btsan-po was believed to be of Buddha's family, if not a direct descendant of Buddha himself. He was supposed to have been expelled from his native country, and to have come to Tibet from India. Therefore we find here in the Zaṅs-dkar chronicle that the father of Seṅ-ge-ldor is called Śākya-thub-pa (Buddha), that Seṅ-ge-ldor is expelled from Yab-sgo-pa's country, and that he enters Zaṅs-dkar from Kashmir and Kashṭawār. As regards king Yab-sgo-pa or Yab-sgod-pa, his name is also found in an ancient Balti song. He was probably one of the early Buddhist kings of Baltistan, or Baltistan and Gilgit combined (compare my article, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet,' Song No. iv, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, 57 sqq.).

Episodes like that of the chief of Dpaḥ-dar, the highwayman from Gu-ge, cannot yet be connected with other contemporaneous histories, as it has not yet been possible to ascribe even a rough date to any of the names contained in the Zaṅs-dkar chronicle. Only one of its names has as yet been discovered in an inscription. It is the name Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde, which occurs towards the end of the chronicle and also in inscription No. 49. But it is impossible to assign a date to it. It is, however, probable that the mention of the Hor invader Mig-za-dhar and the chief Ha-ži really refer to Mīrzā Haidar, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, and the chief Hājī whose invasions of Tibet (1532–3 A.D.) are mentioned in that work (trans., pp. 403 sqq., 417 sqq., 454 sqq., esp. p. 460, the Hājī).

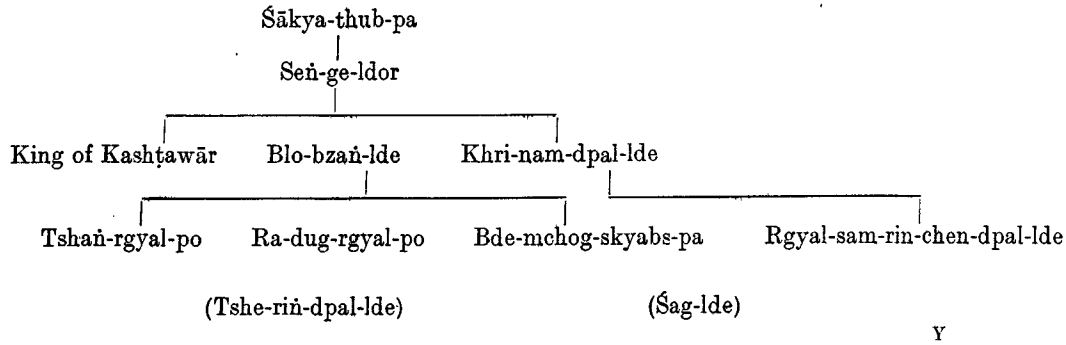
It is interesting that in the list of august donors to the Phug-thal monastery the kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū (Ñuṅ-ti) are mentioned. I feel inclined to place the note referring to them earlier than the conquest of Lahul by Kuḷū (c. 1650 A.D.). For after the conquest had taken place the kings of Kuḷū could hardly have allowed the taxes of certain villages to go to a foreign country. Two of the five places presented to Phug-thal by the king of Kuḷū are known to me, viz. Gye-mur and Žo-gliṅ. Both villages are situated in the Bhāgā valley. But, as the chronicles tell us, Phug-thal did not enjoy their possession for a long time; for the people of Dkar-śa soon turned the Phug-thal lama out. The Ya-nam (Yunam) lake is on the Baralatsa pass and the Dkar-śa monastery west of Stoṅ-sde and Ri-nam.

I am not quite sure if I have understood correctly the legend of the mice-lamas. But it looks as if it should be understood as follows:—Through some unknown curse three lamas were changed into mice. The spell could only be broken by the erection of a monastery. When the king had decided to erect one, a fairy in the shape of a mouse led him to Phug-thal. Then the fairy-mouse went to tell the lama-mice, who, having taken human shape, appeared before the king. The Phyag-htshal ridge is the place whence the monastery first comes into view.

As regards grants of villages or peasant-estates to monasteries, such a grant means that the taxes of those villages and estates, instead of being sent to the royal treasury, had to be sent to those monasteries.

In the MS. the name of the country is invariably spelt Bzaṅ-dkar, 'good white,' which is not in agreement with the Ladakhi spelling of the same name, viz. Zaṅs-dkar, 'white copper.' The latter spelling is probably more correct. The full name of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po is Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po, as we find it spelled twice. He may be identical with one or other of the kings noted below (from inscriptions) whose names include the words *Tshe-dbaṅ*.

The genealogical tree of the Zaṅs-dkar kings according to the chronicle is as follows:—



From inscriptions we learn the following names of Zaṅs-dkar kings not mentioned in the Chronicle:—Ka-ru-tog with his brothers Rin-chen, Nor-bu-dpal-lde, and Ṅa(Mṅaḫ ? Ṅag ?)-dbaṅ-dpal-lde (Inscr. No. 46); Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-ḫbar with his sons Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde and Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (No. 47); Rnam-rgyal and Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde (No. 49). They all reigned at the castle of Brgya-byin-pho-lad at Dpaḫ-gtum. From a dedication sheet in a copy of the *Bskal-pa-bzaṅ-po* in the Berlin Museum of Ethnography we learn that a queen Bstan-ḫdzin-dbaṅ-mo was at a certain period reigning ('her helmet being high') at Dpaḫ-gtum. From paper documents we elicit further the names of (1) Ḫbrug-bstan-ḫdzin, mentioned in the grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, and possibly identical with the so-named chief of Spyi-ti, step-brother of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal; (2) Dbaṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal, who married the daughter of the General Śākya-rgya-mtsho. The last king of Dpaḫ-gtum, a descendant of Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal (see above, Rin-chen-don-grub-rnam-rgyal), died during the Dogra wars.

It is interesting that the pronoun *ṅed* is used here invariably to denote two or more persons who consider themselves superior to another (in this case the addressed) person. As I stated already in Z.D.M.G., vol. lxi, p. 950, *ṅed* may be called a half-respectful form. It is used if at least one of the persons included in the 'we' is to be honoured.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

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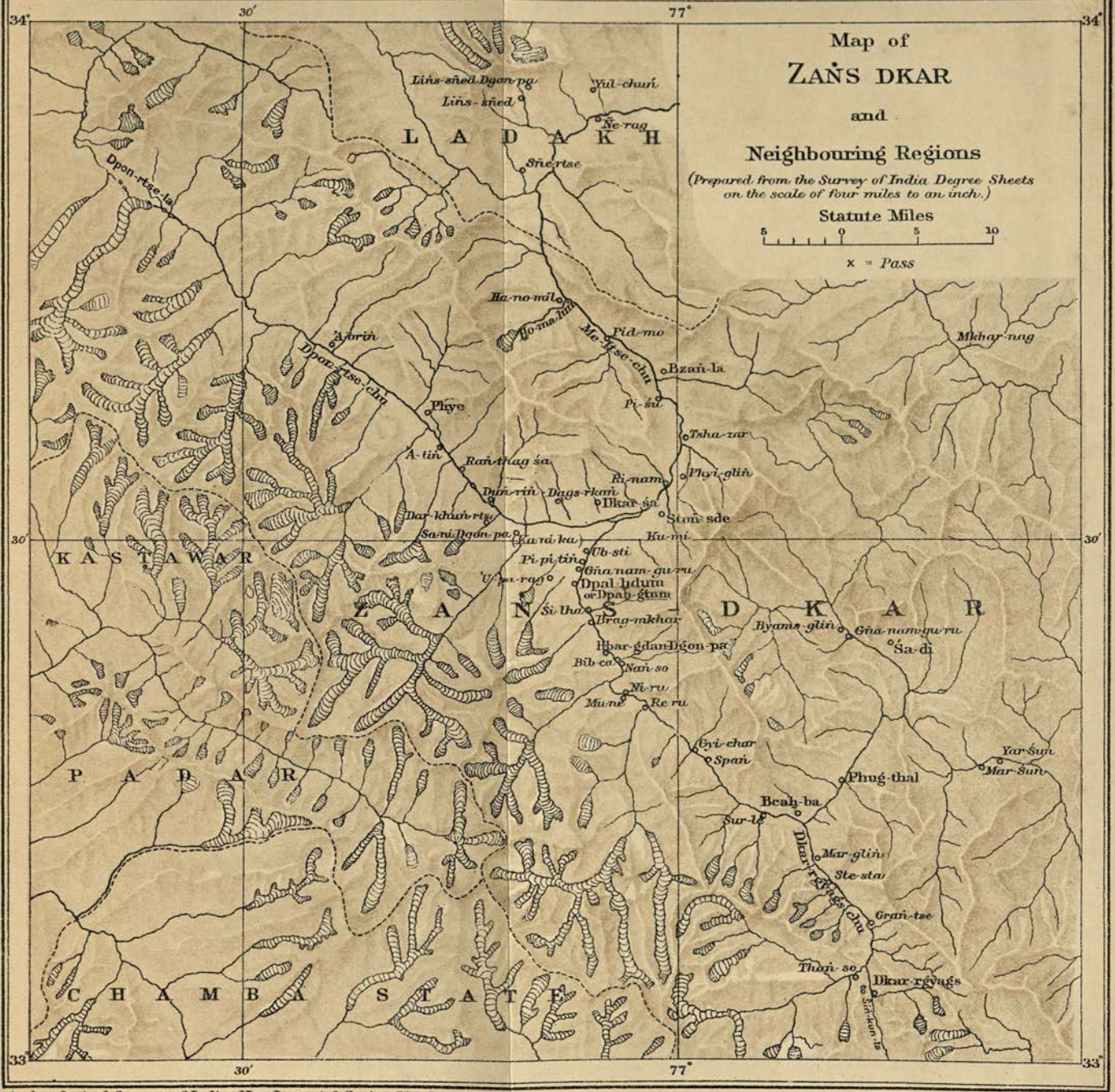

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II. Register of the vassal-kings of Bzaṅ-la in Zaṅs-dkar

INTRODUCTION

In September, 1914, I paid a short visit to the Dpe-thub monastery, five miles to the south of Leh, with a view to examining its antiquities. Here I made the acquaintance of its chief lama, Sku-gẓog Bakula, who is supposed to be the spiritual descendant of Vakula of old, one of the famous sixteen sthaviras. In the course of our conversation it was pointed out that according to the flesh Bakula was descended from a line of vassal-kings who used to reside at Bzaṅ-la, in Zaṅs-dkar, as well as at He-na-sku, in Pu-rig. Their kingdom probably stretched from one place to the other. I asked at once whether Bakula was in possession of a pedigree proving such an assertion, to which he replied in the affirmative. Unfortunately Bakula could not find the required document at once, and I had to leave Ladakh without having taken possession of it. Early in 1915, however, it was found, and an exact copy, prepared by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh, was sent to my address through the agency of Sir John Marshall.

Together with the Tibetan version I also received an Urdū version of the same text. This Urdū version had been prepared for and submitted to the Kashmiri Wazīr of Ladakh, when the latter made inquiries into the personalities of certain holders of *jāgīrs* some time ago. The Urdū version proved to be of importance in one particular, when a name of a king was forgotten in Joseph's Tibetan copy. I restored this name from the Urdū version and inserted it in its proper place in the Tibetan version. It is put in brackets.

As regards Joseph Tshe-brtan's Tibetan copy, it is furnished with a few additions of an explanatory character by Joseph. In the following text they are inserted in brackets.

TEXT

|| ཟངས་དཀར་བཟང་ལའི་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ནི་འདི་ལྟར་རོ ||

སྐུན་མཆེད་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་མགོན་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད་ | ཁུང་བ་བའེ་གཙུག་མགོན་ཟངས་དཀར་པ་དམ[དཔལ་ལྡུམ་]་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད་ | དེའི་སྲས་ཤེང་གེ་ལྡེ | དེའི་སྲས་འཛོམ་ཀུགས་ལྡེ་དང་ | ཁུང་བ་མང་ལ་ལྡེ | འཛོམ་ཀུགས་ལྡེ་དཔལ་ལྡུམ་མཁར་ན་བཞུགས | སྐུན་མཆེད་མང་ལ་ལྡེས་བཟང་ལ་ལ་བདག་བརྒྱས་པའི་གདུང་རབས་ཤའི་བཞེོ | མང་ལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྡེ | [དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་ཤདུན་དཔལ་ལྡེ།] དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ | དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲིས[བཀྲ་ཤིས]་དཔལ་ལྡེ | དེའི་སྲས་མགོན་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཁུང་པ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་[བློ་མའི་ཁོ་སའི་མིང་ངོ་]བཙོན་ཤགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན | ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ལས་ཁུང་བ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བཙོན་ཤགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དགའ་ཤ་དགོན་བཅར་བློ་མ་བྱས | ཆེ་བ་མགོན་དཔལ་ལྡེས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་ནས་ཉེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས | ནམ་མཁའ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་བློ་མ་མཛད་བའི་ཁུང་བ་རྒྱག་པ་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚན | ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ཁྲི་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཆོ་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡེ | ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཆོ་དབང་ངབ་བརྟན་དཔལ་ལྡེ | ཁུང་བ་འབས་ཁུང་བློ་བཟང་ཕེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བློ་མ་མཛད | ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཕེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་ལྡེ | ངེ་ལ་སྲས་མགོན་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཕེ་ཤེས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྡེ | ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཕེ་ཤེས་མཐའ་ཡས་བློ་མ་བྱས | བར་པ་ཕེ་ཤེས་དོན་ཕོད་དཔལ་ལྡེ | ཐ་ཁུང་ཕེ་ཤེས་སྲན་ཆོགས་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་མོ་ཚུ་མཛེས་དབང་མོ |

དེའི་མཁས་པ་ཐུབ་ཚོ་དཔང་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེ་གཉིས་ཆུང་བའི་དུས་སུ་ཕེ་ཤེས་ཐུན་ཚོགས་དཔལ་ལྡེ་གྲོངས་ནས། དེའི་སྲས་ཀུན་མོ་བཀྲིས [བཀུ་ཤེས]་ཀྱིས་བསོ་ཐུབ་ཅ་ན་མཁའ་བར་བསྒམས་ནས། དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ན་གཞོན་པ་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མགོ་སྐྱོང་མཛད། ཟླ་མཚོས་དཔང་མོ་ལ་སྐས་གསུམ། བློ་བཟང་རྣམ་ཀུལ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་[གྲོངས་]། སྐུ་གཉེག་བ་ཀུ་ལ། ཆུང་བ་ཕེ་ཤེས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་[དཔལ་ཀྱི་ནས་མེད]། བློ་བཟང་རྣམ་ཀུལ་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མ། དེ་ཐོང་དགོན་བའི་སྐུ་གཉེག་[དཔལ་འབར་ཡོད]། ཆུང་བ་ཆོ་བརྟན་རྣམ་ཀུལ་ལྡེ་[གྲོངས་]ལ་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་རབ་བརྟན་དཔང་མོ་[དེ་རྩང་སྲུ་ཀུར་ཡོད] ॥

ཀུལ་ཡོ་དོན་ཡོད་དང་ཕེ་ཤེས་སྲས་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟིར་ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ལ་ར་མདའ་མང་པོ་བཅས་ནས། ཡོ་ཧ་སོང་བ་དང་། ཀུལ་པོ་དེ་གཉིས་ཚོ་འདས། [ལ་རྟགས་ཀུལ་པོའི་མིང་མཐར་རྟོ་ཀུལ་ལོ་ལྷ་དང་ཟངས་དཀར་ལ་དེའི་ཚབ་ལྷེ་འབྲག་པ] ॥

TRANSLATION

REGISTER OF THE LINE OF KINGS [REIGNING OVER] BZAṄ-LA IN ZAṄS-DKAR

Dpal-mgon, the elder brother, became king of La-dvags; Bde-gtsug-mgon, the younger brother, became king of Pa-dam (Dpal-ldum) in Zaṅs-dkar. His son was Seṅ-ge-lde. His sons were Ḥdzom-grags-lde, and Maṅga-la-lde, the younger. Ḥdzom-grags-lde lived at Dpal-ldum castle. From his brother Maṅga-la-lde originated the family which took possession of Bzaṅ-la. It is as follows:—Maṅga-la-lde's son was Rin-chen-dpal-lde. [His son was Dge-ḥdun-dpal-lde.] His son was Bsod-nams-dpal-lde. His son was Bkr[a-ś]is-dpal-lde. His sons were Mgon-dpal-lde and Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan, [who became a] Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab [title of a high lama]. Of the elder's[1] two sons Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan, the younger, who was a Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab, became a lama at Dkar-śa monastery. Mgon-dpal-lde, the elder one, reigned. He had two sons, viz. Nam-mkhaḥ-dpal-lde and Blo-bzaṅ-rgyal-mtshan, who became a lama [with the title of] Druṅ-pa-phug-pa. The elder one had two sons, viz. Khri-dpal-lde and Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde. The son of the elder one was Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan-dpal-lde. The younger son became a lama [and was called] Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan, the Žabs-druṅ. The son of the elder one was Ye-śes-dpal-lde. His sons were Bsod-nams-dpal-lde and Ye-śes-rnam-rgyal-lde. The [first] son of the elder, [called] Ye-śes-mthaḥ-yas, became a lama; the middle one was [called] Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde. The youngest [called] Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde had a daughter, [called] Zla-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo.

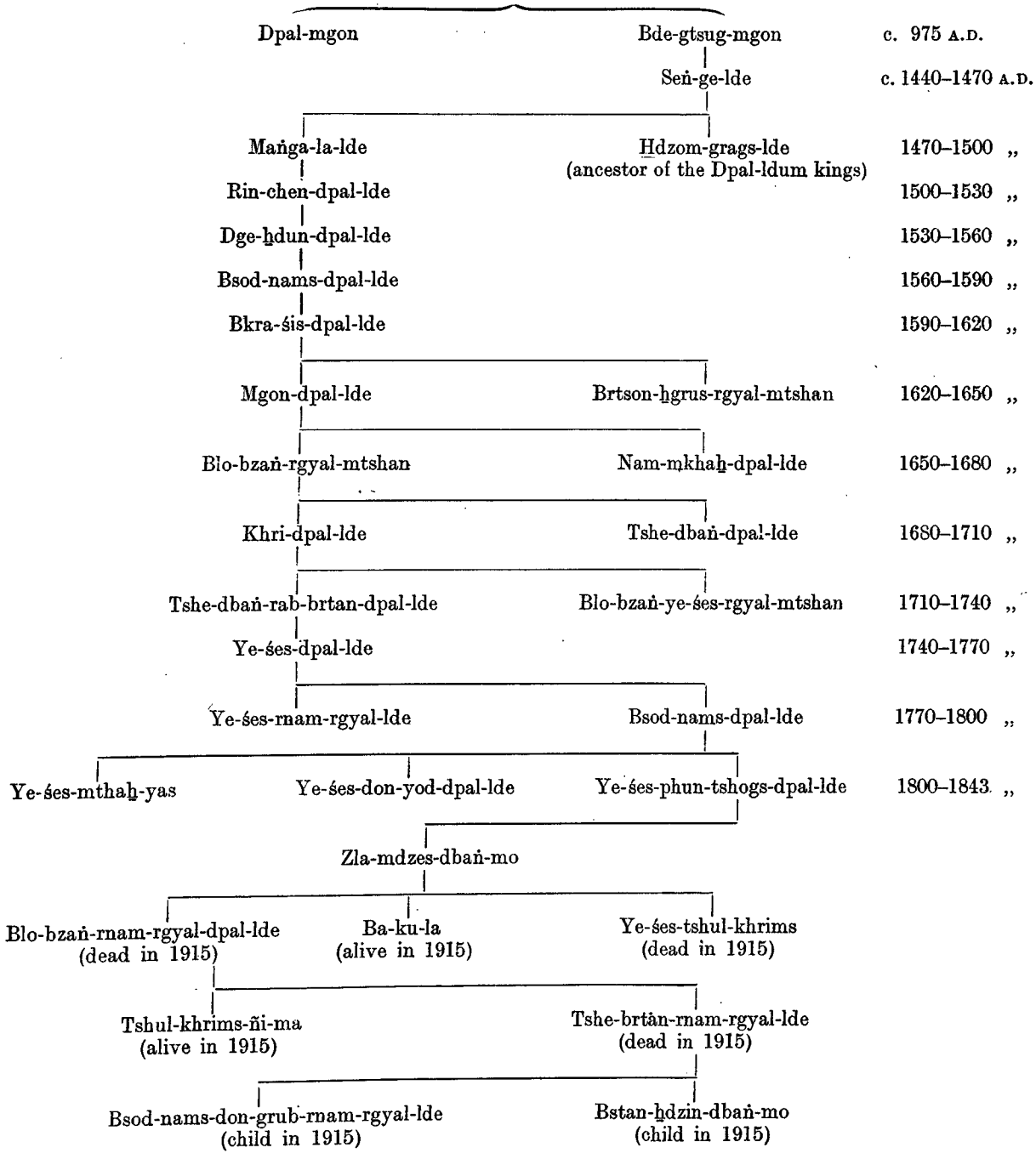
Her husband's [name is] Grub-tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde. As Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde died when both were children, his widow (wife), queen Bkr[a-ś]is, having accepted a [certain man] called Bsam-grub to be her husband, the two protected the two young ones. Zla-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo had three sons, viz. Blo-bzaṅ-rnam-rgyal-dpal-lde [he died], Ba-ku-la, the Sku-gžog, and Ye-[ś]es-tshul-khrims, the youngest. [He died recently.] Blo-bzaṅ-rnaṃ-rgyal-dpal-lde had two sons, Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma, the Sku-gžog of the Ri-rdzoṅ monastery, [he is still alive], and Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal-lde, the younger one [who died]. His son is Bsod-nams-don-grub-rnam-rgyal-lde, and his daughter is Bstan-ḥdzin-dbaṅ-mo. [They are still children.]

[1] A mistake for 'Of Bkra-śis-dpal-lde's'.

The kings Don-yod (Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde) and Ye-śes-phun-tshogs (Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde) rendered much assistance to the Wa-zir Zorawar. Both kings died two years after [the conquest]. [Instead of the titles *rnam-rgyal* and *lha* of the list of kings of La-dvags we find in Zaṅs-dkar the title *lde.*]

VASSAL KINGS OF BZAṄ-LA

GENEALOGICAL TREE



NOTES

The genealogical tree of the Bzaṅ-la kings, which was drawn up according to the above account, contains two generations whose dates may be approximately fixed. The first generation is that of Dpal-mgon and Bde-gtsug-mgoṅ, the sons of the famous Ladakhi king, Ñi-ma-mgon. They lived in the tenth century. The other generation is that of Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde and Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde, who are said to have died two years after the conquest of Zaṅs-dkar by the Dogra general Zorawar. Their death may have taken place in 1843 A.D. The above pedigree contains only fourteen generations between these two fixed points. This is not sufficient to cover a period of about nine centuries. Going by the example of the genealogical rolls of the chiefs of Cig-tan and those of Sod, I presume that in the present case also we may agree that the predigee is coherent between the second member and the last, and that a good number of missing links have to be silently added between the first and second member. Or, in other words, the chiefs of Bzaṅ-la started a genealogical roll of their own, when they began their career as separate chiefs of Zaṅs-dkar. As, however, they had not forgotten that they as well as the principal line of Zaṅs-dkar chiefs, viz. the chiefs of Dpaḥ-gtum, were descended from Ñi-ma-mgon's famous son, Lde-gtsug-mgon, they put the name of the latter prince at the head of the line. To furnish the Bzaṅ-la genealogy with approximate dates we have to assign about thirty years to each generation and work upwards, beginning with the year 1800 A.D., the approximate year of the birth of Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde and his brother. Then king Seṅ-ge-lde would have the years 1440–70 A.D. as the approximate time of his reign. It was he who divided the kingdom of Zaṅs-dkar between his two sons, and thus created the Bzaṅ-la principality. This principality may have been of very small size during its first years; but in later times it included He-na-sku, as asserted by Bakula, and we may be not far wrong if we suppose that several other intervening villages, for instance, Kanji, may have formed part of the principality.

Of some interest are also the titles of the royal lamas, viz. Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab, Druṅ-pa-phug-pa, and Żabs-druṅ. Although the word Żabs-druṅ is generally translated by 'secretary', we know that Żabs-druṅ-rin-po-che, 'the precious secretary,' is the title of the spiritual ruler of Bhutan. And it is not impossible that a reincarnation of the spiritual ruler of Bhutan was once discovered in the royal family of Bzaṅ-la; for there were relations of a religious, as well as political, character between Ladakh and Bhutan, as we know from the Ladakhi chronicles. *Druṅ-pa* is generally translated by 'servant'. Here it is a title of a lama, similar to *Żabs-druṅ*; *rgyal-tshab* is something like 'vice-gerent'; and *phug-pa* means 'cave-dweller'. The Dkar-śa (probably = Dkar-rgya) monastery is one of the principal Dge-lug-pa monasteries of Zaṅs-dkar.

As regards the title *Sku-gżog*, 'incarnation,' the spelling is not quite certain. S. Ch. Das gives *sku-śogs*. It is used as the title of the incarnation of the principal lama of a monastery, who is supposed to have descended in Khubilganic manner from the founder, or from a still more ancient personage. As has already been pointed out, Bakula derives his descent from the *sthavira* Vakula, who lived almost 2,000 years ago. The Ri-rdzoṅ monastery (Dge-lug-pa) is situated in a side valley between Sa-spo-la and Sñuṅ-la.

The short note regarding the assistance lent to Zorawar, the Dogra general, by two of the Bzaṅ-la kings was probably added to the pedigree with the view to impressing the Kashmir government. The petitioners may have hoped to be treated more favourably by that government, if they proved their descent from a helper of the conqueror. That they actually assisted the Dogras may have been due to a hostility which probably existed between the Dpal-ldum and Bzaṅ-la kings of Zaṅs-dkar.

As is shown by Joseph Tshe-brtan in his last note, the dynasty of Bzaṅ-la boasts of the dynastical name Lde. This name it shares with the other Zaṅs-dkar dynasty, and with the Gu-ge dynasty. All these lines of kings are descended from Bde-gtsug-mgon. In this name the spelling of the first syllable is given as here *Bde*, whereas in other documents we find the spelling *Lde*. This is another argument in favour of my view that *Lde* is only a dialectical form of the word *Bde*, 'blessing, happiness.'

As the above pedigree shows, the male line of the Bzaṅ-la vassal-kings came to an end in 1843 A.D. At present we find only descendants in the female line.

As we learn from the Ladakhi chronicles, some of the Ladakhi queens came from Bzaṅ-la.

Inscriptions referring to the Bzaṅ-la kings have not yet been discovered. Bakula is mentioned in an inscription at Dpe-thub, and the name Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma is found on one of the walls of the cave temples of Sa-spo-la. But here the inscription may refer to a more ancient personage of the same name.

III. The Kings of Gu-ge

ACCORDING TO THE DPAG-BSAM-LJON-BZAṄ (p. 152)

It is not very probable that the original MS. of the chronicles of the Gu-ge kings is still in existence. When the vassal kingdom of Gu-ge was separated from the West Tibetan empire and annexed by Lhasa (*c.* 1650 A.D.), the Lhasa government apparently did its best to eradicate in the new province every reminiscence of the glory of the former Gu-ge kings. Fortunately, a brief account of these important kings is still found in Tibetan historical works. The part played by the early Gu-ge kings in the re-establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, after Glaṅ-dar-ma's persecution, was of too great importance to be passed over in silence; and for this reason no history of Lamaism was considered complete without an account of the Gu-ge kings. The first to publish a genealogical treę of them, from the Tibetan, was Schlagintweit in his *Könige von Tibet.* He gives their names under Nos. 46–54 and 99–113 of his genealogical table I. He was, however, not quite certain of the connexion between these two groups of names. He gives, in addition, the Mongolian forms of the names of all those kings, from which circumstance we learn that this genealogy had already found its way into the historical literature of the Mongols. The Mongol names, as they occur in Schlagintweit's tables, completely agree with those of the *Bodhimör.* But in Ssanang-Ssetsen's *History of the Mongols* somewhat different Mongol names are used for the same kings. I. J. Schmidt, in his translation of Ssanang-Ssetsen, was, in fact, the first to tell us something of the Gu-ge kings. But I imagine that only very few persons were able to recognize this line of kings in their Mongolian dress. In his notes Schmidt gives a translation of the corresponding chapters of the *Bodhimör.* One line of the *Bodhimör* account is of particular interest. We read in Ssanang-Ssetsen, notes from the *Bodhimör*, p. 369, as follows :—' The above genealogy of chiefs is only a short extract. He who wants to read the fuller history of these kings, their doings, and institutions, may look them up in the various chronicles of their reigns.' This note proves that a number of more detailed chronicles must at one time have existed in Gu-ge. Besides the short chronicle given below, which is here for the first time translated into English, the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, pp. 185–6, as well as other Tibetan and Mongolian works, contains detailed accounts of Atīśa's mission to Tibet during the reigns of Ye-śes-ḫod and Byaṅ-chub-ḫod of Gu-ge. As translations of these chapters occur not only in Schmidt's Ssanang-Ssetsen (pp. 425 sqq.), but also in S. Ch. Das' *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (1893, pp. 50 sqq.), it will suffice now to refer to those publications. The Tibetan text of the

Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ was published by S. Ch. Das, Rai Bahadur, in 1908 (Calcutta, Presidency Jail Press), together with a brief index. An English translation has not yet appeared.

TEXT (p. 152)

འོད་སྲུངས་ཀྱི་སྐས་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན་ནི་འབངས་ཀྱིས་བཏོང་སྟེ ། དབུས་གཙང་མཐེལ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཨོར་ཏང ། དེའི་ཚེན་མའི་སྐས་སྐྱེད་ལྡེ་ཀི་མ་མགོན་དང་ ། ཆུང་མའི་སྐས་ཁི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་དཔལ་གཉིས་ཡོད་བའི ། དང་པོ་མདའ་དིས་སྐྱ་དངས་སུ་ཕྱིན་ཞིང་ ། གཉིས་པ་གཙོང་སྟོང་དུ་བཞུགས ། ཀི་མ་མགོན་ལ་སྐས་སྐྱོང་ཀྱི་མགོན་གསུམ་ལས་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དེག་པ་མགོན་ཀྱིས་མང་ཡུལ་དང་ ། འཕྲེང་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ་མགོན་ཀྱིས་སྐྱ་དངས་དང་ ། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་བཙུན་མགོན་ཀྱིས་ཞང་ཞུང་སྟེ་ཀུ་གེའི་མདའ་འོག་གསུམ་བཙུང་ཞིང་ ། ཕྱི་མ་དེ་ལ་སྐས་གཉིས་ཏེ ། འཁོར་རེ་དང་སྲོང་དེའོ ། །

འཁོར་རེ་ལ་སྐས་ནུ་གུ་རྩ་ཀྵ ། དེ་ས་རྩ་ཀྵ ། གཙུང་སྟེ་གསུམ་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིས་སུ་རྟེན་ལས་རབ་བྱང་གི་རྟགས་བྱང་བའི ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཟེར་མོད་ཀྱང ། ལོ་ཆེན་དང་མཁས་གྲུབ་གཅིག་པ་ནི་མཚན་ཀྱིས་ཤེས་སྣ་ལ ། དེས་གཙང་སྲོང་དེ་ལ་སྲིད་གཏད་ཚོ ། སྟོད་འབྲལ་ས་དང་ཞིང ། སྨྱ་ཀྱི་སོགས་ཀྱང་དེ་དུས་ཐོབ ། སྲོད་དེའི་སྐས་ལྷ་ལྡེའི་དུས་སུ ། སུ་ཀུ་ཀྱི་ཤྲི་ཤའ་ཀྱི་ སྐུ་ཏདས་ཏེ ། ཤེར་ཐོགས་བསྐྱང་ཞིང ། ཡོ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་སྐྱིས་མ་དག་གིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་བསྐྱངས ། དེ་ལ་སྐས་གསུམ་ལས་འོད་ལྡེ་སྲིད་བཙང་ནས ། གཙང་ཐང་ཆུ་འོད་དང་ཞེ་ས་འོད་གཉིས་རབས་ཀྱང་ཏུ་སྐྱིང་ཞིང ། ཇོ་ཙོ་ཨ་ཀྱི་ཤ་སྐྱབ་ཏདས ། འོད་ལྡེའི་སྐས་ཆེ་ལྡེ་དུས་ཞེ་ས་བཟང་ཙོ་ སོད་ཏུ་ཐོབ་ཞིང ། དབུས་གཙོང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཉའུས་བའི ། མངའ་རིས་ཚོས་འཁོར་ཆེན་ཙོ་སྐྱང ། དེའི་སྐས་ལབར་ལྡེ ། དེ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ ། སྐྱ་ལྡེ ། ནུ་ག་དེ་བ ། བཙན་སྐྱག་ལྡེ་ཡ་ཆོར་ཐོབ ། དེའི་སྐས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ ། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བར་གཉིས་བཙན་ལྡེ ། གཉིས་པ་ལྡེས་གཞེར་ཉ་བའུན་བཅུ་ལས་ཉར་མ་དཔྱངས་དང་ ། ཉེར་བའི་ལས་མཆོད་རྟེན་དང་ ། དབུལ་དཀར་ལྕ་བཅུ་ལས་བདེ་མཆོག་དང་ ། སྲོང་བཙུ་གཉིས་ལས་ཐུམས་སྐུ་བཞེངས ། དེའི་སྐས་ཡ་སོ་ལྡེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ཚ་ངན་ཀྱིས་ཐུལ་ནས ། གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ཉེ་བའི་དེ་དུས་སོག་ཡོ་ལ་ཡོད་ པ་ཉིས་ནས ། དེའི་ཐུལ་ཀྱིས་དེང་མཆོད་བཏུང་བཅུས ། དེའི་སྐས་འཇོན་དང་ཚལ་དང་ཡན་ན་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མས་གསེང་ཀྱི་བཀའ་འཁྲུལ་བཞེངས ། དེའི་སྐས་རེཏ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་མེ་སྟེ་མང་ཡོ་བྱང་བ་དང་ ། དབུལ་ཀྱི་སྐྱན་བྱ་མཆེད་བཅུད་བཞེངས་ཤིང ། འཕྲལ་སྐྱང་གི་གསེང་ཉིག་རྒྱབ ། དེའི་སྐས་སངས་གྱ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཐུ་བོར་སྐྱང་ཞིང་ཚལ ། དེའི་སྐས་ཨ་ཇོའི་རྒྱབ་ཏུ་ཐུལ་ནས་ཡབ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མས་གསེང་ཀྱི་ཐུ་བོར་ཐུལ་ཏེ ། ཐུ་ཚལ་ཡོན་ཏན་ཀྱི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ཕྱོགས

Ḥkhor-re had [two] sons, viz. Nāga-rā-dza and Deba-rā-dza. Later on the three together (i.e. the father with his two sons) took the sign of monkhood. Although the [religious] name of the father was Ye-śes-ḥod, he became better (easier) known by the names Lo-chen (Paṇḍit) and Mkhan-slob-gcig-pa ('only Guru'). When he had entrusted the government to his younger brother Sroṅ-ṅe, the hymns and *Vinaya* being widely known, the *Smṛitis* (*śāstras*) came at that time. During the reign of Sroṅ-ṅe's son, Lha-lde, Subhuti-Śri-śanti (Subhūti-śrī-śānti) was invited [to Tibet] (from Kashmir). He translated the *Śer-phyogs*, and Lo-chen's disciples translated many [other books]. He had three sons. Of these Ḥod-lde reigned, whilst Byaṅ-chub-ḥod and Žiba-ḥod, the younger ones, became monks, and invited Lord Atiśa [to Tibet]. During the reign of Ḥod-lde's son, Rtse-lde, Žiba-bzaṅ-po (Śāntibhadra) arrived in Tibet; and, when the wise men of Dbus-Gtsaṅ and Khams had assembled, the great religious council (*chos-ḥkhor-chẽn-po*) of Mṅaḥ-ris took place. His son was Ḥbar-lde, then Bkra-śis-lde, Bha-lde, Nāga-de-ba; Btsan-phyug-lde went to Ya-tshe. His son was Bkra-śis-lde. Then, in order, Grags-btsan-lde, Grags-pa-lde. He erected [an image of] Ḥjam-dbyaṅs (Mañjughosha) of 70 *bre* (a weight) of gold, a *stūpa* of 24 *bre* [of gold], an [image of] Bde-mchog (Śambara) of 500 [Rupees] of white silver, and [an image] of Byams-pa (Maitreya) of 12,000 [rupees]. His son, 'A-so-lde, bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-ṅan-med (Aśoka). At that time they belonged to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes. His sons were Ḥdzin-dar-rmal and 'An-na-rmal; of these two the latter had the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* copied in gold. His son Reḥu-rmal conquered many Indian nations; he erected [images of] the eight Sman-bla in silver, and provided golden roofs for the Ḥphrul-snaṅ temple. His son was Saṅgha-rmal; and his son Ḥdzin-dar-rmal. Ḥdzin-dar-rmal's son, 'A-ḥdziṅ-rmal, first became a monk at Sa-skya; [then] he became king again. His son was Ka-lan-rmal. With his son, Par-tab-rmal, the family of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end. Bsod-nams-lde of [S]pu-raṅs was invited to Ya-tshe, and, when he began to reign, he took the name Puṇ[ya]-rmal. His son Pra-ti-rmal and the minister Dpal-ldan-grags-pa began the Chinese roof (golden roof ?) over the Bcu-gcig-žal (Avalokita temple) at Lha-sa.

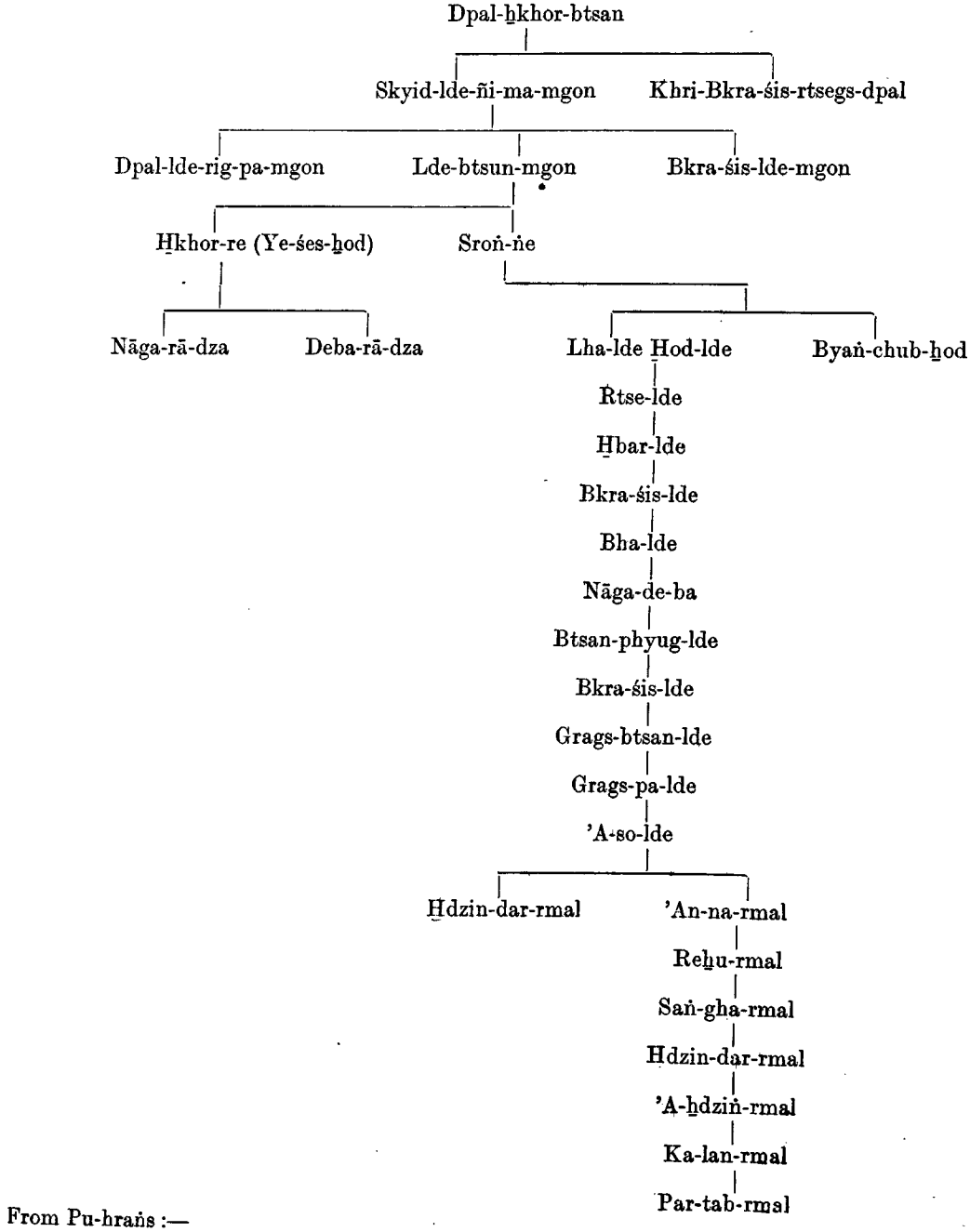
NOTES

According to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (*supra*, p. 48) the original kingdom of the Gu-ge kings was not Gu-ge, but Zaṅs-dkar and Spyi-ti. Gu-ge was given to Bkra-śis-mgon, not to Lde-gtsug (btsun ?)-mgon, when King Ñi-ma-mgon divided his kingdom among his three sons. As, however, Bkra-śis-mgon died without issue (as far as we know), his kingdom was apparently seized by Lde-gtsug-mgon's descendants. This account of the *Rgyal-rabs* is not in agreement with the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), as the above translation shows us. But I am of opinion that in all matters concerning the Western parts of Tibet the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* ought to be given the preference. The most famous among the early lama kings of Gu-ge who resided at Mtho-ldiṅ are Ye-śes-ḥod and Byaṅ-chub-ḥod. It was my good fortune to discover inscriptions by these two royal lamas on my expedition in 1909. They were found at Poo, in Kunawar, and at Tabo, in Spyi-ti. These inscriptions prove that the ancient Gu-ge kingdom included at least parts of Kunawar and Spyi-ti. It is of special interest that Atīśa's Tibetan name, Phul-byuṅ, occurs in the Tabo inscription. With regard to chronology, the following dates may be deduced from the

Rẹ̄hu-mig, translated by S. Ch. Das, C.I.E. Rai Bahadur, JASB., 1889, p. 41, and Csoma de Körös' *Baiḍūrya-dkar-po* (appendix to his Grammar, p. 184) :—

Atīśa was born in the year	980 A.D.
Atīśa arrived in Mṅaḥ-ris (Gu-ge) in.	1038 A.D.
Atīśa visited Great Tibet (Lhasa) in.	1041 A.D.
Atīśa died in	1053 A.D.
The great religious council of Mṅaḥ-ris under King Rtse-lde took place in . .	1075 A.D.

The following is the genealogical tree of the Gu-ge and Ya-tshe kings, based on the above account :—



From Pu-hraṅs :—

Bsod-nams-lde (Pun(ya)-rmal)

Pra-ti-rmal

This genealogical tree differs from that of the *Bodhimör* (compare Schlagintweit's tables) in the following points :—(1) Bha-lde and Nāgadeba are, according to the *Bodhimör*, one and the same person. (2) The *Bodhimör* inserts a king, A-rog-lde, between Grags-pa-lde and 'A-so (A-sog)-lde. (3) According to the *Bodhimör*, Saṅ-gha-rmal and Ḥdzin-dar-rmal are brothers. (4) Pra-ti-rmal is called in the *Bodhimör* Prite-rmal. Several other names are also slightly different. Let me add that the Indian name of Gu-ge is Goggadeśa (Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1106); for Gogga, or Gugga, see Cunningham in JASB., xiv, p. 80; xvii, p. 159.

Of King Btsan-phyug-lde it is stated that he went to Ya-tshe, a place which I have not yet succeeded in tracing on any map. This statement may mean either a change of capital or a jump to a minor branch of the line. Btsan-phyug-lde was possibly a younger brother of a king and received the town of Ya-tshe as his portion, whilst the principal line continued to reign at Mtho-ldiṅ. Thus we learn from the above account that another line of kings of the Lde dynasty (probably also the descendants of some younger brother of a Gu-ge king) reigned in Pu-hraṅs. As the kings of Ya-tshe made valuable offerings to the Buddhist cause, they may have been in great favour with the lamas and their chroniclers. Therefore their pedigree was preserved, whilst that of the kings of the principal line was allowed to drop into oblivion. As the names of the later Ya-tshe kings would suggest, the dynasty became more and more Hinduized. As the syllable *rmal* frequently occurs in the names of the kings of Ya-tshe, we may call this dynasty the Rmal dynasty. The word *rmal* probably corresponds to the Indian *malla*. Malla dynasties are known to have existed in Nepal and neighbouring countries from early times. Their fame may have induced the Ya-tshe kings to adopt their name.

When the line of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end, a prince of Pu-hraṅs was invited to become king of Ya-tshe, and he also received a Hindu name.

As we know from d'Andrada's account (*L'India Orientale . . . descritta da Michelangelo Lualdi Romano*, Rome, 1653, pp. 364–6), a king [of Gu-ge ?] reigned at Tsa-pa-raṅ in 1624 A.D. His name was possibly Khri-Bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde, as suggested by the Tabo inscription. This name is a combination of the names of two early Ya-tshe kings, and thus speaks in favour of a close family connexion between the Ya-tshe and Tsa-pa-raṅ dynasties.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

IV. The Chronicles of Cig-tan

When I travelled in the territory of the old principality of Cig-tan in Ladakh, in 1906, I was told that the present ex-chief of Cig-tan was in possession of a chronicle. The ex-chief, who then resided at Dkar-dkyil, asserted, however, that the original copy of the chronicle had disappeared. As, nevertheless, his father had compelled him in former years to learn the chronicle by heart, he was ready to dictate it to my munshi, Ye-śes-rig-ḥdzin of Kha-la-rtse. The latter wrote down the tale afresh, and from his copy the following text is taken.

The principality is situated on a small tributary of the Indus, which falls into this river opposite to the village of Mdaḥ. The valley stretches from south to north, and in its best days the principality may have extended over about 50 kilometres in the valley.

In the Chronicles of Ladakh the principality is mentioned for the first time under Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal in the sixteenth century. There the name of the country is given as Pu-rig (Bu-rig). At that time the chief of Pu-rig (Cig-tan) had embraced Muhammadanism, and he was involved in a war between the Ladakhis and Baltis. In the seventeenth century the principality was again involved in a war between the Ladakhis under Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal and the Khri-Sultan of Dkar-rtse. Since then it is not again mentioned in the Ladakhi Chronicles.

TEXT

ཅིག་ཏུན་ཀྱི་ཪོ་རབས་ནི །

དང་པོ། དར་གོའི་མཁར་དང་། ཀུག་ཀྱེའི་མཁར། ཅིག་ཏུན་ཀྱི་མཁར་བཅོ་མཁན་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ། ཪོ་ལྕང་མཁན་མ་ལེག་ཟེར་མཁའ་དེ་སྤུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ལེད་ནས་ཡོང་སྟེ། དར་གོའི་མདུན་ལ་བསྒེག་སོང་། དེར་བསྒེག་སྟེ། སྐར་གའི་གེར་ཀ་འཁྲབ་ཏེ་ཡོད་ཚུག །

དེ་རྒྱས་ཁྲད་བའེ་མོ་དང་ །

ཚུ་ཡོད་ཅིག་ཤེས་ཤེས་ཏེ །

དེ་གེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་བཙུག་སྟེ། སྟོན་ལམ་འགེག་བཏབས །

ང་མི་ཚང་མའི་ཁ་དཔོན་པོ་འགེག་ལྟེ་ན །

འདི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་ཡུལ་འགེག་འཚུགས་ན །

འདི་གེར་ཀ་ཚུགས་ཤེག །

ཟེར་ཏེ། བཙུག་སྟེ་ན། གཉིད་ཅིག་ལོགས། གཉིད་ཚད་དེ་བཟླས་པ། གེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་ལ་ཁོལ་རྒྱུ་སྟེ་ཡོད་ཚུག །

དེ་ནས་ཁོས་ཡུལ་བཅོས ॥

དེའི་རྗེས་ལ་ཟླ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ལེད་ནས་ཏེ་སྐག་དང་གང་ཟག་ཟེར་མཁའ་ཀྱི་ལྟ་མོ་གཉིས་བསྒེབ །

དེ་ལྟ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་དེར་བསྒེབ་པ །

དར་གོའི་ལྟ་མོས་ཚུའི་ཐད་ཀ་ནས་དར་ཀྱི་རྡས་ཚུའི་ཁ་བཏེང་སྟེ། བོས་ཏེ། དར་གོ་ལ་ཁྱེར། དར་གོ་ལ་བསྒེབ་སྟེ་ན །

ལྟང་མཁན་མ་ལེག་གྱེས་མཁར་འགེག་བཅོ་སྟེ། ལྟ་མོ་ཏེ་སྐག་དང་གང་ཟག་གཉིས་ཀ་དེའི་མཁར་ནང་ངུ་བོར་ཏེ། ལྟང་མཁན་མ་ལེག་གྱེས་ཤོ་

ཟེར་གཞི་ས་ཐང་ལ་བསྒོམ་པོ། དེར་ཡང་ཆུ་དང་ས་ཐང་གདེ་མོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། སྐྱག་ཐའི་ཅེར་ཀ་ཐམ་པོ་ཞིག་བཙུག་སྟེ། ཡང་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞིག་བཏབས།

འདི་ས་ཐང་ལ་ཡུལ་ཞིག་འཆུགས་ན།
ང་རང་མི་ཚང་མཉེ་དཔོན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་འགྱུར་ན།
སྐྱག་པ་འདི་ལ་ཏོལ་སྐྱེས་ཤིག།

ཟེར་ཏེ། གཉིད་ཅེག་ཙམ་ཕུག་པ། གཉིད་ཚར་དེ་བཙུས་པ། སྐྱག་ཐའི་ཅེར་ཀ་ལ་ཏོལ་བཏང་སྟེ་ཡོད་ཚུན། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཏོ་དེར་འདུག་སྟེ། ཡུལ་འཆུགས་བཅུགས། དེར་མཁར་གསུམ་བཙོས། མཁར་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ཀུ་ཀུ་མཁར། ཡང་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ཅ་ཀོ་མཁར། ཡང་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ཀྱི་མཁར་བཙོས། དེར་ཟན་མི་ཟེལ་ཏེ། ཚོ་མང་པོ་འདུགས ||

ཞག་ཅིག་ལ་ཅིག་ཏན་ཀྱི་ས་ཐང་ལ་བསྒོམ་སྟེ་བཙུམ་པ། དེའི་ས་ཐང་ཚང་མ་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་། མཁར་བཙོ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཡང་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། དར་གོ་དང་ཀུག་ཨོ་ནས་མི་ཁྱོང་སྟེ། དེར་མཁར་ཚེག་ཅེས་ལ། ཚོར་བར་ལ་ཨིང་མཁན་ཙའ་འདས་པ་ས་ཐ་བྱ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི། ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་བོས་མཁན་བཏང་སྟེ། ཁྱོངས་ནས། ཅིག་ཏན་མཁར་བཙིགས། མཁར་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་ངོ་ཟི་མཁར་བཏགས། དེ་ནས་དེམ་བཞིན་དེར་ཡུལ་ཆུགས ||

ཨ་ཡོ་ཇོ་ལྕང་མཁན་མ་ལིག་མཁར་ནང་བྱ་འདུག་སྟེ། ཡུལ་ཚོང་ཀ་ལ་ཏུ་ཀུམ་བཏང་གིན་ཅིག་འདུགས་པ། སྐས་ཚོ་རིང་མ་ལིག་སྐྱེས། ཚོ་རིང་མ་ལིག་ལ་ཨ་ཁདམ་མ་ལིག་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཁདམ་མ་ལིག་ལ་ཨམ་ཟེད་སྐྱེས། ཨམ་ཟེད་ལ་ཨམ་ངོད་སྐྱེས། ཨམ་ངོད་ལ་ཨ་ཟེད་ཐམ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཟེད་ཐམ་ལ་ཨ་ལི་བག་ཇོ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ལི་བག་ཇོ་ལ་ཨ་ཏུ་དམ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཏུ་དམ་ལ་ཨ་དམ་མ་ལིག་སྐྱེས། ཨ་དམ་མ་ལིག་ལ་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཁོའི་དུས་ནས་ཁང་ལ་ཐུ་སུལ་མན་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལ་བཞེན་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་ལ་ཅོང་ཇོ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཅོང་ཇོ་མཁན་ལ་རྟ་བིས་མཁན་སྐྱེས། རྟ་བིས་མཁན་ལ་རྟ་ནི་ཁ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། རྟ་ནི་ས་མཁན་ལ་མ་ལི་ཡ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། མ་ལི་ཡ་མཁན་ལ་རྒྱ་སེན་མཁན་སྐྱེས། རྒྱ་སེན་མཁན་ལ་ག་བཟང་ཟང་སྐྱེས ||

TRANSLATION

Originally the forefather called Lord Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, who is the constructor of the castles of Dar-go, Kug-śo, and Cig-tan, came from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid, and arrived before Dar-go. When he arrived there, he was carrying a stick of walnut [wood in his hand]. As he perceived that there was a beautiful site and water, he planted the dry stick, and prayed :—

If I should become a lord over all men,
And if in this place a town should be founded,
May this stick begin to grow !

Thus saying, he planted the tree and went to sleep. When he awoke and looked about, he saw buds growing out of the dry stick. Then he built a town.

At that time two fairies (goddesses) called Ti-sug and Gaṅ-ga-sug arrived [there] from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid. When these two fairies arrived there, the fairy of Dar-go spread out on the water from the other side of the stream a silk blanket, invited them, and brought them to Dar-go. When they arrived at Dar-go, Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig built [another] castle, and placed both fairies, Ti-sug and Gaṅ-ga-sug, inside this castle.

Then Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig arrived at a place called Kug-śo. As he perceived that there also was water and a beautiful site, he planted a dry stick of birch, and prayed:—

If a town should come into existence in this place,
And if I should become a lord over all men,
May buds grow out of this birch [stick].

Thus saying he went to sleep. When he awoke and looked about, there were buds growing out of the birch [stick]. He then remained there also and founded a town. There he built three castles. One of them he called Kra-kra castle, another one Kro-kro castle, and the third Pa-kro castle. There his subjects increased, and he remained there for many years.

One day he arrived at the site of Cig-tan, and, looking about, perceived that the whole place was beautiful. As he also perceived that it was a beautiful site to build a castle, he brought men from Dar-go and Kug-śo. At Chor-bad were two carpenters called Tsan-ḥdas-pa, father and son. He sent to call them, and brought them [there] to build the castle. [Thus] he built the castle of Cig-tan and called it Ro-zi-mkhar. Then, in course of time, a town came there into existence.

Whilst the forefather, Lord Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, resided at the castle, and governed the whole country, a son, Tshe-riṅ-Malig, was born to him. To Tshe-riṅ-Malig 'A-ḥdam-Malig was born; to 'A-ḥdam-Malig 'Am-zed was born; to 'Am-zed 'Am-rod was born; to 'Am-rod 'A-zid-tham was born; to 'A-zid-tham 'A-li-bag-śo was born; to 'A-li-bag-śo 'A-ha-dam was born; to 'A-ha-dam 'A-dam-Malig was born; to 'A-dam-Malig 'A-dam-mkhan was born; from his time [they] were made to adhere to Muhammadanism. Then to 'A-dam-mkhan Hor-jo-mkhan was born; to Hor-jo-mkhan Ha-bib-mkhan was born; to Ha-bib-mkhan Ha-ni-pha-mkhan was born; to Ha-ni-pha-mkhan Ma-li-ya-mkhan was born; to Ma-li-ya-mkhan Hu-sen-mkhan was born; to Hu-sen-mkhan Ga-bzaṅ-phar was born.

NOTES

The Cig-tan chronicle reminds us for two reasons of the Balti chronicles. In the first place, like the Balti chronicles, it ignores the early Lamaist members among its chiefs, and in the second place it speaks of a faqīr as the original ancestor of its line of chiefs.

If the chronicles were the only documents referring to the principality that had survived the ravages of time, we should be led to the conclusion that the family of chieftains was Muhammadan from the time of its emigration from Gilgit down to the present time. Fortunately, an inscription by several Lamaist chiefs of Cig-tan has been preserved in the ruined monastery. It records the renovation of this convent and gives Ltsaṅ-mkhan-bkra-śis as the name of the principal chief of those times. *Ltsaṅ-mkhan* means 'beggar' or 'faqīr', and the name Ltsaṅ-mkhan may have been used as a dynastic name among this line of chiefs.

Thus the chronicles fall into two unequal parts. The first part contains the legends of the origin of the race of chiefs and the principal towns, and the second part the names of the Muhammadan chiefs of Cig-tan, beginning with Tshe-riṅ-Malig, who embraced Islam in the sixteenth century. The first ancestor's name was probably originally only Ltsaṅ-mkhan. When the present chronicle was compiled, the word Malig was added to this name simply to give it a somewhat Muhammadan sound.

As regards the legend of the dry stick which begins to bud in answer to a prayer, it is told also at Chod, in Lahul.[1] The ancestor is stated to have emigrated from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid. Gyi-lid is the ordinary Tibetan

[1] Compare my collection, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, tale No. 12.

name of Gilgit; Bru-śad evidently stands for Bru-śal, a town in the close vicinity of Gilgit, if it is not part of Gilgit proper. The legend is thus of some interest, as pointing to the probable Dard origin of the dynasty.

Let me add that Cig-tan as a local name is also found in the close vicinity of Leh. As the Rev. F. Peter of Leh informs me, part of the village of Chu-śod on the Indus is called Cig-tan, and there also is found a line of chiefs who call themselves after this place. I believe that the chiefs of Chu-śod Cig-tan are related to the line of Bu-rig Cig-tan. Probably several members of the Bu-rig line who could not be trusted politically were transported in former times to Central Ladakh. They became the ancestors of the line of Chu-śod Cig-tan chiefs. The following names of Chu-śod Cig-tan chiefs have been culled from documents, mostly of the times of the last independent kings of Ladakh:—Jo 'A-dam-mkhan, Jo Ma-ma (= Mahmūd)-mkhan, Jo Si-lim-mkhan, Jo Ka-rim-mkhan, Jo 'A-bhi-ḫdin (= 'Ābidīn).

According to the chronicles the Ro-zi castle of Cig-tan was first erected by Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, the forefather of the dynasty. This is quite possible; but the present beautiful building is hardly more than four hundred years old. With regard to this building the tale of the two Balti artists, father and son, is also told. And their portraits are still among the wood carvings of the inner court of the castle.

As regards the list of names of the Muhammadan chiefs of Cig-tan, it extends over about three and a half centuries, from 1550 A.D. to 1900 A.D. Allowing twenty-five years for each reign, the chiefs may be furnished with approximate dates, as follows:—

Tshe-riṅ-Malig . . .	1550–1575	'A-dam-mkhan . . .	1750–1775
'A-ḫdam-Malig . . .	1575–1600	Hor-jo-mkhan . . .	1775–1800
'Am-zed	1600–1625	Ha-bib-mkhan . . .	1800–1825
'Am-rod	1625–1650	Ha-ni-pha-mkhan . . .	1825–1850
'A-zid-tham . . .	1650–1675	Ma-li-ya-mkhan . . .	1850–1875
'A-li-bag-śo . . .	1675–1700	Hu-sen-mkhan . . .	1875–1900
'A-ḫa-dam. . . .	1700–1725	Ga-bzaṅ-phar . . .	after 1900
'A-dam-Malig . . .	1725–1750		the present ex-chief.

The occurrence of the Dard word *tham*, king, among these names is of some interest, as again pointing to the Dard origin of the dynasty (see Cunningham, *Ladák*, p. 33). The word *mkhan*, which is found in several names, is, of course, the Tibetan rendering of the Mughal title Khān (*Khākān*). The note on 'A-ḫdam-mkhan is to be understood as meaning that under him the spread of Islam among the subjects was taken up with greater energy. It had been introduced about two centuries before. It is remarkable that Ra-him-mkhan of Cig-tan, who was executed by Zorawar, is not mentioned in the above list (see Tshe-brtan's *Account of the Dogra Wars*, infra). An inscription referring to A-ḫdam-Malig, who reigned *c.* 1575–1660 A.D., was found in Cig-tan. It is No. 194 of my collection recording a remission of taxes during his reign; several of the persons whom it mentions have names which are half-Muhammadan, half-Buddhist. Inscription No. 195, which seems to belong to the same times, gives no names. No inscription mentions any of the other chiefs.

As we learn from Dr. K. Marx' account of a journey to Cig-tan, the village of Kug-śo is still in possession of a beautiful grove of old birch-trees, the only birch-trees in Ladakh. Dr. Marx was also the first European to describe the ancient Buddhist temple in the now Muhammadan town of Cig-tan. (See his article 'Eine ärztliche Missionsreise im Jahre 1890', *Eben-Ezer*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 62.)

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V. The Genealogy of the Chiefs of Sod

The following genealogy was obtained from Sher-'Alī-Khān, the present ex-chief of Sod, who has a house at Sod (Yul-ba-ltag), as well as at Bilargo. On a visit to Dkar-dkyil, in 1914, I was told that the chief was just then at Bilargo. Therefore I dispatched Phun-tshogs, my munshi, to visit him in that place, and to see if he were in possession of a genealogy of his family. Sher-'Alī-Khān actually produced a document written in Urdū, containing the pedigree of his family. With regard thereto the chief said that the oldest MS. of it had been destroyed in previous wars; but that the family had taken care to restore the pedigree from memory, as best they could, soon after its loss.

Phun-tshogs copied the one-sheet Urdū manuscript in Tibetan characters, and added to it a few notes in Tibetan, which the chieftain was good enough to dictate to him. The additional notes are put in brackets.

The principality was very small. It comprised only the valley of a tributary of the Wakka river, coming down from the Hamoting-pass and falling into the Wakka river between Pas-kyum and Dkar-dkyil.

The village of Yul-ba-ltag may be traced on the survey map, on which it is spelt Yuhbatak. A little to the north-east of this place on the map there occurs the word Piu (*spe-hu, spi-hu,* 'tower'). This may mark the site of one of the ancient castles.

TIBETAN TEXT

སོད་མཁར་གྱི་ངོ་རབས་ནི།

བློན་ཆེ་ཞ་ཞ་ཀླུན། དེའི་རྗེད་ནས་ཟ་གྱིར་མད(མད?)་ངོ། དེའི་དུས་ལ་ལྷན་ལ་ནས་གྱིང་ཡལ་རྒྱ་རྒྱས་པའི་དབང་ཕྱེད་པིན། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་རྒྱལ་མ་ཝིག་ངོ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ནམ་བྱད་ངོ་ཟེད་མཁན་གྱི་ངོ་ཕྱེད་པིན། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་རྐོར་ངོ་ཀླུན། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་སྒྲོ་ངོ་ངོ། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ཆོ་དེད་མ་ཝིག་ངོ། དེའི་རྗེད་ལ་སྐྱལ་ཁན་མ་ཝིག་ངོ། དེའི་རྗེད་ལ་མཁ་མད་སྐྱལ་ཁན་ཀླུན། དེའི་རྗེད་ལ་མིག་ཟ་སྐྱལ་ཁན་ཀླུན། ཙ་དམ་མ་ཝིག་ཀླུན། མ་ཝིག་སྐྱལ་ཁན། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་མག་རམ་ཟིག། རན་ཀྱིར་ཟིག། དེའི་རྗེད་ན་ཡ་ཡ་ཀླུན། ས་ལམ་ཀླུན། མཁ་དི་ཀླུན། ཙཁ་བར་ཙ་ཝི་ཀླུན། ཤེར་ཙ་ཝི་ཀླུན།།

[འདི་ཇོ་ཚང་མའི་བརྒྱུད་ནི་ཀྱིལ་ཀྱིར་ཀྱི་ཇོ་ནས་འོངས་ཏེ། དེའི་མིང་ནི་བློན་ཆེ་ཞ་ཞ་ཀླུན། ཡང་ཇོ་འདི་ལ་མཁར་གསུམ་ཡོད་པིན། བ་སངར་མཁར་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་ཡུལ་བ་ཀླུག། དེ་ལ་ཡང་མཁའ་འདྲིར་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཟེར་འདུག། སོད་མཁར་དང་གསུམ་ཡོད།།

སོག་ཡི་དེ་དམག་བསྒྲིབ་ནས། མཁ་མར་སྐྱལ་ཁན་ཀླུན་རྒྱལ་སོང་། ཡང་ཅིག་ཁན་དང་། བ་རྒྱུམ་ཀྱི་ཇོ་གཉིས་ཀྱང་སྐྱལ་ཁན་ཀླུན་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་གིང་། ཞི་སྐྱལ་ཁན་ཀླུན་ཀྱི་སྲིང་མོ་ཞིག་མཁ་དི་ཀླུན་ལ་བག་མ་ལ་འོངས་ནས། ཡ་ཡ་ཀླུན་རྒྱིས།།

ས་ལམ་ཀླུན་ཇོའི་དུས་ལ་སིང་བའི་དམག་འོངས་ནས། སོད་ཀྱི་མཁར་བ་ནང་ཟེད་མཁན་བཤིག་ནས། ས་ལམ་ཀླུན་ལྷག་བརྒྱ་སྟེ། ཁ་རྩལ་ལ་སོང་ནས་སྒྲོངས། ས་ལམ་ཀླུན་སྒྲོངས་ནས། ཁོང་གི་སྲུ་གུ་མཁ་དི་ཀླུན་ཟེད་མཁན་ལ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་གཡོག་སྐྱན་ལ་ཙམ་ཡོད་མཁན་ཀྱི་ཀང་དང་བཏངས་ཤེང་། བབ་ཀྱང་མེད་པིན། དེ་ནས་བན་དབས་ཀྱི་དུས་ལ་བབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་1920་ཡོག་ཀོ།།]

TRANSLATION

The Genealogy of the Chiefs of Sod Castle

The great minister Khra-khra-Khān. After him [came] the chief Za-gyir-mad (maṅ ?). In his time his power reached from Wan-la to the Gyiṅ-yal (Gyid-yal ?) River. After him [came] the chief Rgyal-Malig. After him there lived a chief called Chief Nam-rud. After him [came] Hor-jo-Khān. After him [came] the Chief Ldo-ro. After him [came] the Chief Tshe-riṅ-Malig. After him [came] the Chief Sul-tan-Malig. After him [came] Mah-mad-Sul-tan-Khān. After him [came] Mig-za-Sul-tan-Khān. [Then] 'A-dam-Malig-Khān. [Then] Malig-Sul-tan. After him [came] Mag-ram-beg. [Then] Jan-gyir-beg. After him [came] Ya-ya-Khān. [Then] Sa-lam-Khān. [Then] Mah-di-Khān. [Then] 'Ag-bar-'A-li-Khān. [Then] Ser-'A-li-Khān.

[The line of all these chiefs is descended from a Gyil-gyid chief whose name was Great Minister Khra-khra-Khān. This chief was in possession of three castles. The name of the village belonging to Pa-sar castle is Yul-ba-ltag. It is also called castle of Mkhaḥ-ḥdror ('fairy-castle'). Together with Sod castle there are three [castles].

When the army of the Mongolians arrived, Mah-mad-Sul-tan-Khān gained a victory over them. The chieftains of Cig-tan, as well as those of Pa-skyum, are also descended from the family of Sul-tan-Khān. A sister of Khri-Sul-tan-Khān became Mah-di-Khān's wife, and [a son called] Ya-ya-Khān was born.

In the days of the Chief Sa-lam-Khān an army of the Siṅ-pa (Dogras) arrived here, and Pa-sar, the castle of Sod, was destroyed. Sa-lam-Khān was fettered with iron chains; he went to Kashmir, and died there. After Sa-lam-Khān had died, his son, called Mah-di-Khān, was made Kar-dar over all that had been under his father. He was tax-free. But at the time of the Bandabast he was taxed at 130 rupees.]

NOTES

The genealogy of the Sod chiefs should be compared with that of the Cig-tan chiefs, to which it forms a valuable addition. The last ancestor of both lines of chiefs is Tshe-riṅ-Malig, or No. 7 in descent in the above line of chieftains and No. 2 in the Cig-tan line. As pointed out by me in my notes on the chronicles of Cig-tan, we are obliged to insert a number of centuries between Btsaṅ-mkhan-(or Faqīr)-Malig, the first member of the Cig-tan pedigree, and Tshe-riṅ-Malig, the second member of the same. The value of the Sod pedigree rests in the fact that it gives the names of five hitherto unknown members of the common ancestry of both houses, who have to be placed between Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig and Tshe-riṅ-Malig. These are the names from Za-gyir-mad to Ldo-ro. Khra-khra-Khān, who is found at the head of the Sod genealogy, is evidently identical with Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig of Cig-tan; this seems to be proved by the evidence. For according to the Cig-tan chronicle Kra-kra was the name of one of the castles erected by Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, and, as lord of this castle, he might well have accepted the name of Khra-khra-Khān. That this line of chieftains actually came from Gilgit is also attested by the Cig-tan chronicles. The common origin of the Cig-tan and Sod families is further attested by a little note found in the above text, viz. that the Pa-sar castle is also called Mkhaḥ-ḥdror (= Mkḥah-ḥgro, 'fairy') castle. This name reminds us of the tale of Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig's reception by fairies, when he arrived in the Cig-tan district (see the Cig-tan chronicle).

With regard to the Gyiṅ-yal (Gyid-yal ?) River, I am told that the Gilgit River is meant. This particular passage of the above text means that the kingdom of these ancient Dard chiefs once extended from Wan-la, near Kha-la-rtse, to the districts close to Gilgit. It would thus have comprised Baltistan, Pu-rig, and Lower Ladakh, or the old duchies of the Khri-Sultāns of Dkar-rtse, the Pu-rig Sultāns, and the various Balti duchies. I can well imagine that this assertion is true; for in three of the old genealogies of these chieftains, in those of Skar-rdo,

Cig-tan, and Śim-śa-mkhar-bu, I have come upon traces of a tale of their common Faqīr origin. Besides, the Wan-la inscription of the Bcu-gcig-žal temple shows us plainly that the old Dard kingdom may well have extended up to Wan-la. But already in very early times—say before 1000 A.D.—this kingdom must have split up into various little independent states.

The statement that Khra-khra-Khān was in possession of three castles is followed by the names of two castles only, viz. Pa-sar and Sod, both situated at Yul-ba-ltag, near Dkar-dkyil. Possibly the Kra-kra castle has to be added.

The statement that not only the chiefs of Cig-tan, but also those of Pas-kyum, were related to the Sod chiefs, is in agreement with local popular tradition. Besides, the following fact speaks in favour of it. When the line of Pas-kyum chiefs became extinct, their property at Pas-kyum was seized by the family of Cig-tan chiefs, in particular by Ga-bzaṅ-phar of Cig-tan. At present the Pas-kyum estate is in possession of Ga-bzaṅ-phar's son, Muhibb-'Alī-Khān, who is married to Shahar-Begam, daughter of Rehan-'Alī-Khān of Hunza. Ga-bzaṅ-phar's younger brother, Jaffar-Khān, still resides at Cig-tan. In the above text the family name of the Cig-tan-Sod chiefs is given as Sul-tan-Khān; according to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* it is Pu-rig-Sul-tan.

A *Kārdār* is a kind of district magistrate who has to collect the taxes. *Bandobast* (or *bandobast-ṣāḥib*) is a title given by the natives to the officer who undertook the first great settlement survey of the country.

VI. The Genealogy of the Sra-sra-mun Chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu Castle, according to the Tale of Śah-bān of Ki-no

The following account of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu and surrounding districts was dictated to Phun-tshogs, my munshi, by a certain Śah-bān, of Dras, when I was on my tour through Pu-rig in 1914. Śah-bān claims to be a descendant of the old line of Dard chiefs who once resided at the castle of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu. He is now an old man, and claims to be 98 years of age. When he began to tell his tale, there were several other Dards present in the bungalow. But, when Śah-bān had finished the recital of his pedigree, I noticed that all these Dards smiled and suddenly left the room. Next morning I met two of them and asked what was the reason for that extraordinary behaviour, whereupon they replied that they had felt disgusted with the old man's lies. Then they told me that Śah-bān had represented himself in his pedigree as a direct descendant of Sra-sra-mun in the male line, whereas he was only a descendant from him in the female line. They then gave me some additional information about Si-lim's daughter, Rāj-Si-kim, and her marriage to Śah-bān's father, Sa-lam. This additional note is marked by brackets in the Tibetan text. They also added that the proper name of the Balti king who once ruled over the district was Sher-'Alī-Khān. This addition was also put in brackets.

As regards the size of the little principality, it may have comprised the valley of the Dras River, above its confluence with the Shingo-Shigar River, including in its best days the Dras Valley. The language of the whole district is Dard.

TIBETAN TEXT

ཤེམ་ཤ་མཁར་བུའི་སྐད་ཆུན་ཞི་ངའམ་དེ་

ཀི་ནོ་པ་ཤཀ་ཚན་ཞི་བཤད་པ་བཞིན་དུ།

མཁར་ བུའི་ངོ་སྐ་སྐ་ཆུན་ཟེར་མཁན་དེ་རྒྱུན་ཟེ་ན་གང་ནས་འོངས ། དེའི་ཀྱིང་ན་ཤེར་ཚ་ལི ། ཤེར་ཚ་ལི་ལ་ཀ་ཡིངས ། དེའི་ཀྱིང་ན་ཤི་ལིམ ། དེའི་ཀྱིང་ན་ཁ་ཀྱིར ། ཁ་ཀྱིར་ནས་ཤོ་ཀྱིངས་ཀྱི་ས ། དེའི་ཀྱིང་ནས་ཤི་ལིམ ། དེའི་ཀྱིང་ནས་[རབས་བཅུ་དེ ། ཟུ་མོ་བྱང་ནི་ཀིམ་ཟེར་མཁན་འཁོ་ལུས]]

དེ་ནས་ཚ་ཡོ་རྒྱ་ཤེན་ཀྱི་ཟུ་ས་ལམ་དེ་[བྱང་ནི་ཀིམ་ཀྱི་མཁ་ཁ་ལ་སོང]] ས་ལམ་ནས་ཤཀ་བློན ། དེ་ནས་ཚབ་བྱལ་ལྷ ། དེ་ནས་ཁོ་ལམ]]

ཡང་འཁོ་མ་ལ་ཀྱུ་ནས་ཁི་ཀྱལ་ཡོས་ཀ་ཅུལ་ཀྱི་ཤ་ཉད་ཚྭེས་བཅོས།དེ་ཅུ་ཀྱུ་ནས་བས་བས་ཀྱི་ཐྱིར་ཁོ་རེ་ལ་ཟུ་མོ་བབྱུན་རེ་ཁྱར་ཏེ ། ཁོ་གཅིག་ལ་ལྷིར་ཡང་ན་ཚུ་སྲལ་སྐྱན་ཀྱི་ཐྲ་མ་ཁེགས་ཁི་ཟུ་མོའི་རེས་ལ་བསྒེལ་ནས ། ཟུ་མོ་རེ་ཁའི་ཆུང་ཏུ་སོང་ནས ।

མང་ཙམ་དུས ། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཡིས་ཐུ་མོ་ལ་འདྲིས ། ཁྱོད་ཅི་ལ་དྲ་རྒྱག ། ཟེར་པ་སང ། ཐུ་མོས ། ང་རྒྱ་ནག་ཡས་བས་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ལ་དྲ་རྒྱག་ཟེར་ས ། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཡིས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབང་གི་ཁ་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟད་ཅ་བའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཁར་བསྒྲུབ་བཅུག་སྟེ ། ཁོས་མོ་མི་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྱེས་ནས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག ॥

རྒྱ་ནག་གི་དུས་ལ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་གོང་སྐས་ཇེར་བཙིགས་སོ ། དེ་ནས་དམག་ནང་ནས་ཚག་ཅེར་མཁན་འཁག་འདོང་ས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་ཏའེ་ཡུང་ཅེར་མཁན་འཁག་འདོང་ནས་ནས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཅོས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་ཡང་ཞང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་སུལ་ཏན་ཅེར་མཁན་འཁག་འདོང་ས ། ཡང་སྐར་དོ་བ་[ཙ་ལི་ཤེར་ཁྲན་]ཞེག་དམག་དཔོན་ཅེར་མཁན་འཁག་འདོང་ནས་ནས ། གོ་ཤེན་ཅེར་མཁན་ཀྱི་མཁར་འཁག་བཙིགས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤར་ལྷ་ཆེན་འདོང་ཏེ ། མཁར་དཔོན་སྐྱེས་ཏེ་རབ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲི་ལྷ་མོ་ཅན་མཁར་བཙིགས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་བ་སྒྲོམ་མ་ཤེ་མ་བཞ་ཏེ་ཅེར་མཁན་གོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐུ་བཞག་ལ་ཁེར་ས ། དེའི་དུས་ལ་བ་སྒྲོམ་བས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ མཁར་ དང་བུ་ རྩ་མཁར་གཏོས་བཙིགས ། བ་སྒྲོམ་བས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་དྭགས་བ་ལ་བས་ཁེར་དང་ཕེན་བ ། བ་སྒྲོམ་ཇོའི་མེང་ལ་ད་ཡིམ་ཀྲན་ཅེར་ས ། ཅེམ་བཞས་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་འོག་དབང་བཏང་མཁན་གོ་ལ་ཇོ་མལ་ཅེར་ས ॥

ཤེམ་ཤ་མཁར་བྱའི་མཁར་སྟེང་དམག་གི་དྲས་ལ་སྟེང་བས་བཤིག་གོ ॥

TRANSLATION

The Genealogy of the Sra-sra-mun Chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu Castle, according to the Tale of Śah-bān of Ki-no

The chief of Mkhar-bu called Sra-sra-mun came from Hunze-Nagar. After him [came] Ser-'A-li. On Ser-'A-li [followed] Ta-yiṅs. After him [came] Si-lim. After him [came] Pha-kyir (Faqīr). After Pha-kyir, Bo-triṅs was born. After him [came] Si-lim. After him [the line came to an end, and a daughter only, called Rāj-Si-kim, remained].

Then Sa-lam, the son of the forefather Hu-sen, [became Rāj-Si-kim's consort]. After Sa-lam [followed] Śah-bān, then 'Ab-dul-lā, then Go-lam.

In the beginning the King of China ruled as far as the town of Kha-cul (Kashmir). Instead of taxes the Chinese used to carry off seven girls every year. In one year it was the turn of a Pīr or Mu-sul-mān priest's daughter [to go to China]. This girl went before her father and cried bitterly. Therefore the father asked her why she cried so much; and the girl said 'I cry because the Chinese will carry me off for taxes'. Then the father (through the powers of religion) caused the Chinese king to arrive [in Kashmir] at the time of dinner. [There] he wrote a letter to the effect that the girl was not to be carried off, and the king returned to his own country.

In the time of the Chinese the Bo-dro-masjid of Kha-cul was erected. Then, through a war, [a king] called Tsag arose. Then another one, called Taḥi-mur, followed. After him a king rose again out of our own midst, called Khri-Sul-tan. Then the duke of the Skar-rdo-rock called ['A-li-Śer-Khān] arrived, and built a castle called Go-śen. After him came the king of La-dvags, called Śar-lha-chen, and by [his] strong castle-

ward, called Rab-rgyas, the Lha-mo-can castle was erected. After that a lady of Pa-skyum, called Bil-ti, was married to the king [of La-dvags]. At that time the Pa-skyum [chief] erected the two castles of Rgyal-mo-mkhar and Byu-ru-mkhar. The [chief of] Pa-skyum used to pay taxes to the great Ladakhi king. The chief of Pa-skyum was called Ra-yim-Khān. The [official] who ruled over Hem-babs (Dras) under [the king of] La-dvags, was called Jo-mal.

The castle of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu was destroyed by the Siṅ-pa in the Siṅ-pa (Dogra) war.

NOTES

The first part of the text contains a short genealogy of the old Dard chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu. It is short, because the names of so many members have been forgotten; and I believe that several of its members are now in the wrong place. Still, with regard to a district where every other kind of information fails, it is of some value, as containing the names of at least some of its ancient chiefs. It contains all that Śah-bān could remember of his mother's tales. As regards the name of the first ancestor, the first syllable contains the title *sra*, this being the Dard word for Tibetan *jo*, 'chief,' 'prince.' The following two syllables, viz. *sra*, *mun*, are no longer understood; but I believe that they once more contain the title of *sra*, followed by the word *mun*[*i*], Buddhist monk. It is not impossible that here, as well as in Baltistan and in Cig-tan, a 'religious beggar' was placed at the head of the line. This idea of a mendicant ancestor is once more expressed by the occurrence of the word *Pha-kyir* (Faqīr) among the following members of the pedigree.

The second part of the tale contains a half-legendary account of the abolition of the custom of sending girls to China instead of taxes. There may be some historical foundation in this story; for it is well known that girls from Kashmir, and probably also from Dardistan, were much in demand for Oriental harems in former days. That Kashmir was actually under China in Tang times has been fully proved by Sir A. Stein in his *Ancient Khotan* (i, p. 13). But, instead of a Muhammadan priest, the original form of the tale may have meant a Buddhist or Hindu priest. With regard to the assertion that the Bo-dro-masjid (Tibetan mosque) was erected in those early Chinese days, I have come to the following conclusion:—There are several Bo-dro-masjids in Srinagar, and one of them is evidently the Jama' masjid. Referring to these, Pandit Anant Kaul says in his *Jammu and Kashmir State*, on p. 57, 'The site of the mosque is considered sacred by the Buddhists also, and even now men from Ladakh visit the Jama masjid and call it by its old name, Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.' Tsublak Kang is evidently intended for Tsug-lag-khaṅ, the ordinary Tibetan word for old Buddhist temples. The word Tsitsung is unintelligible to me. Anant Kaul further says, 'The Jama masjid was built originally by Sikander in 1404 with the materials of a large stone temple constructed by King Tārāpīḍa (693–7 A.D.).... There are remains of several stone temples round this mosque, whose builders are not known.' This note, evidently based on Sir Aurel Stein's researches in Kashmir, plainly states that the origin of the stone temple, which forms the groundwork of the famous mosque, actually goes back to the times of the Chinese Tang dynasty. Tārāpīḍa's temple, or at least some of the surrounding stone temples, may have been Buddhist, not Hindu, originally. Hence the veneration paid to the mosque by Tibetan Buddhists.

The third part of the above account contains a succession of dynasties or empires which ruled over the Pu-rig district, according to the tales received by Śah-bān from his mother. The times of Chinese rule were followed by those of a certain Tsag, it is said. It is possible that the word *Tsag* is identical with the word *Chak*, the name of a dynasty of Kashmir kings who ruled in the second half of the sixteenth century. In that case the name would appear to be in the wrong place in the above account: it would have to be placed at least after Tīmūr. The occurrence of the name Taḥi-mur (= Tīmūr) in this connexion is of particular interest. The above account is, so far, the only West Tibetan document that makes mention of one of Chingis Khān's successors as overlord over the country. But we know for certain, from Central Tibetan accounts, that Kublai Khān ruled over Ladakh, and that he even carried out a census of that country (see S. Ch. Das, *JASB.* 1904, Extra Number, p. 99). In 1399 A.D. Tīmūr passed through Jammu on his way to Samarkand. From Jammu he went on a short expedition through the mountains of Kashmir. The Khri-Sultāns are the famous chiefs of Dkar-rtse in the

Suru valley. Their power certainly extended up to the Zoji-la. Sher-'Alī-Khān of Baltistan is the famous Balti king who in about 1550–80 A.D. united all Baltistan and successfully overran Ladakh. The old Balti castle of Go-śen has disappeared. Below its site we now find the village of Go-śen (map: Goshun), less than a mile north-west of Dras. The old Ladakhi castle of Lha-mo-can has also disappeared; but a village of that name is found a little more than a mile south-east of Dras (map: Lamachun). The name given here as that of the Ladakhi king is only a title. It means 'Great Divinity (*mahādeva*) of the East'. *Lha-chen* (great divinity, *mahādeva*) was the dynastic name of the first West Tibetan dynasty; but it was also much used by the second dynasty. From the Ladakhi chronicles it becomes evident that the Ladakhi kings repeatedly entered into matrimonial relations with the chiefs of Pas-kyum, but the name Bil-ti cannot be found there. The two castles built by the Pas-kyum chiefs are no longer in existence. They were erected on two rocks facing one another on opposite banks of the Dras river, about one mile east of Dras. As regards the family of Ladakhi officials called *Jo-mal* (vice-chiefs), their descendants are still found in the Dras valley. According to Moorcroft (ii, p. 42), half of the taxes of the Dras district had, in 1820, to be sent to Kashmir. Extensive ruins of the old castle of Mkhar-bu may still be inspected on the top of a rock above the trade road, say half a mile below the bungalow of Mkhar-bu.

VII. Ahmad-Shāh's Chronicles of Baltistan

According to G. T. Vigne

G. T. Vigne visited Baltistan in 1835 A.D., at a time when this state was still practically independent. He gained the confidence of the Dmag-dpon (duke or chief) of the state, and received much valuable information from him. People told him that the chief was in possession of a rare book or MS. (possibly the chronicles). He could, however, not get hold of it, although he repeatedly asked Ahmad-Shāh to let him see it. Ahmad-Shāh assured him that he had always understood that it was destroyed in the great fire during the time of chief Zufur-Khan. Then Vigne says (ii, p. 253): 'He one day produced a book, which he had bought of a travelling pedler, and asked me what it was. It was a testament, highly ornamented with paintings, and the text was, I have no doubt, Armenian, though I do not understand anything of the language.' It must have been the pictures which induced Vigne to believe that the book was a testament. But this short passage suffices to show that in 1835 the chronicles of Baltistan were probably no longer existent at Skar-rdo. The greater is the value of Ahmad-Shāh's account of Balti history, as communicated to Vigne. Ahmad-Shāh may have had to learn the chronicles by heart, just as was the case in the Cig-tan family (see the Chronicles of Cig-tan). In spite of this loss it is very probable that certain historical books are still existent in Baltistan. Not only may several old books have been preserved in the castles of minor chiefs, but also the lost chronicles of Skar-rdo may have been re-written at a more recent time. As I am told, the Baltis make use of a particular kind of script, which runs from right to left. As Professors A. Fischer and Hultzsch tell me, it is not based on any form of Arabic character, but rather resembles the Indian form of script. I have, with difficulty, obtained a short specimen of this script. It is found in vol. iii of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, p. 33. But no traveller has as yet succeeded in purchasing an original volume of Balti literature.

It may be questioned whether the Balti chronicles have a right to range among the chronicles of vassal chiefs of the kings of Leh. To this let me reply that the history of Baltistan was for many years bound up with West Tibetan history. During the times of the Great Tibetan empire (before Glaṅ-dar-ma) Baltistan appears to have formed part of it. The foundation of the great monastery of Skar-chuṅ-rdo-dbyiṅ (probably Skar-rdo) is stated to have taken place in the Rgya district, Rgya then being the capital of Ladakh (*c.* 804 A.D.). The greatest Buddhist priest of Baltistan, Sbal-te-dgra-bcom, who erected the famous Skyor-luṅ monastery[1] in the vicinity of Skar-rdo and Si-dkar (Ba-sho valley) in A.D. 1168, was a regular member of the Lamaist church. It was the introduction of Muhammadanism in particular which alienated the Baltis from their Ladakhi neighbours. But even then the history of both nations remained inter-

[1] Another monastery of the same name seems to exist in Central Tibet.

woven. Now it is the Ladakhis who reign for a time in Baltistan; then, again, the Baltis overrun Ladakh. For this reason we shall do well to collect what remains of Balti chronicles.

ENGLISH TEXT

(Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak . . .*, London, 1842, vol. ii, pp. 251 ff.)

At one period, as they now relate, the royal race was nearly extinct, the last Gylfo (Rgyal-po) having left an only daughter, whose hand was sought in marriage by twelve vuzirs, or great men of the country; and ere a choice was made, a Fakir, holding a rod of gold in one hand and a purse containing the same metal in the other, was observed sitting on a large stone in the village of Shikari (Śi-dkar). He was always to be found there, and appeared to have made it at once his resting-place and his home; and he soon acquired a reputation for extraordinary sanctity,—and the more so, as no one could tell whence he came. The young Begum was given to him by the consent of all parties, and to this union the Rajahs not only of Iskardo (Skar-rdo), but of Katakchund (Mkhar-mañ; Khartaksho of the maps), Parkuta, Tolti, Rondu (Roñ-mdo), and Astor, trace the origin of their families. To this day, when the heir apparent arrives at years of discretion, he is seated on the same stone, which is called the Burdo-Nest (Bu-rdo = 'son-stone'?), . . . in great state, amidst the shouts of the assembled multitude. The reigning Gylfo (Rgyal-po) first makes him salaam, and afterwards the inhabitants of Shikari (Śi-dkar) present their homage. Then the principal commanders of the army, of which there are more than one hundred, come forward with their congratulations and their presents. Then follows the game of the Chaughán (polo) . . ., shooting at a mark with matchlocks or arrows, at full gallop, and the musicians and dancing girls display their attractions to the surrounding crowd, and the young Gylfo (Rgyal-po) proceeds thence to the Harem, where he receives the compliments of his lady relatives.

But the more authentic knowledge of their history, as detailed to me by Ahmed Shah, commences with Ali Shér Khan, who built the great stone aqueduct by which water is brought across the valley from the Satpur stream, and by which, also, a quantity of useful soil that would otherwise be washed away is banked up and preserved. He built also the fort on the rock, and raised an elevated platform, planted with chunars (Platanas), close under the Killah (*Qila*), and containing the tombs of the Gylfos (Rgyal-pos). When he and his son, and successor, Ahmed Khan, were dead, Abdul and Adam Khan, his other sons, quarrelled, and Abdul Khan, who built some of the Durwasus (*Darwāza*) or gates, already noticed, so oppressed the neighbouring Rajahs, that they sought assistance from the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, Aurangzyb, who sent an army from Kashmir. Upon which, Abdul Khan made his submission, and the brothers then went in person before the Mogul, who told them to divide the succession; but they died on their return in Kashmir.

Shamrad or Shah Murad, son of Ahmed Khan, was presented with a jaghir (*jāgīr*, 'rent-free land') in Kashmir, by the Mogul, and Ahmed Shah used to complain to me that he did not now (1835) enjoy the revenue of it. He also told me that the Killah (*Qilạ*) was in vain besieged by the troops of Aurangzyb; that they brought elephants with them (which I can scarcely believe to have been the fact), and that he had now in the castle some old guns, drums, armour, etc., and implements of war, which they had left behind them, and which, by some mistake, I neglected to see.

Shamrad or Shah Murad Khan was succeeded by Rafir-Khan, who was followed by Sultan Murad, who re-took Ladak (it having been previously taken by Ali Sher Khan, and lost by his son), and made himself master of Gilghit, Nagyr, Hunzeh (Hunza), and Chitrál. He is said to have built the bridge near the Killah (*Qilạ*) of Chitrál. The name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Ladak.

In the time of Zufur Khan, the castle of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) was destroyed by fire, and much that was valuable was burnt with it. . . . Zufur Khan took the castle of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) from the Keluncheh (probably *Bkaḥ-blon-che*, 'great minister'), a sect or family who came from Purik. He was young when the Keluncheh usurped the throne of Iskardo, and afterwards, by turning them out, acquired the name of Ghazi.

The Keluncheh were not Shiahs, as are the Little Tibetians, but were heretics from either the Suni, or the Shiah persuasion—following the doctrines of a Syud who came from Kashmir in the time of Rafir Khan, and wrote a book containing his own idea of the faith. In common with the Shiahs he does not respect the three first Caliphs, but venerates the memory of Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekr; and Hafza, daughter of Osman, who were both wives of the prophet, who, as such, he affirms, are worthy of honour also. In these, and some other respects, he differs from the Shiahs, but the Rajah and inhabitants of Khopalu (Kha-pu-lu), Shighur (Śi-dkar), and Purik adopt his doctrines.

Ali Sher Khan . . . father of Ahmed Shah, the present Gylfo (Rgyal-po), signalized himself by taking the castle of Shighur (Śi-dkar), and making prisoners of an invading army from Ladak.

He left two sons, Ahmed Shah of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) and Gholám-Shah, the Rajah of Parkuta on the Indus: who both reigned at the last-mentioned places, in consequence of the will of their father. . . . The territories of Ahmed Shah are extended from Chorbut (Chos-ḫbad) to Husára (Astor) inclusive. Chitral, the country of Shah Kator, has long been independent of Little Tibet (Baltistan), and the rajahs of Gilghit, Nagyr, and Hunzeh (Hunza) by no means owned him as their superior. But besides those already mentioned, Ahmed Shah was monarch of Khopalu (Kha-pu-lu), Shighur (Śi-dkar), Keris (Kye-ris), Katakchund (Mkhar-mań), Tolti, Parkuta, and Royal or Rondu (Roń-mdo). On his seal, as that of a Shiah prince, are inscribed the following words:—

Ali sher an dawur-dadgur Kez-o-yaft
Ahmed Shah bur adâ zufur.

Translation:—

Ali, the lion of that just God, through whom
Ahmed Shah obtained victory over his enemies.

He had five or six sons; the eldest, whose name was, I think, Shah Murad, died just before I visited Iskardo (Skar-rdo) for the first time. He was a young man of great promise, and universally regretted. He died, it appeared, of fever, and amongst other remedies employed to cure him, I remember that one was having no furniture in his room but what was of a blue or green colour. . . . His own brother, Mohamed Shah, was by no means his equal in abilities, and having been intrusted with the government of Husára (Astor), by way of trial, abused his authority in such a manner, and showed himself so incompetent as a ruler, that his father determined to disinherit him, in favour of Mohamed Ali Khan, a son by another wife, daughter of the Shighur (Śi-dkar) Rajah, whereas the mother of the deceased prince and Mohamed Shah was a daughter of the Rajah of Katakchund (Mkhar-mań), from which family it was usual for the Gylfos (Rgyal-pos) of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) to select a wife, as the mother of the heir-apparent. In consequence of this determination Mahomed Shah quarrelled with his father, and ran off, accompanied by two or three adherents, and put himself under the protection of Gulab Singh's Sikh lieutenant, at the castle in Purik (Bu-rig), near the frontier.

This happened after my first visit to Iskardo (Skar-rdo), in 1835, and from that time he became a puppet in the hands of Gulab Singh (of Jammu), who amused him, and worried Ahmed Shah, by promising to make him governor of Iskardo (Skar-rdo), if ever he took the country. Young Mohamed Ali Khan had been placed on the inauguration stone, and received the homage of his future subjects. He was about thirteen years of age, short, and very stout, with a mild and intelligent expression of countenance, and very fond of field sports. . . . Mirza Hyder is a little boy, a younger brother of Mohamed Ali Khan. Achmet Ali Khan is a natural son of Ahmed Shah, by a woman of lower extraction; he has by far the finest features, and most intellectual head, of any of the family, was the best shot, the best rider, and the best swordsman.

NOTES

The story of the Faqīr ancestor of the Balti chiefs reminds us of the Chronicles of Cig-tan (see the latter).

Regarding the great stone aqueduct of Sadpur (the barrage), which was stated to be the work of 'Alī-Sher-Khān, let me mention that it was visited by Miss Duncan in 1904. Miss Duncan's book, *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, contains several interesting photographs of these grand works (see pp. 304, 306), and a full description of the ruins. Miss Duncan was told by the natives that the barrage had been built by the last Buddhist Rāja of Baltistan. This is not impossible, considering the fact that Buddhist images have been preserved on the barrage until quite recently, as was ascertained by Miss Duncan. The following are a few notes from Miss Duncan's description (pp. 304–6) :—' The barrage crosses the river just where it leaves the lake, is about 14 feet high and 6 feet thick, and has two tiers of doors, six in each tier, each door 5 feet by 2 ft. 9 in., with deep, smoothly cut, semicircular grooves to receive the rounded edges of the dressed granite slabs, now lying in the water below, which were used to close them . . . High up on the buttress wall there is an oblong slab of slate-coloured stone, the middle part sunk, leaving a sharply cut, raised edge, which looks as if it had been a memorial tablet, but there is no trace of lettering on it.' Thus, unfortunately, the history of the origin of the barrage will probably remain obscure for ever, and we shall not be able to decide whether it is the work of 'Alī-Sher-Khān or of some earlier king. About 4½ miles from the barrage are found the ancient Buddhist sculptures and inscriptions which were noticed by Vigne (see vol. i, p. 365). Vigne calls the rock ' the Buddhu stone ', and speaks of a regular translation of the inscription in *J.A.S.B.*, which, however, I have not yet been able to trace. A translation of my own, based on Miss Duncan's and my munshi Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs' copies, has appeared in Miss Duncan's *Summer*

Ride (pp. 300–2). As regards 'Alī-Sher-Khān's conquest of Ladakh, it is attested by the Ladakhi chronicles, where the full history of the war is given (see under Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal). The mosque inscription at Leh is said to contain the name of Aurangzīb. This is very probable, for the mosque was built at Aurangzīb's special request.

As regards the quarrel for the succession under 'Alī-Sher-Khān's sons, it is apparently referred to by Bernier (1663), when he says (Ouldinburgh, 1671–2, iv, pp. 122–3):—'I may further add that some years since, there being a dissension risen between the family of the king of the Little Tibet, . . . one of the pretenders to the crown did secretly call for the assistance of the governor of Kachemire, who by order of Chah-Jehan gave him powerful succours and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, musc, and wool. This petty king could not forbear coming to see Aurang-Zebe, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named.' Thus, instead of Aurangzīb, Shāh-Jahān should have been mentioned in the chronicle in connexion with the quarrel.

As regards the conquest of Ladakh under Sultān-Murād, it is not mentioned in the Ladakhi chronicles. I conjecture that the word 'conquest' does not quite suit the case. It was probably only a more or less successful plundering expedition, similar to that of the Ladakhis mentioned under the second 'Alī-Sher-Khān.

The chief Ahmad-Shāh is described by Vigne as a man of great personal strength. He says (ii, p. 234):—'Ahmed Shah, though not standing more than 5 ft. 11 in., was one of the tallest men in the country. His personal strength is said to have been very great, and many of his feats are recorded; one, I remember, was that he had broken a gun-barrel in half with his hands. He must now be a man between 65 and 70 years of age.' Of his personal appearance and character, he says (ii, pp. 236–7):—'The Gylfo's (Rgyal-po's) eyes were not large, but dark and penetrating, his eyebrows large and black, his nose and mouth well formed, his beard a little silvered, and his expression highly indicative of shrewdness and intelligence . . . I never detected him in a falsehood, and from the first day of my arrival, until that of my departure, his behaviour was always kind and respectful.'

Ahmad-Shāh's quarrel with his son Muhammad-Shāh is also mentioned by Cunningham, who says that it led to the conquest of Baltistan by Zorawar-Singh in 1841 A.D. The *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (*supra*, p. 131) says that the Dogra army was led through the gorges of Baltistan by the chief of Mkhar-maṅ. This was a chief of the family of Muhammad-Shāh's mother. He probably took the side of Muhammad-Shāh because his family had been offended by Muhammad-Shāh's deposition.

Vigne's book contains (ii, p. 221) interesting portraits of Ahmad-Shāh of Baltistan in 1835 and of his son, Ahmad-'Alī-Khān.

The following is an attempt of my own to furnish the Balti chiefs with approximate dates:—

'Alī-Sher-Khān . .	1570–1600 A.D.	Contemporary of Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh.
Ahmad-Khān, and his brothers, Abdul and Adam-Khān . .	*c.* 1600–1630 A.D.	Contemporaries of Shāh-Jahān 1628–1658 A.D.
Shāh-Murād . . .	*c.* 1630–1670 A.D.	Contemporary of Aurangzīb 1658–1707 A.D.
Rafir-Khān . . .	*c.* 1670–1700 A.D.	
Sultān-Murād . .	*c.* 1700–1730 A.D.	
Zufur-Khān . . .	*c.* 1730–1760 A.D.	Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
'Alī-Sher-Khān . .	*c.* 1760–1790 A.D.	,, ,, 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.
Ahmad-Khān . .	*c.* 1790–1841 A.D.	Contemporary of Vigne, Zorawar, etc., 1835 A.D., born *c.* 1770 A.D.
Muhammad-Shāh . .	*c.* 1841–1860 (?) A.D.	Born in *c.* 1820 A.D.

It is interesting that Muhammad-'Alī-Khān was placed on the inauguration stone when he was 13 years of age. Many Tibetan kings have begun to reign at 13 years of age.

VIII. The Genealogies of the Balti Chiefs

Cunningham visited Ladakh and the neighbouring countries in 1846 and 1847, a short time after Ladakh and Baltistan had lost their independence. On his journey he collected the various pedigrees of the dethroned Balti chiefs. He does not tell us from what source they were drawn, but it is very probable that these lists of names were read to him from the historical books of the Baltis, which are written in the native alphabet of Baltistan. Possibly the historical books did not contain anything but lists of names. In my article 'Ten ancient historical songs from Western Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57 sqq.), I remarked that all the lines of Balti chiefs were in all probability descended from one common ancestor. I stated that the present pedigrees of the Balti chiefs all date from Muhammadan times, and contain only partly reliable matter. With a view to a trustworthy point of chronology a note in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* may prove useful. It is there stated that 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān, who was apparently master of all Baltistan, invaded Ladakh. This 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān is generally called only by one or two of his names, and can be traced in all the Balti pedigrees, which were collected by Cunningham. On p. 30, where the dukes (*dmag-dpon*) of Kha-pu-lu are given, we find as No. 58 a Sultan-Mir-Khan. On p. 31, among the dukes of Kye-ris, as No. 3, there occurs a Raja Ali-Mir-Sher. On p. 32, among the dukes of Parkuda, we find an Ali-Sher-Khan as No. 4. On p. 33, among the dukes of Shigar (Śi-dkar), as No. 15, an Ali-Mir is found. On p. 35, among the dukes of Sbal-ti-Skar-rdo, as No. 1, the name Ali-Sher may be read. On p. 37, among the dukes of Roṅ-mdo, the name Ali-Sher occurs as No. 1. Thus we see that the same duke is found in the genealogies eight, nine, or ten generations before the year 1830 A.D. Only in the case of Shigar (Śi-dkar) are there thirteen names before 1830. Here a younger brother may have occasionally followed an elder brother. My belief is that all the present lines of Balti chiefs are descended from 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān, who was master of the country from *c.* 1570–1600 A.D., and that there is no certainty about the names preceding him. Now I see that Cunningham was told practically the same thing by the natives themselves. He says on p. 28, 'The chiefs of Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu) and Keris, who both trace their families up from Bewán-cho, declare that all the chiefs of these countries are descended from Bikam, the tenth generation from Bewán-cho.' Now it does not make much difference whether we take Bikam or 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān as the founder of the lines of Balti chiefs; for Bikam is 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's great-grandfather, according to the Kha-pu-lu pedigree.

The following is Cunningham's list (*Ladák*, p. 29) of Gyalpos (kings) of Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu):—

(*a*) THE RAJAS OF KHA-PU-LU (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Sultan Sikandar.
2. Sultan Ibrahim.
3. Sultan Ishāk.
4. Abdul Ralimad.
5. Mir Barāhir.
6. Arman Samāhir.
7. Beshrab Nam.
8. Tinlu Tung.
9. Sultan Mahmud.
10. Mehndi Ghazāli.
11. Mehndi Ibrahim.
12. Mehndi Malik Haider Shah.
13. Sultan Malik Ghazāli.
14. Sultan Malik Shah.
15. Sultan Juned Shah.
16. Sultan Haider Shah.
17. Sultan Haider Karār.
18. Sultan Shah Ibrahim.
19. Sultan Johar Fani.
20. Sultan Najm Malik.
21. Sultan Malik Rustam.
22. Sultan Mehndi Mir.
23. Sultan Malik Mir.
24. Sultan Malik Jahar.
25. Sāad Ulla Khan.
26. Sāad Karun Beg.
27. Sāad Jalil Khan.
28. Sāad Rustam Beg.
29. Sāad Atta Ulla Khan.
30. Sāad Khalil Khan.
31. Sāad Yakub Khan.
32. Sāad Mir Ghazi.
33. Sāad Malik Purnur.
34. Sāad Babūr Malik.
35. Sāad Mokhim Khan.
36. Sāad Shah Azim Beg.
37. Sāad Gohar Beg.
38. Sāad Malik Shah Shujā.
39. Sultan Yagu.
40. Sultan Yagu Latif Beg.[1]
41. Sultan Yagu Sher Ghazi.
42. Sultan Jagu Ahmed Ghazi.
43. Sultan Nur Ghazi.
44. Sultan Alemgir Ghazi.
45. Sultan Biwān-Cho.
46. Sultan Hil Ghazi.
47. Sultan Sher Ghazi.
48. Sultan Beg Mantar.
49. Sultan Torab Khan.
50. Sultan Salmundē.
51. Sultan Brol Dē.
52. Sultan Malik Baz.
53. Sultan Arzona.
54. Sultan Tikam.
55. Sultan Bikam.
56. Sultan Kurkor.
57. Sultan Bairam.
58. Sultan Mir Khan, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
59. Sultan Ibrahim, *c.* 1600–1630.
60. Sultan Ghazi Mir Cho, *c.* 1630–1660.
61. Sultan Husen Khan, *c.* 1660–1690.
62. Sultan Rahim Khan, *c.* 1690–1720.
63. Sultan Hatim Khan, *c.* 1720–1750. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
64. Sultan Daolut Khan, *c.* 1750–1780. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
65. Sultan Mahmud Ali Khan, *c.* 1780–1810.
66. Sultan Yahia Khan, *c.* 1810–1840. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.
67. Sultan Daolut Ali Khan reigning in 1846. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.
68. Has a son, Md. Ali Khan. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.

NOTES

Kha-pu-lu stretches 25 miles down the Shayok (Sá-gyog) river, beyond Daho, the whole length of the chiefdom being 67 miles. As the mean breadth is about 30 miles, the area will be 2,010 square miles. The mean height of the villages is about 9,000 feet. (Cunningham, p. 28.)

As stated by Cunningham (p. 28), the above genealogical tree opens with Sultan-Sikandar, or Alexander the Great, whose successors were Abraham and Isaac. Cunningham believed that after Sultan-Yagu, the thirty-ninth name, the list was tolerably correct, because the name Yagu has descended to the present day as a title in the family, the present chief (in 1846) being styled Sultan-Yagu-Daolut-Ali-Khan. Of course, the Kha-pu-lu chiefs may have had an ancestor called Yagu; but Cunningham should not have made 1410 A.D. his probable date. He places him in the beginning of the fifteenth century, because he wants him to be a contemporary of the Kashmir king, Sikander-Butshikan, the fanatic Musalman. But, in order to place him there, he finds it necessary to furnish each one of the Kha-pu-lu chiefs with an average reign of only fifteen years. This is altogether too short. Experience has shown me that about thirty years is the average length of each reign in Tibet. It will be safest,

[1] Cunningham's dates begin here: they differ from those given below.

therefore, to begin our chronology of Kha-pu-lu with Sultān-Mīr-Khān (in full probably 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān), and to place his reign in the second half of the sixteenth century. Of some interest is the occurrence of the Tibetan title *Cho* (*Jo*), ' prince,' ' chief,' in the names of two of the chiefs.

NOTES TAKEN FROM MISS DUNCAN'S *SUMMER RIDE* (pp. 201–65)

Miss Duncan spent several weeks of the summer of 1904 at Kha-pu-lu. The legitimate chief of the place in 1904 was Rājā Nāsir-'Alī-Khān, son of the late Rājā Hātim-Khān. As Nāsir-'Alī-Khān was a minor, his uncle Rājā Muhammad-Sher-'Alī-Khān was in charge of the government. The people of Kha-pu-lu are adherents of the Shiah sect of Musalmans, and the Kha-pu-lu mosques are built in Kashmirian style. A few people belong to the Nūr Bakhsh sect (p. 243). Compare Miss Duncan's picture (p. 200) of the famous mosque of Chag-Chang, 1½ miles from the capital. This mosque is believed to be 400 years old, and the beautifully carved walnut panels were stated to have been inserted 200 years ago. The mosque is said to have been built on the site of a Buddhist temple, and a brass plate over the door to have covered a document stating the age of the building. There was also an inscription on a beam in the veranda, which the maulvī said referred to its history. As Miss Duncan rightly remarks (pp. 239, 240), it would be interesting to have a translation of it; for it might throw some light on the question as to when Muhammadanism was introduced into the country. The ancient castle of Kha-pu-lu, high up above the present village, was also visited by Miss Duncan (p. 220). It was a complete ruin. Another observation of interest is that at the great Tamasha telescopic trumpets, like those of the Lamaist mystery plays, were used at Kha-pu-lu.

With regard to the question as to whether the name of Kha-pu-lu is of Dard or Tibetan origin, let me note that in the Kesar-saga (S.N., i) a sacrificial goat of the name of Ka-bu-lu is mentioned. Thus the name may be of Tibetan origin.

The following notes on the relationship of Kha-pu-lu to Ladakh are found on pp. 30 and 31 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 30. རྒྱལ་མོ་ཟི་ཟི་ཡིས །ཁ་ཆུས་ཨོ་ན་ཐོག་མར་གཉེན་སྦྱེས་སྐབས །བདག་གི་མེས་ཆ་དང་ཁད་དང་ །འང་ཡོ་རྟག་ལང་ཁན་ཀྱི[ས]་ཟི་ཟི་པེག་ལ་བཏང་ནས །སྲས་བྱུང་ན །སྟེང་མཁར་གནང་བའི་ཚད་ཟོ་བཟང་ན་ཡིན་ཡང་ །ཟི་ཟིའི་ཁ་དབང་ལ་མ་བཀག་པས །དཔལ་ངེད་ལ་མེད་པ །དཔ་ཟི་ཟི་ཁ་དབང་ཡིན་གསུང་ཚོ །དེ་ཡང་ངེད་ལ་འཇག་དགོས་རེད །．．．

p. 31. ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མངའ་འོག་ཁ་ཆུ་ཨོ་འདུ་ཞུལ་སྐྱེ་བར་བརྩེད་པའི་སྐོ་ཙམ་ལས །ངོ་ཁག་དེ་ནི་དམག་ལྟ་སྟོང་གི་བདག་པོ་རེ[ས]་སྐར་ཏོ་རེས་ལ་དྭགས་འདུད་པ་གཉེན་འཕེལ་གང་ཟབ་ལ་ལྟོས་པ་ཞིག་ལས་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་གཏོགས་ཙམ་ལས །སྐྱེ་རེག་ངོ་ཁག་བཞེན་དེས་པར་འདུ་བར་ཡང་མིན །．．．

TRANSLATION

p. 30. Queen Zi-zi said: ' On the occasion when a friendly relationship was established at Kha-hphu-loo, and when my forefather Ha-da-khan (Haidar-Khān ?) and my uncle Rdab-lad-khan (Daulat-Khān ?) gave Zi-zi to wife [to the Ladakhi king], an agreement was made [as follows]: " If a boy should be born, Steṅ-mkhar will be given [to him]." As it was not put on Zi-zi's *kha-dbaṅ* (personal authority ?), it does not now belong to us. Now that it has been said that Zi-zi is *kha-dbaṅ* (become of age ? authoritative ?), it must be placed at our [disposal].'

p. 31. To speak pleasantly about the fact that Kha-hphu-lo was brought under

La-dvags, the chief of that principality, which owns 5,000 soldiers, had in turns to bow before Skar-rdo and before La-dvags, and out of regard to his near kinship (?) he was not to such a degree under the Ladakhis, as are the Pu-rig chiefs.

NOTES

Queen Zi-zi was one of the wives of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. She is probably identical with 'A-yum-khri-rgyal-om buried in the Muhammadan burial-ground at Hun-dar, Nub-ra. Steṅ-mkhar is not known to me; but, as the name means Upper Castle, it may refer to the Leh Castle, the residence of the kings. It is quite probable that Queen Zi-zi had received a promise that her son would be heir to the throne of Ladakh.

(*b*) THE RAJAS OF KERIS (KYE-RIS) (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Biwan-cho.[1]
2. Lëo,
3. Raja Ali Mir Sher, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
4. Ahmed Mir.
5. Amir.
6. Ali Khan, reigning in A.D. 1685.
7. Mir-Beg.
8. Mirza-Beg.
9. Zulfikar Khan.
10. Kuram Ali Khan [reigning in 1846 A.D.].

Cunningham remarks (p. 31) that the district of Keris (Kye-ris) is situated along the lower course of the Shayok, just above its junction with the Indus. It is about 16 miles in length, and 10 miles in mean breadth. Its area is not more than 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 8,000 feet. The present chief, Kuram-'Alī-Khān, gives the above genealogy of his family.

Regarding Cunningham's date (p .31) of 'Alī-Khān (1685) I must say that there exists little foundation for it. He seems to have based it on his date for the battle of Bab-sgo. But at the same time he seems to have forgotten that according to his own statement on p. 326 a certain 'Alī-Khān had nothing to do with the battle of Bab-sgo. He mentions him as a chief of Baltistan during the time of Bde-ldan's conquest of Baltistan.

A rājā of Kye-ris (Kiris) is also mentioned by Miss Duncan (p. 276) and other modern travellers; but personal names are not given. Kye-ris is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, 1905, pp. 93 sqq.).

(*c*) THE DMAG-DPONS OF PARKUDA (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Bokha.[1]
2. Sher.
3. Ghazi.
4. Ali Sher Khan, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
5. Ahmed Khan, *c.* 1600–1630.
6. Sher Shah, *c.* 1630–1660.
7. Azizcho, *c.* 1660–1690.
8. Azim Khan, *c.* 1690–1720.
9. Sahadat Khan, *c.* 1720–1750.
10. Abdul Rahim, *c.* 1750–1780.
11. Mahomed Ali, *c.* 1780–1810.
12. Ali Sher Khan, *c.* 1810–1840.
    Son, Jafar Ali Khan.

NOTES

Cunningham remarks (p. 31) that the present chiefdom of Parguta (Parkuda) extends from Sarmik (probably Gser-mig), 10 miles above the confluence of the Shayok and Indus, to Goltari, near the junction of the Dras river, thus including both Khartaksha (Mkhar-maṅ) and Tolti (Rtal-ti ?). Its length is about 43 miles, its mean breadth 32 miles, and its area 1,548 square miles. The mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,800 feet.

As correctly stated by Cunningham, 'Alī-Sher-Khān conquered Ladakh and bequeathed his possessions to his son, Ahmad-Khān. But we must add that he did not do this as Duke of Parkuda, but as master of all Baltistan. The Rgyal-pos of Sbal-ti always selected their wives from the family of the dukes of Parkuda, as the most exalted of their neighbours.

Although a number of modern travellers have passed through Parkuda, none of them mention the names of recent chiefs. It is interesting that the old title of *Dmag-dpon*, 'leader of the army' (duke, Herzog), has been preserved in this family. The title *cho* (*Jo*, 'prince' or 'chief') is also found after the name of one of the dukes.

[1] Cunningham assigns dates, not given here, to all these rulers.

Parkuda is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies; the same must be said of Khartaksha (Manthrokhar of the Dards) (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', song No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 93 sqq.). It was the chief of Parkuda (or Mkhar-maṅ) who acted as way-leader to Zorawar on his expedition against Skar-rdo. It was probably also a chief of the same line (Kālamānya = Mkhar-maṅ) who according to Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (vv. 157–8) of Kashmir killed Riñchana-Bhoṭṭa's father (*c.* 1320 A.D.).

(*d*) THE CHIEFS OF SHIGAR (ŚI-DKAR) (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. 'Āmāchah.[1]
2. Chāh-tham.
3. Chama-tham.
4. Yaksir Gao-tham.
5. Khomulgo-tham.
6. Gobūlgo-tham.
7. Khān.
8. Makhān.
9. Ram.
10. Rahmūm.
11. Daolat Shah.
12. Haripal Marchak.
13. Ambarot.
14. Ghazi Mir.
15. Ali Mir (1570–1600).
16. Ama Chan Dē.
17. Ghir-ze.
18. Haidar Khan.
19. Hasan Khan.
20. Imām Kuli Khan.
21. Kuli Khan.
22. Azem Khan.
23. Ali Khan.
24. Husen Khan.
25. Mohammed Khan.
26. Koli Khan.
27. Sulimān Khan, *c.* 1830.

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (p. 32)

The little chiefdom of Shigar is confined entirely to the valley of the Shigar river. Its length, from south-east to north-west, is 72 miles, and its breadth 36 miles. Its area is 2,592 square miles, and the probable mean height of its villages above the sea is not less than 8,000 feet.

Shigar possesses a chief of its own, but he has generally been subject to the chiefs of Balti. The above genealogy was obtained from Sulimān-Khan, the present (1846) chief of Shigar. It is curious because the title *tham* or 'king', borne by the earlier princes, proves that the family must be connected with the Dards of Hunza-Nagar, whose chiefs bear the same title at present.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

The occurrence of the Dard title *tham*, 'king,' in the above genealogy is, of course, of great interest, but it does not necessarily prove a relationship of the Śi-dkar chiefs to the Hunza-Nagar chiefs. It simply points to the Dard origin of all the Balti chiefs. The title *tham* is also found once in the genealogy of the Cig-tan chiefs. Śi-dkar is also claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, 1905, pp. 93 sqq.).

NOTES FROM MISS DUNCAN'S *SUMMER RIDE* (p. 291)

Although Miss Duncan does not give the names of any members of the chief's family, she mentions the famous polo-place of Śi-dkar (picture in Vigne's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 289), three butts for archery, like those found in most Balti villages, and the large and very handsome mosque of the place. Regarding the mosque she says:—'A broad flight of steps leads to a spacious veranda, in which I lingered long, gazing with delight at the rich carving on door-posts and window-frames, the designs in most cases being the same as those at Khapallu, but much more finely executed. The moulvie . . . said that a round brass plate over the lintel of the door covers a document giving the age of the building, which he stated to be a thousand years (!).'

Vigne says (ii, p. 292) that about 6 miles from the rājā's castle at Śi-dkar there is a defile on the left, from which steatite is procured in great abundance. This steatite is turned into cups and plates by the Baltis. Vigne also states that Śi-dkar was conquered by Rājā 'Alī-Sher-Khān (father of Ahmad-Khān) of Skar-rdo.

[1] Cunningham assigns dates to all these rulers.

The following notes on the conquest of Śi-dkar are found on p. 46 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 46. སྨྲས་ནེ་རྒྱལ་པོས། དེད་ནས་དེ་དོན་ལ་བྱ་བར་འགལ་བ་མ་ཐུབ་ཀྱང་། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་དེ་རྗེས་སྦལ་ཏིཧི་ཡུལ་བྱ་མི་རིམ་ཅན་རྒལ་བ་དང་། དཀར་རྡོ་ཁོངས་ནས་གྲུང་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་དམག་ཚོགས་བཅས་གནང་ནས། ཤི་དཀར་ཕྱི་མཁར་གཏ། སྤྱན་ཀྱི་ནང་ཁོངས་ཅིག་བྱུང་ནས། སྤ་རིག་འཛིམས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། · · ·

TRANSLATION

p. 46. The king of Mul-be (Pu-rig) says: 'Although we (the Pu-rig people) did not transgress (?) in that respect (on that purpose ?), many strong and experienced men [went] after that from La-dvags to Sbal-tiḥi-yul; and, as the chief of Skar-rdo sent an auxiliary force, filling the earth [and like] the ocean, the castle of Śi-dkar was reduced, and Bhan-ti and Naṅ-khoṅs were united. The aim [of all this] was the conquest of Purig. . . .'

NOTES

This conquest of Śi-dkar by the united forces of Skar-rdo and La-dvags must have taken place between the years 1730 and 1750 A.D. The purpose of this war seemed to be the conquest of Pu-rig, as surmised by Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal of Pu-rig. This is probably not true. Bhan-ti is not known to me. It may be a name of Śi-dkar. Naṅ-khoṅs is the same as Naṅ-goṅ (Baltistan).

(*e*) THE RGYAL-POS OF BALTI (SBAL-TI)[1]

1. Ali Sher, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
2. Ahmed, *c.* 1600–1630 A.D.
3. Shah Murad, *c.* 1630–1670 A.D.
4. Rafi Khān, *c.* 1670–1700 A.D.
5. Sultān Murād Khān, *c.* 1700–1730 A.D.
6. Zafar Khan, *c.* 1730–1760 A.D.
7. Ali Sher Khan, *c.* 1760–1790 A.D.
8. Ahmed Shah, *c.* 1790–1841 A.D.
9. Mahomed Shah, *c.* after 1841 A.D.

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (p. 35)

Balti or Balti-yul is called Palolo, or Balor (Bolor), by the Dards, and Nang-kod (Naṅ-goṅ) by the Tibetans. Balti (Sbal-ti) is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest, as it is presented by Ptolemy in Byltae. (Let me add that, according to Sir A. Stein, it is the 'Great Poliu' of the Chinese historians of the eighth century, 'Little Poliu' being their name for Gilgit.—F.) The country is also frequently called Skardo (Skar-rdo), from the name of its well-known fort and capital. (Let me add that the name Skar-[chuṅ]-rdo-[dbyiṅs] is mentioned in *c.* 804 A.D. as that of a Buddhist temple in the province of Rgya (Ladakh). A place called Gomba-Skardo is actually marked on the Indian Survey map, about 5 miles west of the present town of Skar-rdo. Gomba is the vulgar pronunciation of the Tibetan *Dgon-pa*, 'monastery.' Baltistan is the 'Little Tibet' of the Kashmir chroniclers.—F.)

Balti proper is a small district bounded by Shigar (Śi-dkar) on the north, by Keris (Kye-ris) and Parguta (Parkuda) on the east, by Gures on the south, and by Astor and Rongdo (Roṅ-mdo) on the west. Including the tableland of Deotsu, it is about 60 miles long and 36 broad. Its area is about 2 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,000 feet.

[1] The spelling is Cunningham's, but not the dates.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

For the fuller history of this dynasty, the most powerful which ruled over all the other chiefs of Baltistan, see *infra*, 'Ahmad-Shāh's Chronicles of Baltistan.' Cunningham has (p. 36) the following note on the fate of Ahmad-Shāh after 1841 :—'In the winter of 1841, Ahmed Shah accompanied the unfortunate expedition against Lhasa; and on Zorāwar's death, was taken prisoner and confined in Balwāltē near Lhasa, where he soon died. Balti is now held in jaghir by Muhammad Shah, the disinherited son of Ahmed Shah, who pays an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000 to Maharaja Gulūb Sing, of Kashmir.' (Dr. Hutchison, of Chamba, however, tells me that the tomb of the Balti king Ahmad-Shāh is found in Kashṭawar.)

Miss Duncan gives us (pp. 305–6) the name of a Rājā who reigned at Skar-rdo a few years before 1905, Shāh-Abbās. Shāh-Abbās died in 1898. No other name is forthcoming. She saw the Rājā and his court hawk-hunting. She visited the ruins of the times of the Dogra wars, and has the following notes on them :—'We paid a visit to the lower of the two old killas, which was partly destroyed by the Dogras, . . . but which has been restored; it is built on two shelves of a projecting spur of the great rock in the middle of the valley. At the foot of the rock there are a few ruins, which Dr. Thomson describes as exhibiting in 1847 the remains of former magnificence, including a part of a marble fountain, but of this we saw nothing; they are probably the ruins of the palace of Ahmed Shah. . . The highest peak of the rock, about 1,200 or 1,400 feet above the valley, is precipitous on all sides; in the small upper killa perched on the top of it, the Rajah Ahmed Shah took refuge during the Dogra siege, having laid in a stock of provisions to last for three years. For some time he defied his enemies, who could not find any way of getting at him till, according to local tradition, a faithless subject betrayed him for a bribe, and showed the pathway.' Another note of interest is that the Indus is called Attak (or Attock) immediately below Skar-rdo, according to Miss Duncan.

Skar-rdo is also claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies. See my article, 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival,' *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 93 sqq. A picture of the Skar-rdo rock in 1836 is given in Vigne's *Travels* (ii, p. 192).

(*f*) THE CHIEFS OF ROŃ-MDO [1]

1. Ali Sher, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
2. Ahmed Khan, *c.* 1600–1630 A.D.
3. Ali Shah, *c.* 1630–1660 A.D.
4. Daolat Sher, *c.* 1660–1690 A.D.
5. Assad Ulla Khan, *c.* 1690–1720 A.D.
6. Mahomed Ali Khan, *c.* 1720–1750 A.D.
7. Murad Khan, *c.* 1750–1780 A.D.
8. Abbas Beg, *c.* 1780–1810 A.D.
9. Ali Khan, *c.* 1810–1846 (reigning in 1846).
10. Husen Khan (son).
11. Abdullah Khan (grandson).

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (pp. 36–7)

Rongdo (Roń-mdo) is the last Tibetan district on the Indus to the westward of Balti (Sbal-ti). On the north lie Shigar (Śi-dkar) and Hunza-Nager, and to the west and south are Gilgit and Astor. The name means 'district of defiles' (lit. Lower Valley of defiles.—F.), and is descriptive of the bed of the Indus, which throughout Rongdo is a deep rocky gorge. The district extends from Gurbidas to a tree at Makpon-i-Shang-Rong (Dmag-dpon-gyi-spyaṅ(?)-roṅ), a distance of 45 miles, with a mean breadth of 32 miles. Its area is about 1,440 square miles, and the mean height of its villages about 6,200 feet. The chief of Rongdo claims descent from the Makpons of Balti, to whom the district has always been subject.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

Roń-mdo is not claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies, but many of the villages in the neighbourhood have Dard names. A Tibetan inscription mentioning a royal archer was discovered near Roń-mdo by the Rev. Mr. Gustavson, of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission. It is mentioned in my *Collection of Tibetan Inscriptions*, under No. 9. A picture of the Indus at the Roń-mdo bridge is given in Cunningham's *Ladák* (Plate III).

[1] Spelling Cunningham's, but not the dates.

IX. The Chronicles of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ in Lahul

When stationed at Kye-laṅ, Lahul, as a missionary, I asked Ṭhākur Amar-Chand of Ko-loṅ to show me his family chronicles, if he had any. He said that his father, Hari-Chand, had compiled a chronicle in 1880 A.D., but that the information contained in it was drawn from older documents. Amar-Chand recently brought it up to date. Amar-Chand very kindly had the chronicles copied for me in the original Urdū, and he also ordered his munshi to prepare an English translation for my use. Besides the Urdū chronicles Amar-Chand produced also a genealogical tree of his family in Tibetan, and several other Tibetan documents. A number of letters by Kuḷū kings to the chiefs of Ko-loṅ were discovered at Ko-loṅ by Mr. Howell. Stone inscriptions containing the names of several former chiefs of Ko-loṅ have been discovered in the vicinity of the castle of Ko-loṅ.

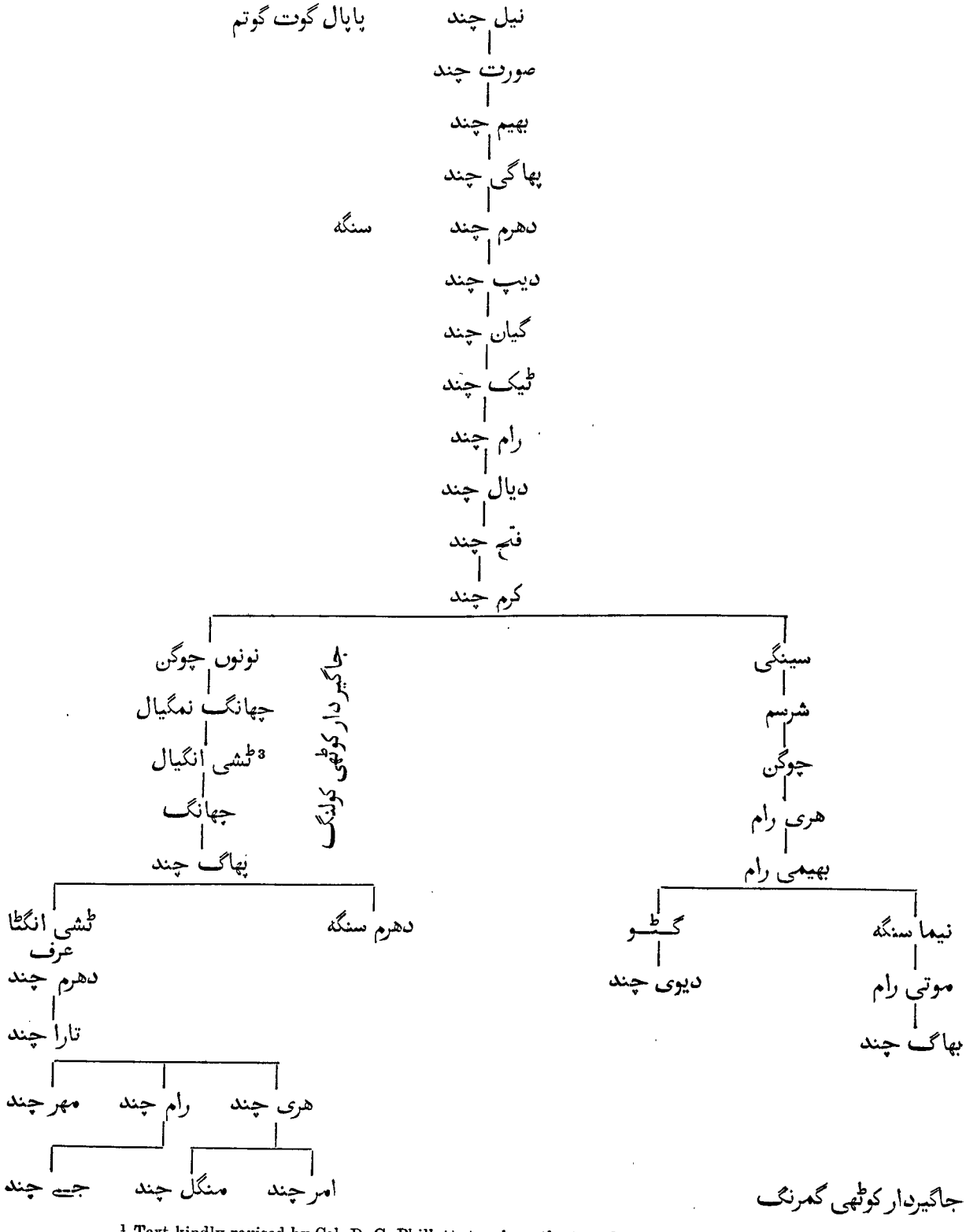
Ko-loṅ is situated on the right bank of the river Bhāgā, about 16 miles above the confluence of the rivers Chandrā and Bhāgā. Ko-loṅ was the capital of a small chieftainship, which in its best days extended from the confluence of the Chandrā and Bhāgā to the Baralatsa pass, on the right bank of the river. This narrow strip of land was their own property, but since the reign of Mān-Siṅgh of Kuḷū, 1674–1717 A.D., they had to watch over the interests of the Kuḷū kings in the whole of Lahul. Lahul then, as now, comprised the valleys of the Chandrā, and the Bhāgā, and of the united rivers down to Tirot.

The chiefs of Ko-loṅ are never mentioned in the chronicles of the neighbouring countries, but Lahul as a whole is referred to occasionally in the chronicles of Ladakh and Kuḷū. Under the first great king of Ladakh, Ñi-ma-mgon, a country called Spyi-lcogs is mentioned. According to K. Marx, Spi-lcogs probably stands for Lahul. Later on two Tibetan conquests of Kuḷū are described, under the Ladakhi kings Lha-chen-Utpala and Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I. In both cases Lahul was apparently included in the conquest, although it is not specially mentioned. Then, during the reign of the last independent Ladakhi king, Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, Lahul is repeatedly referred to under its Tibetan name Gar-ża. Let me add that the name Lahul is entirely unknown among the Tibetans.

In the chronicles of Kuḷū Lahul is repeatedly mentioned in the first legendary chapters, and again in the chapter referring to the conquest of Lahul by the Kuḷū kings in the seventeenth century. Here the name Lahul is used for the country.

The first European who published a pedigree (in Urdū) of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ was Col. Massey. In his publication the pedigree begins with No-no-Chuṅ-ṅun (Chogan) and Seṅ-ge. To the pedigree is added a brief account of the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras, which would be rather out of place here.

[1] مورث [2] اعلی قوم چھتری طرف ٹھاکر چاندلا یعنی چندر بنسي



[1] Text kindly revised by Col. D. C. Phillott, to whom the translation and notes also are due.

[2] Probably for مورث نامہ, an incorrect word.

[3] In the text always تشی.

روایت خاندان

پہلے آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری کے وقت اس پہاڑ میں دو خاندان چھتری پال و رانا جی بجای مختلتف علاقوں میں اپنی اپنی حکومت کرتے تھے ۔ س وقت علاقہ بنگال میں ایک خاندان پال نے زیادہ زبردست ہو کر باقی چھوٹے چھوٹے خاندانوں پال و راؤں کو شکست دیکر انکے علاقہ جات چھین کر اپنے قبضہ میں کر لئے ۔ اسوقت تخمیناً آٹھ سو برس کا عرصہ گذرا ہوگا کہ رانا نیل چند قوم چھتری چندر بنسی عرف ٹھاکر چاندلا سورت ہمارا[1] جو کولنگ علاقہ بنگال میں آپ ٹھاکر یعنی خود مختار رانا تھا ۔

پال مذکورکے ظلم کی برداشت نہ کرکے علاقۂ لاہل میں (کہ جہاں پہلے ہی وہ شکار کھیلنے کی خاطر آیا کرتا تھا اور اس علاقہ کی حالت سے واقف تھا) مسمی اجو پال طوطیا ٹھاکرکے پاس جو پال خاندان میں سے ایک خود مختار رانا تھا آگیا ۔

چونکہ طوطیا ٹھاکر سوائے ایک دختر کے اور کوئی پسر اپنا وارث نہ رکھتا تھا اس لئے اس نے اپنی دخترکی شادی رانا نیل چند کے ساتھ کرکے اسکو گھرداماد بناکر رکھ لیا ۔ بعد وفات طوطیا ٹھاکر مذکور رانا نیل چند بجائے اس کے اس علاقہ کا خود مختار ٹھاکر بن گیا ۔ اور طوطیا [کے] علاقہ کو اپنے پہلے مکان کولنگ کے نام سے مشہورکیا ۔ چونکہ اسوقت آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری کا وقت تھا اس لئے اردگرد اوس نے فتح کرکے اپنا علاقہ وسیع کرلیا ۔

طول شرقاً غرباً از لنگٹی تا جگ لوائی سرحد کوٹھی ٹھنڈی ساٹھ میل ۔ عرض شمالاً جنوباً کم سے کم تیس میل زیادہ سے زیادہ بیس میل ۔ نیل چند کا بیٹا صورت چند ۔ صورت چند کا بھیم چند ۔ بھیم چند کا بھاگی چند ۔ بھاگی چند کا دھرم چند ۔ دھرم چند کا دیپ چند ۔ دیپ چند کا گیان چند ۔ گیان چند کا ٹیک چند ۔ ٹیک چند کا رام چند ۔ رام چند کا دیال چند ۔ دیال چند کا فتح چند ۔ فتح چند کا کرم چند ہوئے ۔ دس پشت دیال چند تک بدستور آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری اس خاندان کی چلی آئی ۔ فتح چند کے وقت تبت کے راجہ کا لاہل پر قبضہ ہوگیا ۔ مگر دس خاندان کا علاقہ بدستور اپنے قبضہ میں رہا ۔ بلکہ ماتحت تبت کی اس خاندان کی حکومت کل علاقہ لاہل پر وسیع ہوگئی ۔ کرم چند کے وقت تک تخمیناً ایک سو برس حکومت تبت کی اس علاقہ پر رہی ۔ اسیوقت لاماں گوروں کا علاقہ ہذا میں دخل ہوا ۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ کرم چند سے نیچے ہمارے بزرگوں کا نام لاماں گورو[2] تبت کی زبان میں اکھٹے رہے ۔ بعد سینگی و نونوں چوگن پسران کرم چند کے وقت راجہ تبت کا زور حکومت کم ہو جانیکے سبب علاقۂ لاہل پر حکومت راجہ مان سنگھ کلو والے کی ہوگئی ۔ اس وقت بھی اس خاند ان کا علاقہ بدستور رہا ۔ اگرچہ اس خاندان کا اوّل سے یہہ دستور چلا آیا ہے کہ بڑا بیٹا علاقہ کا مالک ہوتا رہا اور چھوٹے بیٹے اس کے ماتحت بطور دو تہائیں بیٹھے رہے اس لئے دو تہائیوں کا نام پہلے شجرۂ نسب میں نہیں درج ہوتا رہا ۔ چونکہ سنگی[3]

[1] The probable reading should be جو ہمارا بزرگ تھا. [2] جو لامان گرو تھے ? [3] Elsewhere سینگی.

و نونوں چوگن دونوں بھائی برابر طاقتور تھے اس لئے ان دونوں میں راجہ مان سنگھہ کے وقت علاقہ کی تقسیم ہوکر دونوں برابر برابر جاگیردار بن کر تابع راجہ مان سنگھہ والي کلو[1] کے ہوئے ۔ سنگی نے گمرنگ کے علاقہ پر اپنا قبضہ کرلیا ۔ اور نونوں چوگن تولنگ کے علاقہ پر قائم رہا ۔ اس سے آگے اس خاندان کی دو شاخیں ہوکر جدا جدا سلسلۂ نسل اونکا آگے چلا ۔

سینگی کا بیٹا شرسم ہوا ۔ شرسم کا چوگن ۔ چوگن کا ہری رام ۔ ہری رام کا بھیمی رام ۔ بھیمی رام کے دو پسران نیما سنگھہ وگٹو ہوئے ۔ نیما سنگھہ کا موتی رام وگٹو کا دیوی چند ہوئے ۔ اسوقت موتی رام کا بیٹا بھاگ چند و دیوی چند خود جاگیر پر قابض ہین ۔ اور دوسرا سلسلہ نونوں چوگن کا بیٹا جھیانگ نمگیال اور چھیانگ نمگیال کا تشی انگیال ۔ اور تشی انگیال کا چھیانگ ۔ اور چھیانگ کا بھاگ چند ۔ اور بھاگ چند کے دو پسران دھرم سنگھہ وتشی انگٹا عرف دھرم چند پیدا ہوئے ۔ دھرم سنگھہ لاولد مرگیا ۔ دھرم چند
۱۸۷۷
کا پسر تارا چند اور تارا چند کے تین پسران ۔ ہری چند ۔ رام چند ۔ مہر چند ہوئے ۔ ٹھاکر تارا چند سنہ ع میں
۷۴
للوی چوہتر سال کی عمر بسر کرکے سرگباس ہوا ۔ اور جاگیر کا داخلخارج حسب دستور قدیم مجھہ ٹھاکر ہری چند پسران[2] کلاں کے نام ہوا ہے ۔ اور قابض ہوں ۔ اور میرے پیچھے میرا پسر برخوردار امر چند جو اسوقت عمر ڈیڑھہ سال کا ہوا ہے وارث ہوگا ۔

ٹھاکر رام چند کا پسر جسے چند موجود ہے ۔ مہر چند لاولد مرگیا ۔ دو سو سال سے کچھہ زیادہ عرصہ یعنی نونوں چوگن سے ٹھاکر تارا چند کے عہد تک یہ علاقہ راجگان کلو کے تابع رہا ۔ ٹھاکر تارا چند کے وقت ہی
۱۸۴۳
سنہ ع میں راجہ جیت سنگھہ سے کلو کا علاقہ سکھوں نے فتح کیا ۔ اسوقت سے علاقہ لاہل میں سکھوں کی ماتحت
۶
ہوا[3] ۔ چھہ سال تک سکھوں کا عمل حکومت رہا ۔ تب بھی ہمارے خاندان کي جاگیرات مذکورہ بالا بدستور
۱۸۴۹
قائم و برقرار رہیں ۔ سنہ ع میں سرکار دولتمدار انگریز بہادر کا پنجاب پر تسلط ہوا ۔ اسوقت میں بھی ہمارے خاندان کی یہ دونوں جاگیرات بدستور قائم و برقرار رہیں ۔ یہ تینوں انقلاب سلطنت ٹھاکر تارا چند کے وقت میں ہوگئی تھیں ۔ ہماری جاگیرات کا دستور پہاڑی راجگان کے دستور کے مطابق یہ ہے ۔ کہ ٹھاکر کا بڑا بیٹا ٹیکہ کہلاتا ہے ۔ کل جاگیر اسی کا حق ہوتا ہے ۔ دوسرے بھائی اُسکے دوتہائیں شمار ہوتی ہیں جو اس قدیمی جاگیر سے صرف گذارہ کے مستحق ہوتے ہیں ۔ اگرکسی اصلی ٹھاکر کا ٹیکہ [نہ] ہو جائے تب قریب تر
۸۰۰
دوتہائیں حق جاگیر[4] تصور ہوتا ہے ۔ تخمیناً عرصہ آٹھہ سو سال کے جب رانا نیل چند کولونگ علاقہ بنگال سے آکر لاہل میں آباد ہوا ۔ اسی وقت ایک خاندان پال کا ۔ ٹھاکر رتن پال گوندہ علاقہ بنگال سے علاقہ لاہل میں آکر مقام تینن آباد ہوا ۔ اور اپنے پہلے مکان کے نام پر تینن کو گوندلہ مشہور کیا ۔ جسکے خاندان کا اسوقت ٹھاکر ہیرا چند جاگیردار گوندلہ موجود ہے ۔[5]

(اوّل) جب عملداری تبت کی [رہی] تابع میں توحکام تبت کے ماتحت [ہمارے بزرگ] کل علاقہ لاہل پر حکومت کرتے رہے ۔

[1] For کلو والے ?
[2] A slip for پسر.
[3] A confused sentence.
[4] جاگیر کا حق دار ?
[5] The whole of this sentence is obviously confused.

(۲) پھرجب تک راجگان کلّوکے ماتحت رہی توجوتعلق راجگان کلّو و لداخ و تبت کے ساتھہ تھا وہ سب خدمات ہمارے سپرد تھیں ـ ہمارے بزرگ انکو بجا لاتے رہے ـ

۱۸۵۲

(۳) شروع عملداری سرکار انگریزی میں بلحاظ عزت خاندانی اول بتاریخ ۱۷ ستمبر سنہٴ میں کل علاقہ لاهل کی خدمات نیگ پارہ[1] ٹھاکر تارا چند کے سپرد هوئیں ـ وہ بخوبي بجا لائی گئیں ـ اور حکام وقت و صاحبان یوروپین مسافسرین کی علاقہ هذا میں ونیز سرحد تبت پر خدمات بجا لائی گئیں ـ علاوہ تنخواہ مقررہ نیگ چارہ[1] کے کل خالصہ علاقہ لاهل کا حق چرائی جنگلات بھی همکو معاف هَے ـ

۱۸۵۷

(۴) سنہٴ میں که جب مسٹر سلاگن‌ویٹ[2] صاحب بہادر افسر کمپاس علاقہ یارکند[3] میں مارے گئے تھے ـ

۱۸۵۸

اسکا حال دریافت کرکے لانے کی خدمات گورنمنٹ سے سنہٴ میں مجھہ ٹھاکر هری چند کے سپرد هوئی تھیں ـ چنانچہ میں نے بذات خود لداخ جاکر وہاں سے آگے اپنا خاص معتبر شخص علاقہ یارکند میں بھیج کر مفصل حال صاحب ممدوح کے موت کا [دریافت کرلیا] که ولی خاں سردار کوکاں نے جو اسوقت ارد گرد یارکند کی لوٹ مار کیا کرتا تھا ناحق صاحب ممدوح کو قتل کر دیا تھا ـ دریافت کرکے بمقام جالندهر بحضور کرنیل لِیک صاحب بہادر کمشنر حاضر هوکر سرکار میں گذارش کیا تھا ـ اس خدمت کے صله میں سرکار

۱۰۰۰ ۳۰۰

دولتمدار سے مجھہ کو ایک هزار روپہ انعام اور چار سو روپہ سفر خرچ عطا هوا تھا ـ

۱۸۶۱

(۵) سنہٴ میں جب خبر صاحبان انگریز کی چین سے شمله براسته لاسه وغیرہ پونچی هَے تو حسب ایماے گورنمنٹ باجازت والد بزرگوار خود ٹھاکر تارا چند صاحب میں بذات خود برائے پیشوائی و خدمت گذاری صاحبان موصوف کے گادر و رودکھه علاقه تبت تک گیا تھا ـ جب خبر نه آئی صاحبان موصوف کی میں تو واپس آکر حال دریافت شدہ سرکار میں گذارش کیا ـ اس خدمت کے صله میں خلعت و پروانه خوشنودی مزاج جناب نواب لفٹنٹ گورنر بہادر پنجاب بدستخط صاحب سکرٹری بہادر و مُہر دفتر گورنمنٹ عطا هوا ـ

۱۸۶۱

(۶) اور سنہٴ میں سرکار سے بلحاظ عزت خاندانی و قدرداني خدمات والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند صاحب عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ پرسرفراز کیا گیا ـ اختیارات پولیس و فوجداری تحصیل

۱۰

درجه آول اور دیوانی و کلکٹری میں عسع تک عطا هوئی ـ جرمانه فوجداری معاف هوا ـ علاوہ جاگیر قدیمی

۱۰۰

موروثی خود ایک سو روپے کی معافي کوٹھی بربوگ عطا هوا ـ

۱۸۶۳

(۷) سنہٴ میں بموجب حکم مسٹر ریموٹن صاحب بہادر ڈپٹی کمشنر کانگڑہ حسب منشاء سرکار دولتمدار بغرض قائم کرنے رابطه تجارت مابین هندوستان و تبت براسته یبستی گر علاقه تبت تک بذات خود گیا ـ اوروہاں کی حالت دریافت کرکے سرکار میں گذارش کی ـ اس وقت مبلغ پانچ سو روپہ

۵۰۰

سرکار سے انعام عطا هوا ـ

[1] Is پارہ a proper name? Later occurs نیگ چارہ. [2] Schlagintweit. [3] یارقند.

(۹) سنہ ۱۸۶۷ع میں بلحاظ کارگذاری و لیاقت وقدردانی خدمات والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند کے اختیارات میں اضافہ ہو کر آنریری مجسٹریت ماتحت درجہ سوئم کے اختیارات فوجداری اور دیوانی اختیارات آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر کے مطابق اختیارات معمولی اسٹنٹ کمشنر ایک سو ۱۰۰ روپے تک عطا ہوا ۔ جرمانہ فوجداری معاف ۔ اور بجائے ایکسو روپے کی معاف کوٹھی بربوگ کے جو سنہ ۱۸۶۱ع میں عارضی طور پر عطا ہوئی تھی چہارم حصہ کل خالصہ معاملہ لاهل کا مبلغ پانچ سو پچاس ۵۵۰ روپہ سالانہ ملنا گورنمنٹ سے منظور ہوا ۔

(۱۰) سنہ ۱۸۶۸ع میں دفتر رجسٹری علاقہ لاهل میں قائم ہو کر والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند سب رجسٹرار مقرر ہوا ۔

(۱۱) سنہ ۱۸۷۰ع میں جو سفارت انگریزی بحکم گورنمنٹ هند بسرکردگی مسٹر طامس دگلس فورساتھ صاحب بہادر یارکند میں بھیجی گئی تھی میں همراہ گیا تھا ۔ چونکہ سفارت انگریزی اپنے کمپ سے جو قلعہ ینگی شہر میں واقع تھا بدوں حکم اتالیق غازی والی یارقند[1] باهر آنے کی اجازت نہ تھی اسواسطے بموجب حکم جناب مسٹر فورساتھ صاحب بہادر سفیر انگریزی میں بذات خود کمپ سے باهر نکل کر شہر کے باهر شہر پناہ کی چاردیواری کی پیمائش قدمونسے کرکے نقشہ شہر کا تیار کیا جو کتاب سفر نامہ صاحب ممدوح بہادر میں شامل ہے ۔ اور اسکی ترتیب کا ذکر سفر نامہ مذکور کی دفعہ ۱۷۶ میں درج ہے ۔

(۱۲) ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۷۱ع میں والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند نے بسبب ضعیف العمری عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریت و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر سے بخوشی خود استعفا دیدیا ۔ سرکار دولتمدار سے استعفا والدم منظور ہوکر بجائے والد بزرگوار خود بندہ اسی عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریت و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر پر ممتاز کیا [گیا] ۔ وهی اختیارات مجسٹریت درجہ سیوم اور اختیارات دیوانی ایک سو ۱۰۰ روپے تک مجھہ کو عطا ہوئے ۔ اور سب رجسٹرار بھی بجائے والد بزرگوار خود بندہ مقرر ہوا ۔

(۱۳) سنہ ۱۸۷۲ع میں [بہ] منظوری گورنمنٹ کمیٹی لوکلریٹ ضلع کانگرہ کی نمبری میں نام میرا درج ہوا ۔

(۱۴) سنہ ۱۸۷۶ع میں بلحاظ خاندانی و قدردانی خدمات بحکم چٹھی نمبری ۶۰۶ مورخہ ۳۰ مارچ سنہ ۱۸۷۶ع صاحب سکرٹری گورنمنٹ پنجاب بنام صاحب سکرٹری فناشل کمشنر بہادر بجواب آپ کی چٹھی نمبری ۲۷۸ مورخہ ۱۷ ماہ مذکور سرکار دولتمدار سے خطاب وزیری بندہ کو عطا ہوا ۔

(۱۵) علاوہ اس کے والدم بزرگوار ٹھاکر تارا چند صاحب کو دربار گورنری میں عزت کرسی نشینی کی حاصل رهی ۔ اور اب بندہ کا نام فہرست درباریان گورنری میں نمبر ۴۳ درج ہے ۔ اور میرے پانچ ملازم مسلح ایکٹ اسلحہ کی تاثیر سے مثل دیگر رئیسان و راجگان بحکم گورنمنٹ معاف هیں ۔

۹ اپریل سنہ ۱۸۸۵ع

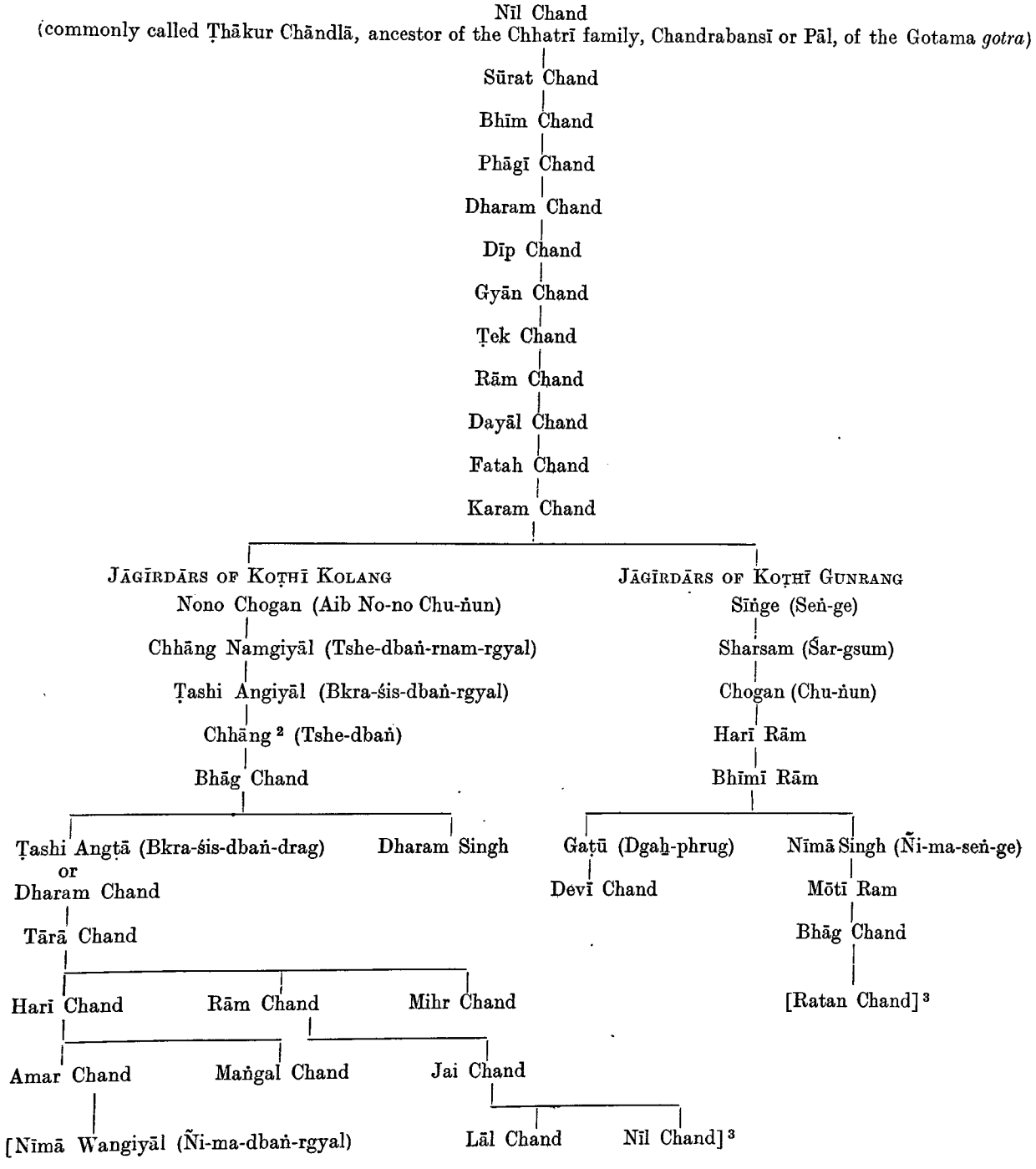
ٹھاکر هری چند وزیر ۔ آنریری مجسٹریت
و آنریری سول جج لاهل ضلع کانگرہ

[1] یارکند .

LITERAL TRANSLATION[1] AND NOTES

By Lieut.-Col. D. C. PHILLOTT, M.A., Ph.D.

Genealogical Tree



[1] The original Urdū is peculiar and has copyist's errors and omissions.

[2] [Read 'Chhiyāng', as in the Narrative.—F. W. T.]

[3] Not in the Urdū.

Narrative of the Family

At first, during the time of self-rule (i.e. of independence) two Chhatrī families, Pāl and Rānā, ruled over various districts in that mountain. At that time, in the district of Baṅgāl, one family, Pāl, becoming powerful, defeated the remaining small families of Pāl and Rā,ō and took possession of their country. At the present time a space of about 800 years must have elapsed since Rānā Nīl (a Chhatrī by caste and of the Lunar Family), commonly known as Ṭhākur Chādlā Sūrat, an ancestor of ours, was a self-ruler (i.e. an independent *Rānā*) in Kolang, in the district of Baṅgāl.

Unable to endure the oppression of the above-mentioned Pāl, he came into the district of Lāhul (where he used formerly to go for sport, and hence was acquainted with the district) to one named Ajo Pāl Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur, who was an independent ruler of the Pāl family.

Since Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur had no heir, but only a daughter, he gave her in marriage to Rānā Nīl Chand, whom he took to live with him as a son-in-law.[1] After the decease of the above-mentioned Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur, Rānā Nīl Chand became independent ruler of the district in his stead and named [Ṭoṭiyā's] district after his first place.[2] Since that was a time of independent rule, he made conquests round about and extended his territory.

The length east to west from Lingṭī to Jagliwā,ī, the frontier of Koṭhī Ṭhādī, is 60 miles; breadth north to south at the least 30 miles, at the most 20[3] miles. The son of Nīl Chand was Ṣūrat[4] Chand; of Ṣūrat Chand, Bhīm Chand; of Bhīm Chand, Phāgī Chand; of Phāgī Chand, Dharam Chand; of Dharam Chand, Dīp Chand; of Dīp Chand, Gyān Chand; of Gyān Chand, Ṭek Chand; of Ṭek Chand, Rām Chand; of Rām Chand, Dayāl Chand; of Dayāl Chand, Fataḥ Chand; of Fataḥ Chand, Karam Chand. For ten generations without a break, i.e. down to Dayāl Chand, the independence of this family continued. In the time of Fataḥ Chand the Rāja of Tibat got possession of Lāhul; but the territory of ten families remained as before in their possession. Moreover, under Tibat the rule of this family was extended to the whole of Lāhul. Down to the time of Karam Chand, i.e. about one hundred years, the rule of Tibat over this territory continued. During this time Lāmās and Gurūs were introduced into this country. This is the reason why below[5] Karam Chand the names of our ancestors[6] are in Tibetan. Afterwards, in the time of Sīngī and Nonõ Chogan, the sons of Karam Chand, Rāja Mān Singh of Kullū, through the decline in power of the Tibatan Rāja, became the ruler of Lāhul. At this time, too, the territory of this family remained as before. Since in this family the custom had come down that the eldest son should succeed and the younger sons sit under him as *dothā,īs*,[7] the names of the latter used not to be entered in the family tree. Since the two brothers Singī and Nonõ Chogan were equally powerful, hence in the time of Rājā Mān Singh the territory was divided and both became equal *jāgīrdārs* under Rājā Mān Singh of Kullū. Singī took possession of Gumrang and Nonõ Chogan of

[1] I think this is the meaning of گھر داماد 'house son-in-law.'
[2] i.e. Kolang in the district of Baṅgāl.
[3] The figures seem to be merely transposed.
[4] In the Urdū usually spelt with a ص.
[5] In the genealogical tree?
[6] [Who were Buddhists.]
[7] [Is this word a derivative of the Hindī *dohatā*, 'a daughter's son'?—F. W. T.]

Kolang. From this onwards there are two branches of the family, the descent of each being carried on separately.

The son of Sīngī was Sharsum; of Sharsum, Chogan; of Chogan, Harī Rām; of Harī Rām, Bhīmī Rām. Bhīmī Rām had two sons, Nīmā Singh and Gaṭū. Nīmā Singh's son was Motī Rām, and Gaṭū's son was Devī Chand. At this time Motī Rām's son Bhāg Chand and Devī Chand[1] himself are in possession of the *jāgīr*. The second branch is: the son of Nonõ Chogan was Chhiyāng Namgiyāl; and the son of Chhiyāng Namgiyāl was Tashi Angiyāl; and the son of Tashi Angiyāl was Chhiyāng; and of Chhiyāng, Bhāg Chand: and to Bhāg Chand two sons were born, Dharam Singh and Tashi Angṭā, known as Dharam Chand. Dharam Singh died without issue. Dharam Chand had a son Tārā Chand, and Tārā Chand had three sons, Harī Chand, Rām Chand, and Mihr Chand. In 1877 A.D. Ṭhākur Tārā Chand died in his 74th year; and according to ancient custom the succession fell to me, Ṭhākur Harī Chand, the eldest son, and I am now in possession. After me my son Amar Chand, now one and a half years old, will succeed.

Ṭhākur Rām Chand's son, Jai Chand, is alive. Mihr Chand died without issue. For something over two hundred years, i.e. from the time of Nonõ Chogan down to the time of Tārā Chand, this district remained subservient to the rājās of Kullū. In 1843 A.D., in the time of Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, the Sikhs conquered Kullū from Rājā Jīt Singh. At that time Lāhul, too, came under the Sikhs. The Sikhs ruled for six years. Then even the above-mentioned *jāgīrs* of my family remained as before. In 1849 A.D. the English Government took over the Panjāb. Then, too, these two *jāgīrs* of my family remained as before. These three changes of rule occurred in the time of Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. It is the custom in our *jāgīrs*, following the custom of the hill Rājās, that the eldest son of the Ṭhākur is called *Ṭīkah*. The whole of the *jāgīr* is his right. The other brothers are counted as his *dothā,ẽ*, and they are entitled to subsistence only from this ancient *jāgīr*. If there is [no] *Ṭīkah* born to a real *Ṭhākur*, then the nearest *dothā,ẽ* is considered to be the rightful heir to the *jāgīr*. About 800 years have elapsed since Rānā Nīl Chand came from Kolong in the district of Bangāl to settle in Lāhul. At the same time Ṭhākur Ratan Pāl of the Pāl family, a resident of Gondh in Bangāl, came to Lāhul and settled in Tīnan, and named Tīnan Gondala after his first place of residence; and of his family at the present time Ṭhākur Hīrā Chand is alive and the holder of the *jāgīr* of Gondala.

1. As long as the Tibatan rule remained, [our ancestors], under the Tibatan rulers, governed the whole of Lāhul.

2. Under the rule of the Kullū Rājās all state business between the Rājās of Kullū and Laddākh and Tibat was entrusted to us: our ancestors conducted it.

3. In the beginning of the English rule, on account of the social position of the family, first on 17th September, 1852, all the business of Lāhul was entrusted to *Neg* (*Pārah*[2]) Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. He performed various services for his superior officers and various European travellers in these parts and also on the Tibat frontier.

[1] First cousin of Motī Rām?

[2] I do not understand what *pārah* and *chārah* mean. They do not appear to be proper names. [Wilson's glossary gives the word *nek-dārī* in the sense of 'sums or portions of the crop, collected from the cultivators' of a village for 'the village expenses and payments to the village officers and servants'.—F. W. T.]

In addition to his pay as a *Neg* he had the grazing rights[1] of the whole of Lāhul allotted to his family.

4. In 1857, when Mr. Salāganwait (Schlagintweit), a Survey Officer, was murdered in Yārkand, the duty of inquiring into the case and bringing back all information was entrusted by Government to me, Ṭhākur Harī Chand. Accordingly, in my own person I went to Laddākh. From thence I sent my special trustworthy servant to Yārkand and learned all the details of the above-mentioned officer's death, how he was murdered without any reason by Walī Khān, the ruler of Kokān (Kokand), who at that time was engaged in ravaging the country around Yārkand. On learning this I returned to Jālandhar, to Colonel Lek (Lake), the Commissioner, and reported the matter. As a reward for this service, I received from Government one thousand rupees and four hundred rupees as travelling expenses.

5. In 1861, when news was received that some English gentlemen were coming from China to Simla by way of Lāsa, etc., then according to a suggestion from Government and with the sanction of my revered father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand Ṣāhib, I, in my own person, went out as far as Gādar (Sgar-thog ?) and Rodakh (Ru-thog ?) in Tibat to welcome and offer my services to the above-mentioned gentlemen. When no news of them was obtainable, I returned and reported the fact to Government. As a reward for this service, I was granted a robe of honour and a *parwānah* expressing the satisfaction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb, signed by the Secretary, and sealed with the office seal.

6. In 1861, in recognition of the high status of his family and in appreciation of his services, my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand Ṣāhib, was raised to the rank of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant [Commissioner]. He was given the power of a police officer of the first grade in criminal cases and of a civil officer with powers to fine up to Rs. 10. The criminal fines were allotted to him. In addition to his ancient ancestral *jāgīr* he was granted a *mu'āfī*[2] of Rs. 100 a year, on Koṭhī Barbog.

7. In 1863, in accordance with orders from Mr. Remūṭan (Egerton ?), Deputy Commissioner of Kāngṛah, according to the wishes of Government to establish trade connections between India and Tibat by way of Yabastī Gar, I, in my own person, went as far as Tibat and reported the circumstances of that place to Government. On this occasion Government granted me a reward of five hundred rupees.

9.[3] In 1867, on account of his services and ability and in appreciation of what he had done, an increase was made in the powers of my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. He was made an Honorary Magistrate of the third grade, with criminal and civil powers of an Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner, [and] according to the powers of an ordinary Assistant Commissioner he could deal with civil cases up to Rs. 100. Criminal fines could be retained by him, and, instead of the exemption of Rs. 100 on Koṭhī Barbog which in 1861 was granted to him as a temporary measure, he was permitted to retain the fourth part of the revenue of Lāhul, a sum amounting to Rs. 550.

10. In 1868 the office of Registration was established in Lāhul, and my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, was appointed Sub-Registrar.

[1] It is not clear whether he had the right of grazing for himself or the taxes for grazing generally allotted to him.
[2] Exemption.
[3] There is no para. (8) in the Urdū.

11. In 1870, when an English Mission, under Mr. Ṭāmas Daglas Forsāth (Thomas Douglas Forsyth), was sent to Yārkand by the Indian Government, I went with it. Since the English Mission was not permitted to go outside its camp, which was in Yangī Shahr,[1] without the permission of Atālīq Ghāzī, the *Wālī* of Yārqand, I, in my own person, and in accordance with the orders of Mr. Forsāth of the English Mission, came out of the camp and measured the circumference of the ramparts by pacing, and made a map, which is reproduced in the book of travels of the above-mentioned English gentleman, and of which the method of preparation is mentioned in paragraph 176 of the travels.

12. In September, 1871, my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, voluntarily resigned from the office of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner. The Government accepted my father's resignation, and in place of my revered father appointed your humble servant to this office of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner; and those powers of a Magistrate of the third grade and civil powers up to Rs. 100 were bestowed upon me; and your humble servant, too, was appointed Sub-Registrar in the place of his revered father.

13. In 1872, with the approval of Government, his [my father's] name was entered as a Member of the Committee of Local Rates of the District of Kāngṛah.

14. In 1876, in appreciation of the social position of his family and his services, the title of *Wazīr* was bestowed by Government on him, reference Letter No. 606, dated 30th March, 1876, from the Secretary to the Government of the Panjāb to the Secretary to the Financial Commissioner in answer to Your Honour's letter No. 278, dated 17th of the same month.

15. In addition to this, my revered father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, obtained the honour of a seat in the Governor's Darbār, and now your humble servant's name, too, is found in the list of the Governor's *darbārīs*, being number 42 of the list; and, like other chiefs and Rājās, I have five armed retainers exempted from the provisions of the Indian Arms Act.

9th April, 1885.

Ṭhākur Harī Chand, *Wazīr*—Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Civil Judge of Lāhul in the District of Kāngrah.

(*Later additions, not in the Urdū original.*)

15. In the year 1900 A.D. Ṭhākur Harī Chand died, and Ṭhākur Amar Chand succeeded to the *jāgīr* of Ko-loṅ. My claim to the offices of Honorary *Wazīr*, Trade and Civil Judge of Lahul was acknowledged, and my cousin Ṭhākur Jai Chand was appointed *Wazīr* of Lahul during my minority. In June, 1903, on coming of age, I was appointed Honorary Magistrate and Civil Judge of Lahul. I have held the office since then, and have filled it to the full satisfaction of my superior officers. During the absence of Ṭhākur Jai Chand I have also acted as Sub-Registrar of Lahul. I have also been acting as an assistant to the Military Transport Registration Department.

16. In June, 1906, Mr. H. Calvert, Assistant Commissioner of Kuḷū, proposed to visit certain places in Tibet and to take me along with him. I accepted his offer.

[1] 'New City.'

The work of providing beasts of burden was entrusted to me, and before the date of starting I had the required number of horses and mules ready. We went through the Rāmpur State (Bashahr) to Tibet. In Tibet we visited places of mercantile interest. The journey lasted from the 18th of June till the 3rd of October. We returned viâ Spiti. During the journey we suffered much through the scarcity of grass and other things; and the bad roads were also a source of trouble to us. We first visited Gartog, where the Assistant Commissioner met with the Garpon (*Sgar-dpon*). He conversed with him on matters of trade facilities. From Gartog we went to Chocho, and from that place to Bongba, and thence to Thog-jalung, Dolang, etc. There are gold-mines in these places, and I guided the Assistant Commissioner. I also took him to Shumorti (Chumurti) and Chhagrachan. These two places are famous for their horses. These places have not as yet been visited by any English traveller, the reason being that the Tibetan authorities do not permit the English to visit them. Even if permission to visit them has been secured, it is very difficult to surmount the many obstacles which arise on the way. For many marches it is difficult to find water, grass, or wood. Even coolies are not supplied for these places in Tibet, so that vast arrangements have to be made before starting. I myself made the arrangements for everything that was needed on such a terrible journey. It was also I who kept the Garpon from refusing us permission.

NOTES.

With regard to the first part of the chronicle, which contains the history of the chiefs from Nīl Chand to Karam Chand, I wish to state that it is not supported by other historical documents or inscriptions. Not a single name of a chief ending in Chand has as yet been discovered in Lahul, apart from the chronicles of the Ko-loṅ chiefs given above. On the contrary, from an old inscription and a document of the sixteenth century we learn that the chiefs of Ko-loṅ had Tibetan names prior to Nono Chogan (Chu-ṅun) and Seṅ-ge, who lived in the seventeenth century. On an old stone inscription discovered by Mr. Howell the name of an ancient Ko-loṅ chief is given as Boldor (probably Ḥbol-rdor); and in a document referring to the erection of a *mchod-rten* (Inscription No. 128) the name of a chief of Ko-loṅ, who was a contemporary of Parbat-Siṅgh of Kuḷū (1584–1618), is given as Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. It is quite possible that the names ending in Chand were invented by the chronicler with a view to making the chiefs of Ko-loṅ appear as descendants from Rājpūt ancestors. This, they thought, would raise them in the eyes of the Kuḷū kings. It is also very strange that the Rājpūt origin of the chiefs of Ti-nan is asserted in the Ko-loṅ chronicles. According to the Ko-loṅ chronicles the chiefs of Ti-nan emigrated from Gondha in Baṅgāl; but according to the Ti-nan chronicles they came from Lcags-mkhar in Gu-ge. I should think that the latter statement has a greater claim to our acceptance. The country of Baṅgāl mentioned in the chronicles is the province of Baṛā Baṅgāl, which nowadays forms part of Kuḷū. The many Tibetan names which are found in the second part of the pedigree cannot be recognized in their Urdū dress. They have to be compared with the names contained in the Tibetan document from Ko-loṅ (*q.v.*). Instead of Kolang the Tibetans say Ko-loṅ; and instead of Gumring, Guṅ-raṅ. For Thog-jalung see above, p. 94 (*sub fin.*).

As regards the claim of the Ko-loṅ chiefs to have been in charge of the management of Lahul during the times of Tibetan rule before 1605 A.D., I must say that it is not confirmed by popular tradition. The latter is in favour of the view that the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog were Governors of Lahul during that time.

The conquest of Lahul by the Sikhs must have taken place before 1843; for, when Cunningham visited Lahul in 1839, he found the country already in the hands of the Sikhs (JASB., 1841, pp. 105 sqq.).

Adolf von Schlagintweit was murdered on his expedition to Turkestan on the 26th August, 1857, near Kashgar.

The date of Tārā Chand's death is not clearly given. First we read that Tārā Chand died in 1874; then we read that he was still alive in 1876; and according to Col. Massey he died in 1877.

X. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ in Lahul

In my introductory notes to 'The Chronicles of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ' I remarked that Hari-Chand, when compiling the chronicles in 1880 A.D., made use, according to his own statement, of older documents. I discovered one of these older documents when the present chief of Ko-loṅ, in 1906, very kindly allowed me to examine his family papers. It was a simple pedigree in Tibetan. I had it copied at once by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ, and now publish it. The original is a one-sheet MS. written in Tibetan *dbu-med* characters. At first sight it may appear superfluous to edit it at all, in addition to Hari-Chand's chronicles of Ko-loṅ in Urdū. But, as the Tibetan names of the pedigree are very difficult to recognize in their Urdū dress, it is of importance to show them also in their Tibetan form. This genealogical tree in Tibetan shows a great similarity to the genealogical tree of the Bar-ḫbog chiefs, especially with regard to the first line of the MS., which in both documents is not quite intelligible.[1] I give this line in parallel columns:—

1 Bar-ḫbog: Nag-se-tsi-ka-bai bè mu-dzab na-mu-na lam bar 2
2 Ko-loṅ: Nag-śa-cig-kyi ba-yi mu-jub-bad na-mu-na lam bār 2
1 bā-ba-ṭa ji-min-gar-pa-nra ko-khri Bar-bog
2 ba-bad ji-min-gar-spran-na ko-khri Ko-loṅ.

Several words of these lines seem to be Urdū. *Mu-dzab* or *Mu-jub-bad* is probably Hindī-Arabic *mūjib*, 'cause,' etc.; *namūnah* is Urdū for 'type', 'pattern'; *bā-ba-ṭa*, *ba-bad*, may be Urdū-Arabic *bābat*, 'account'; *lam-bar* is the Urdū-English word 'number'; *ko-khri* is Urdū *koṭhī*, 'granary,' 'government office.'

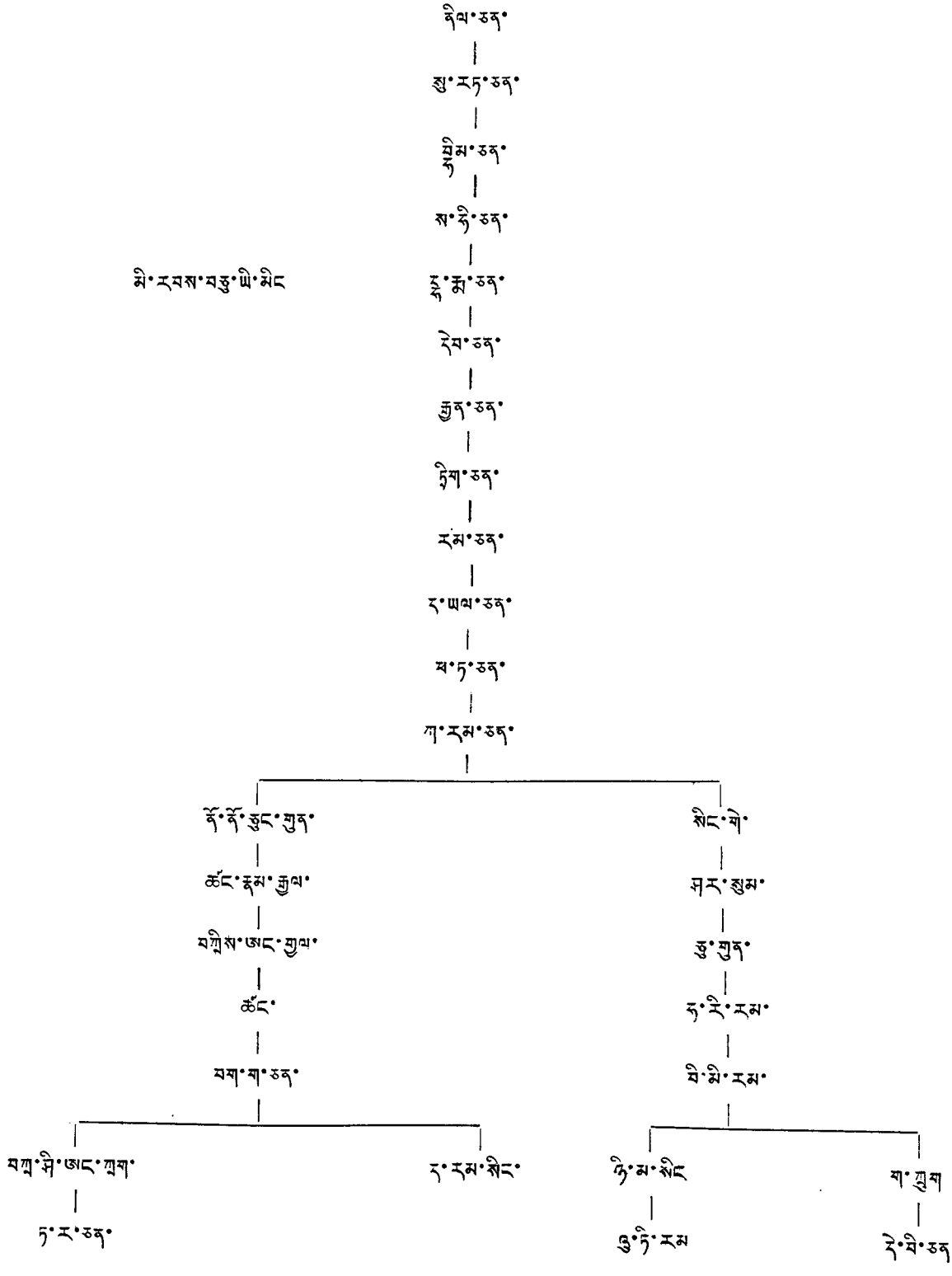
The fact of the existence of these Urdū words in the first line of both documents would point to a time when Lahul was strongly influenced by her Kuḷū neighbours. This was certainly the case when Lahul was conquered by the Kuḷū kings in the second half of the seventeenth century. That the Bar-ḫbog pedigree was drawn up not much later is proved by the fact that it was not continued after the conquest of Lahul. As the same Urdū words occur also in the Ko-loṅ document, we may conclude that it was also drawn up after 1680 A.D., say in 1700 A.D. (if the word *lambar*, 'number,' does not point to a still later origin). But it was added to as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Another explanation would be that the first lines in Urdū were written at a later date than the rest.

As I stated in my notes on the 'Chronicles of Ko-loṅ' (p. 205 *supra*), it is probable that the names ending in *can* (*cand*) were invented by the chronicler of Ko-loṅ with a view to making the chiefs of Ko-loṅ appear as descendants from Rājpūt ancestors.

[1] [For an explanation see below, p. 209, n. 1.—F. W. T.]

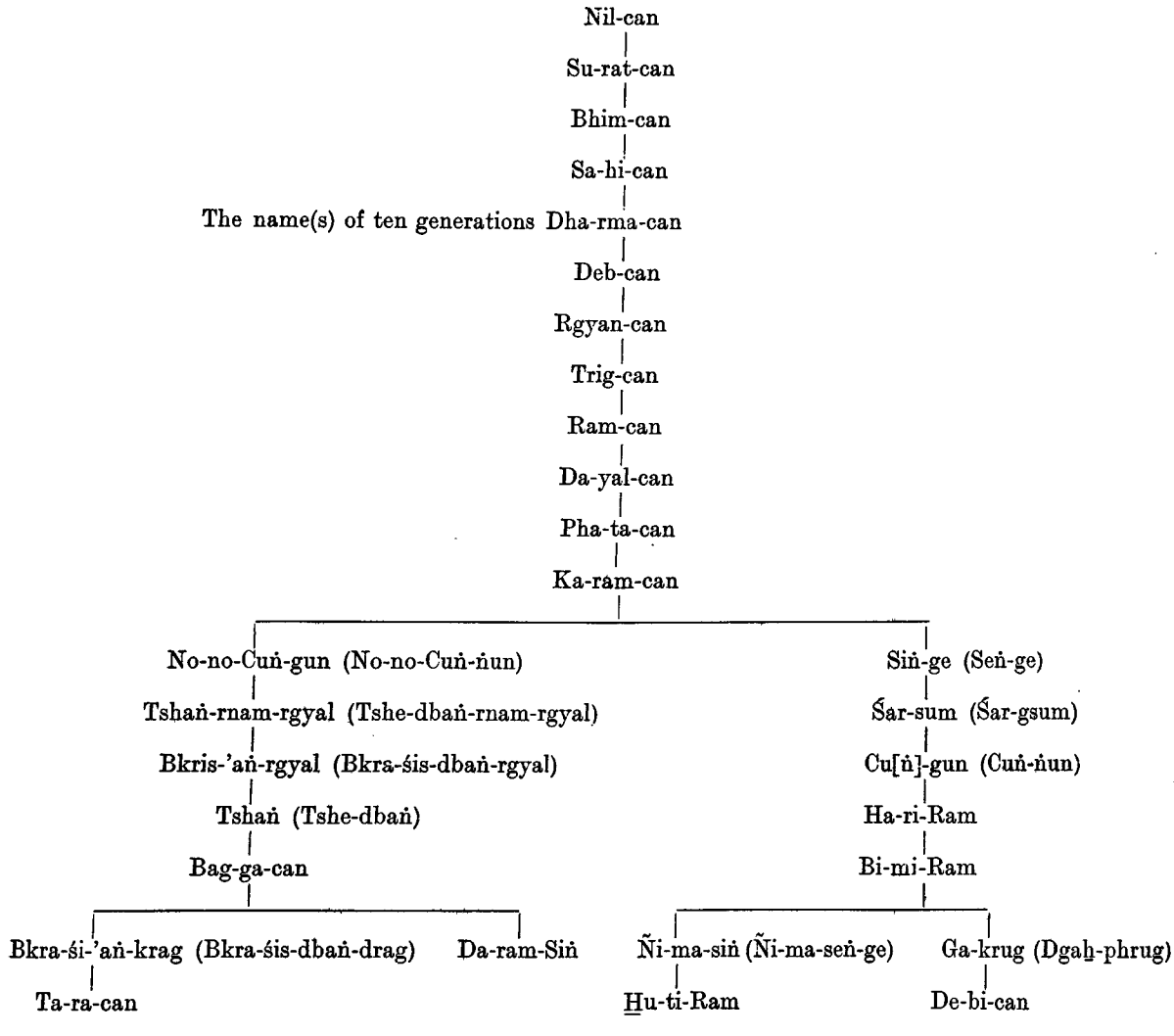
TEXT

ནག་ཨ་ཅག་ཀྱི་ན་ཡི་རྒྱ་རྡུབ་བད་ན་སྐ་ན་ལམ་བླངས་ཨ་ན་བད་ཏི་མནེ་གང་སྐྱན་ན་ཀོ་ཁྲི་ཀོ་ལོང ।



TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

[1][Zag-śa-cig-kyi-ba-yi-mu-jub-bad-na-mu-na-lam-bār 2 ba-bad-ji-min-gar-spran-na-ko-khri-Ko-loṅ.]

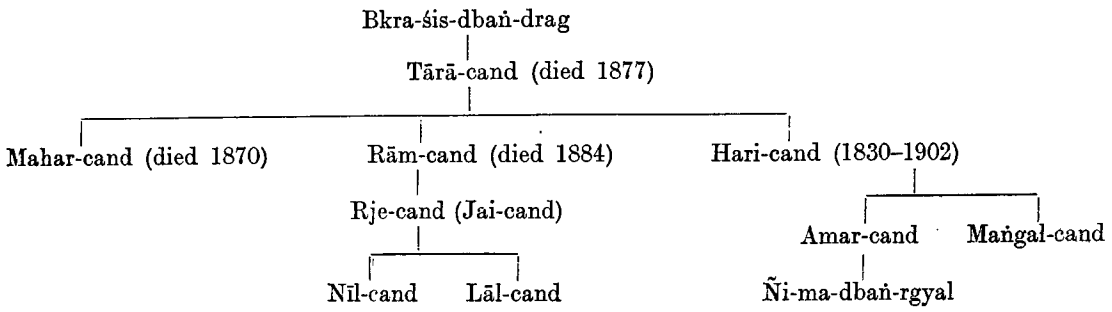


NOTES

The meaning of the words 'name (or names) of ten generations' is absolutely unintelligible to me. As regards the Tibetan forms of the names, the orthography leaves much to be desired. I suppose that the following spellings were intended:—(below Karam-can[d]): No-no-Cuṅ-ṅun, Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, Tshe-dbaṅ, Bhāga-cand, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-drag (or grags), Dharma-siṅ, Tārā-cand; Seṅ-ge, Śar-gsum (?), Cuṅ-ṅun, Harī-rām, Bhemī-rām, Ñi-ma-siṅ, Dgaḥ-phrug, Hu-ti-(?)rām, Devī-cand.

The following is the genealogical tree of Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-drag's descendants drawn up by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, and continued to the present day. Some of the dates are taken from Massey's book on Panjab genealogies.

[1] [This seems to be only the heading of an official form (Urdū) on which the genealogy was written. With the aid of Mr. C. A. Storey and Col. D. C. Phillott I make out the reading and rendering as follows:—*naqsh-i-chakī ba mūjib namūnā lambar* 2 *bābat zamīn parganā koṭhī Ko-loṅ* 'statement of property according to form number 2: account of the lands of the Parganā (district) of koṭhī Ko-loṅ'.—F. W. T.]



As regards the branch line of Guṅ-raṅ, Seṅ-ge's descendants, the following notes will suffice to bring the pedigree down to the present day:—Dgaḷ-phrug's son, Devī-cand, lived from 1832–1903. Ñi-ma-siṅ's son was Motī-rām (or Ḥu-ti-rām). Motī-rām's son, Bhāg-cand, was born in 1863. He lives at Ga-riṅ (Ska-riṅ). He has a little son called Ratan-cand.

Only a few of the names of chiefs given above are found in Lahuli inscriptions. The earliest among them seems to be Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, whose name is given as a contemporary of Spri-tim-Siṅ (Pritam-Siṅgh) of Kuḷū, *c.* 1767 A.D. It is found in a hitherto unpublished inscription from Khaṅ-gsar, Ko-loṅ. In an old document from Ko-loṅ (see my collection of inscriptions, No. 128) a certain chief called Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal is mentioned. This Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal of Ko-loṅ cannot possibly be Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal's father, as according to this document he is a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Parbat-Siṅgh, *c.* 1584 A.D. He is probably one of the Tibetan ancestors of the Ko-loṅ chiefs whose names were eradicated when the theory of the descent of the Ko-loṅ chiefs from Rājpūt ancestors was invented. As regards Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, the inscription says that he was of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's (Ikshvāku's) family. This is a statement which reminds us of the claims of the Tibetan Buddhist kings of Ladakh, who also wish to be called Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's descendants. Such a statement is in contrast with the pretended descent of the Ko-loṅ chiefs from Indian Rājpūt ancestors. Possibly in Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal's days this theory had not yet been started, and the chiefs of Ko-loṅ were quite satisfied with their relationship to the Ladakhi kings. As I see in another hitherto unpublished inscription from Kye-laṅ, one of the Bar-ḥbog chiefs, No-no-(Jo) Rnam-rgyal, is also stated to be of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's family. Then the chief Dharma-Siṅgh of Ko-loṅ is mentioned in several inscriptions as a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Bir-khyim-(Bikermān) Siṅgh, *c.* 1810 A.D. There is an inscription in Tāñkrī (Ṭākarī) and Devanāgarī characters at Taṅ-ti, Lahul, which contains the name of Otu-rām. This Otu-rām is possibly identical with Ḥu-ti-rām or Motī-rām of the above pedigree (see Inscription No. 143).

XI. The Chronicles of Ti-nan (Lahul)

When stationed at Kye-laṅ, Lahul, 1906–8, I heard a rumour that the chiefs of Ti-nan (or Gondhla) were in possession of a family chronicle. I did not, however, succeed in getting to see it. I therefore asked Miss Duncan, in 1908, to make efforts to procure it. She actually obtained the MS. from Hīrā-cand, the present chief of Ti-nan. The greater part of the document was copied and translated for her use by Maṅgal-cand, brother of the reigning Jo of Ko-loṅ. Maṅgal-cand did not consider it necessary to copy the latter part of the little book, as it contained only the names of the guests who were present at the death-ceremony of the chief Ha-ri-ya, in the sixteenth century. As Maṅgal-cand's translation was not quite literal, I had a new one made in 1908. For the present publication of the Tibetan text I intended to reproduce Miss Duncan's copy of the document. Miss Duncan had died, too early for Tibetan archæology, in 1909, and her brother's efforts to procure the Tibetan text were in vain. I therefore asked Mr. Hettasch, of Kye-laṅ, to send my old munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, from Kye-laṅ to Ti-nan to copy it once more. After several fruitless attempts to get hold of the MS. the munshi succeeded, and the Tibetan text attached below is based on his copy. My hope that he would include the list of the 40 guests who were present at the Chief Ha-ri-ya's death-ceremony was, however, not realized. On the contrary, Bzod-pa stopped his work a few lines earlier than Maṅgal-cand. He believed that the chronicle proper ended there, and that the rest of the MS. had nothing to do with history. Bzod-pa's copy closely agrees with the translations made from Miss Duncan's copy of the text. A few names of chiefs, omitted in Bzod-pa's copy through some clerical error, were restored from the translations.

The principality of Ti-nan extends from the confluence of the rivers Chandrā and Bhāgā about 20 miles up the valley of the river Chandrā, and is of little importance. The language of its inhabitants is Ti-nan, and Manchat in a few villages. For specimens see my publication, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, and *Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahoul's* (ZDMG., vol. lxiii, pp. 65 ff.).

TEXT

[གཞེང་ཀྱི་མེ་ལོང་ཉེས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཞུགས་སོ ||]

ཨཨ || ཨོཾ་སྭ། | ཨོཾ་སྭ་སྟི་སི་དཾ ।

སྒྲུ་གསུམ་མངོན་ར་སྒྲུང་པའི་སྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་[རྣང་] ।[1]

སྒྲིབ་གཉིས་བག་ཆགས་སྤོང་མཛད་དམ་པའི་ཚོས ।

སྒབ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་མཛེས་པའི་དཔེ་བདུན་སྟེ ।

སྒྲུབས་གནས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ||

[1] [The scansion is faulty. Perhaps སྟོན་པ is an insertion.—F. W. T.]

ཚོས་སྐུ་མདོག་དུ་སྐུང་བའི་སྣང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་དང་ ।
ལོང་སྐུ་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད་པའི་སྐུ་ངན་གཟིགས །
སྐལ་སྡེ་བཅུད་[ཀྱི]་འདུལ་མཛད་པ་བླ་སྒྲུང་ ।
སྐལ་སྐུ་སྐབ་པ་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ॥
སྐགས་རྗེ་ཚེན་པོའི་སྐུལ བ་སྲོང་བཅན་ཤམ(སྒོམ) ।
ཁྲོམ་གཉེར་སྐུལ་བ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཁི་བཙུན་དང་ ।
སྒོལ་ལྡང་སྐུལ་བ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཀོང་རྩོ་དང་ ।
འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ॥

ཀྱེ་ཨགས । ཅི(ཇི?)སྐྱོར་ཅི་བྱ་རུ་ཆུ་གམ་རྒྱུང་གི་སྐེར ।
དང་བཅུད་ཤེམས་ཅན་སྐྱེ་མཐུན་ལས་ལ་གྱུར ।
འཁོར་ལོ་རྩེབ་བཅུད་ཁུ་འབངས་ཐུར་འོག ।
མདོ་བཀོད་ཨགས་དེན་ཚེན་གཤེར་ཀྱི་སྐེང ।
གཅུ་ཁ་སྐྱོར་གཤམ་ས་གཉེས་ཀྱི་བར ।
སྐྱོང་གསུམ་མི་མཇེད་ཤ་ཀྱའི་ཆུལ་པོའི་མིང་ ।
གྱེད་ལ་ཁྲད་འགགས་བྱར་ཆུལ་པོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ ।
ཁྲད་བར་དམ་ཚོས་དང་ས་གངས་ཅན་ཕྱོང ।

ལོ་གྲངས་ཁྲད་འགགས་ཆུལ་ས་མ་གང་ས ।

ཚོས་ཆུལ་ཚེན་པོ་མེ་དུར་སྐོང་གི་དགྱུ་སྐོག་མཐོ་བའི་དུས । ཡུལ་ལ་ཁྲད་འགགས་སྐུ་མཁར་དག་ལ་རྩེ་འདིར ། । ཀྱེ་ཨགས । མེ་རིགས་ཁྲང་རྒྱུ་འོད་གསལ་ལྡུ་དས་ཚད་ཚུམ་ནི । ཀུན་དེ་(ཀུ་གེ་)ཡུགས་མཁར་དས་ཚད । མི་དབང་ཚེན་པོ་ར་ན་ས་ལ་དང་ । རེའི་སྐས་རྟོ་རྩེ་ས་ལ । རེའི་སྐས་ཀྱེ་མ་ས་ལ । རེའི་སྐས་དང་ཀ་ཆུལ་པོ । རེའི་སྐས་བསོད་རྣམས་དཔལ་སྟེ । རེའི་སྐས་བསོད་རྣམས་ཆུ་མཚོ । རེའི་ནོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆུ[ལ]་པོ । རེའི་ནོ་ཚེ་རིང་ཆུལ་པོ । རེའི་སྐས་བཀྲ་ཤིས । རེའི་སྐས་བཁ་དེ་མཁྱེ । [རེའི་སྐས་སྤུ་གུ་མན་རྟ । རེའི་སྐས་ཀ་དི་ཡ । རེའི་ནོ་ཆུལ་པོ་དང་ । རེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་ཤས་བ ।] ཚབ་སྟེང་ཡར་དོའི་བཆུ་ལྟ་ཁྱུང་ཤེལ་བར་ཤོག । ཀྱེ་ཨགས । ཡོན་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་ཆུལ་པོ་དང་ । ལྷོ་ཟོ[ས་]ཀྱེར་གཅིག་དང་ । ཡུམ་ཀྱི་མཚོག་སྤུར་ངང་དབང(ངག་དབང)་སྤོ་མ་གསུམ་ཀྱི[ས] । སྐུ་གཤེགས་ཀ་རིའི་དོན་བྱ་ཐང་ཆུས་མཚོར་རྟེན་བཞེངས །

[ཀྱེ་ནན་ཐོས་ཟེར་དོན་ལ । ཀུན་དེ་ཤེས་ཐ་བའི་ཡུལ་ནི་མིར་བང་སྐུལ་སྡོགས་སུ་ཡོར་དེ । དེ་དག་གི་མེས་པོའང་དེ་ཡུལ་དས་ཚད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་འབྱུག ॥]

TRANSLATION

The chronicle called the 'Golden Mirror' is set down [in the following]:—

Oṃ-mo | Oṃ svasti sid[dh]aṃ! To the Teacher Buddha, who is manifest in the three bodies; to the holy Religion (books), which purify from attachment to the two kinds of moral obscurities; to the Clerical Order, adorned by the three teachings (doctrines ?) —to these refuges, the three jewels, I offer a salutation.

To Amitābha, revealed as the Dharma-kāya; to Avalokiteśvara, who as the Sambhoga-kāya serves the good of the world; to Padmasambhava, who as the Nirmāṇa-kāya subdues the eight classes [of demons]: to these three powerful incarnations I offer a salutation.

To Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, an incarnation of the Greatly Compassionate (Avalokiteśvara); to the goddess Khri-btsun (one of his queens), an incarnation of Khrom-ñer (Bhṛikuṭī); to the goddess Koṅ-jo (his other queen), an incarnation of the green Tārā: to these three helpers of created beings I offer a salutation.

All hail! In the treasure-house of the air, the emerald vessel of the svastika, all the creatures came into existence in a satisfactory manner. Below, the eight-spoked wheel and the thunderbolt of the subjects (?); above, the golden and precious lower ground; between these two dwelling-places or beautiful receptacles there are three thousand suffering worlds under King Śākya.[1]

Among countries the most eminent country is Bur-rgyal-bod (Tibet). The holy religion spread particularly in the snowy regions.

While the exceedingly lofty palace of the capital Ma-gar-sa was held by the great religious King (Dharmarāja), Bi-dhur-Siṅ (Bahādur-Siṅgh), with his helmet high, [there lived] in this castle Nal-rtse, the most eminent in the country—all hail!—a family of undefiled origin called Ḥod-gsal ('Bright Light'), which was descended from the gods. It originated at Lcags-mkhar in Gun-de (Gu-ge). [Its members are the following]:—

The great lord of men, Ra-na-pha-la.
And his son Rdo-rje-pha-la.
His son Ñi-ma-pha-la.
His son Naṅ-ka-rgyal-po.
His son Bsod-rnams(nams)-dpal-[lde ?].
His son Bsod-rnams(nams)-rgya-mtsho.
His younger brother Bkra-śis-rgya[l]-po.
His younger brother Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-po.
His son Bkra-śis.
His son Paḥa-ri-mkhan.
His son Bha-gha-man-rta.
His son Ha-ri-ya.
His younger brother Rgyal-po.
His son Dpal-ḥbar.

[May their lifetime become as firm as the powerful mountains][2] and may their government increase like the fifteenth of the waxing moon! All hail! By the donors

[1] [Perhaps the meaning of this obscure passage is more or less as follows:—'In the treasury of air, the emerald svastika vessel which is the universe (*phyi-snod*), originated through the united works of the creatures in it—below, the eight-spoked wheel with its thralls; above, the bejewelled, golden heaven—between these two . . . are three thousand worlds, which are King Śākya's (Buddha's) name.'—F. W. T.]

[2] Only in Miss Duncan's translation.

Rgyal-po and Blo-dros-skyid, both, and Ṅaṅ(Ṅag)-dbaṅ-gro[l]-ma, the best of mothers, by these three, at the death-ceremony of Ha-ri, a Byaṅ-chub mchod-rten (stūpa) was erected for his soul. And as a verbal record, this chronicle, called 'The golden mirror', was written. [It is astonishing how much was gathered and given for the sake of religion. All hail! The number of what was presented according to the word. . . .

And the others, who brought flesh and beer for the benefit of men, were . . . (*c.* 40 names) . . . like nectar of the gods.

May all the partakers in this sacrifice meet later on in Mṅon-dgaḥi-żiṅ (one of the heavens).

. . . the red colour of idols . . .

. . . be blessed!]

[The chief of Ti-nan says that Gun-de is situated in Bir-Baṅgāl (Baṛā Baṅgāl, a province of Kuḷū), and that his ancestors came from there.]

NOTES

As is plainly stated, the above chronicle was compiled at the death-ceremony of the Chief Ha-ri-ya, who was a contemporary of the Kuḷū king Bi-dhur-(= Bahādur) Siṅgh. King Bahādur-Siṅgh of Kuḷū reigned, according to Dr. Vogel's investigations, about the middle of the sixteenth century. This Kuḷū king claims to have ruled over Lahul, and the chief Ha-ri-ya may have been his agent in the country. The very powerful Ladakhi king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I, who reigned at about the same time, also claims to have conquered Kuḷū (including Lahul). Possibly one conquest followed the other.

The statement of the Ti-nan chiefs regarding their descent from a Gu-ge family is of great importance. It is in contrast to another statement, found in the chronicles of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ, in Lahul. The latter says that the Ti-nan chiefs came to Lahul from Baṅgāl (Choṭā or Baṛā Baṅgāl, now a province of Kuḷū). The clear statement of the Ti-nan chronicle, which was compiled three centuries before the Ko-loṅ chronicle, is, of course, the more trustworthy of the two. I believe that the family was of purely Tibetan origin. The name Phala (*pāla*) is possibly an Indianization of the Tibetan word *dpal*, glory, which is so often found in Tibetan names. The original name of the family, Hod-gsal, is of Bon-po origin. Hod-gsal is the name of a Bon-po heaven; see S. Ch. Das' Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 1120. A place called Lcags-mkhar, 'iron castle,' I have not yet been able to trace on a map.

Not a single one of the names of the Ti-nan chiefs has as yet been found in inscriptions of Lahul. A certain inscription from Żug-mur, Lahul, mentions a Ha-yar-jo (No. 127 of my collection). But, as Ha-yar is mentioned in other documents as a place-name, the word Ha-yar-jo had better be translated by 'Chief of Ha-yar'. Otherwise I should have felt inclined to identify Ha-yar with Ha-ri-ya of Ti-nan. There is a somewhat indistinct inscription in Śāradā characters on a boulder about a mile below the present village of Ti-nan. Another Śāradā inscription on a stone idol in the Chos-ḫkhor (probably Stod-rgyal-mtshan-chos-ḫkhor) monastery near Si-su, which belongs to the Ti-nan district, contains nothing but mystic syllables. It was discovered by Mr. G. C. L. Howell and myself, and examined by Dr. Vogel. A Byaṅ-chub mchod-rten is a *mchod-rten* with square steps between the upper bowl and the square lower part. It is a pity that the list of the forty guests was not copied; for it contained, in all probability, the names of several contemporary chiefs of Lahul of those days. The Mṅon-dgaḥi-żiṅ is, according to S. Ch. Das' dictionary, a mythological garden, 'the world of joy in the East.' Ma-gar-sa is the name of the ancient capital of Kuḷū. Bur-rgyal-bod probably stands for Spu-rgyal-bod, an ancient name of Tibet. Compare *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, part ii.

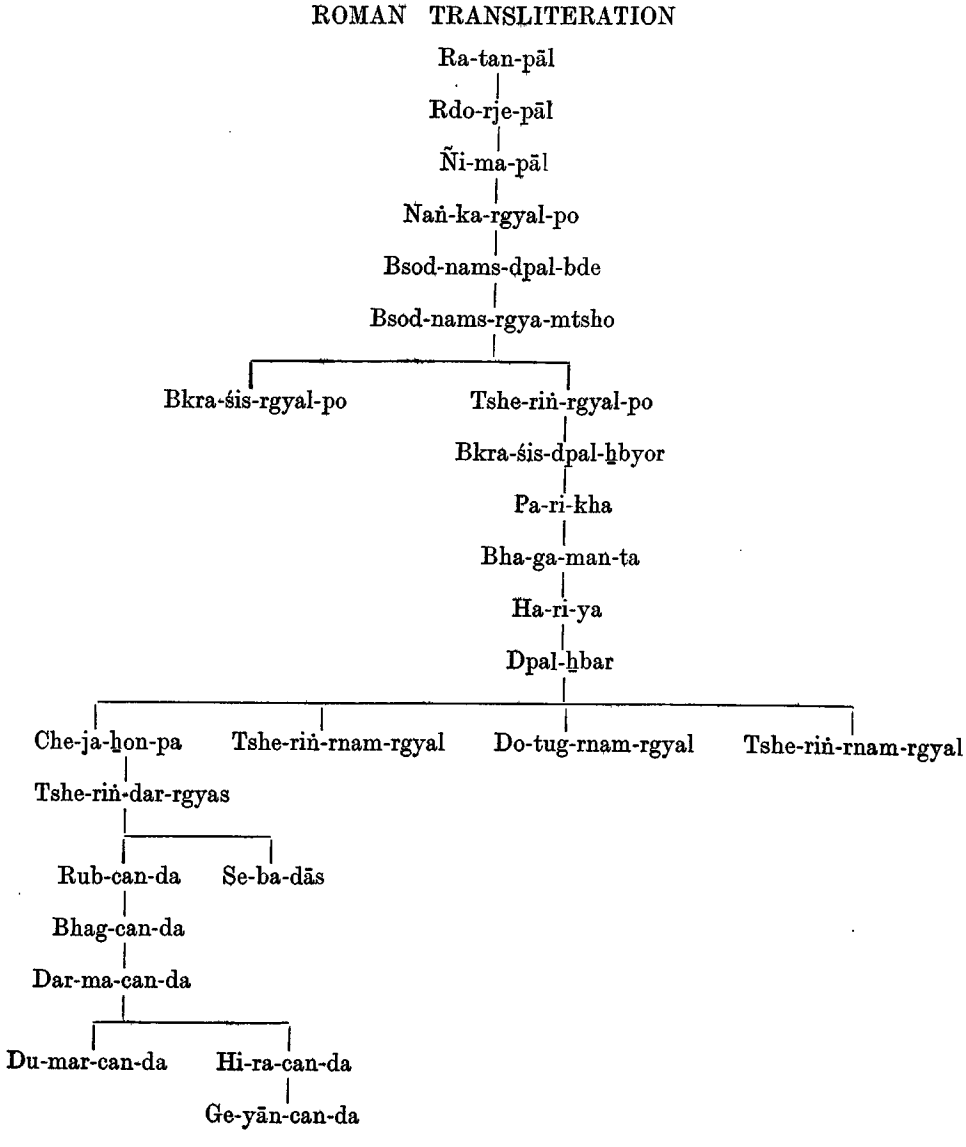
Later additions:—In the place of the name Gu-ge, which was plainly legible in Maṅgal-cand's copy, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen's copy contains the name Gun-de. I am fully convinced that this is due to a recent alteration of the original text. My conclusions, based on the old reading Gu-ge, were not welcomed by the present chief of Ko-loṅ,

whose interest it is to derive the Ti-nan family, as well as his own, from Rājpūt ancestors. If the family came from Gu-ge, it must be of Tibetan origin; if it came from unknown Gun-de, it might be of Rājpūt origin. The fabricated name Gun-de suited the Ko-loṅ chief's purpose particularly well, as it apparently explained the present name of Ti-nan, viz. Gondhla. But the name Gondhla is of quite different origin. The principality received this name from the important and ancient monastery of Gandhola, which is situated within its boundaries. I am convinced that the text of the original document has been purposely altered since 1908, and that this alteration was suggested by the Ko-loṅ chief. Fortunately, the impostor forgot to alter also the other Tibetan names contained in the chronicle, viz. Lcags-mkhar, Ḥod-gsal, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, etc. They point distinctly to a Tibetan origin of the family.

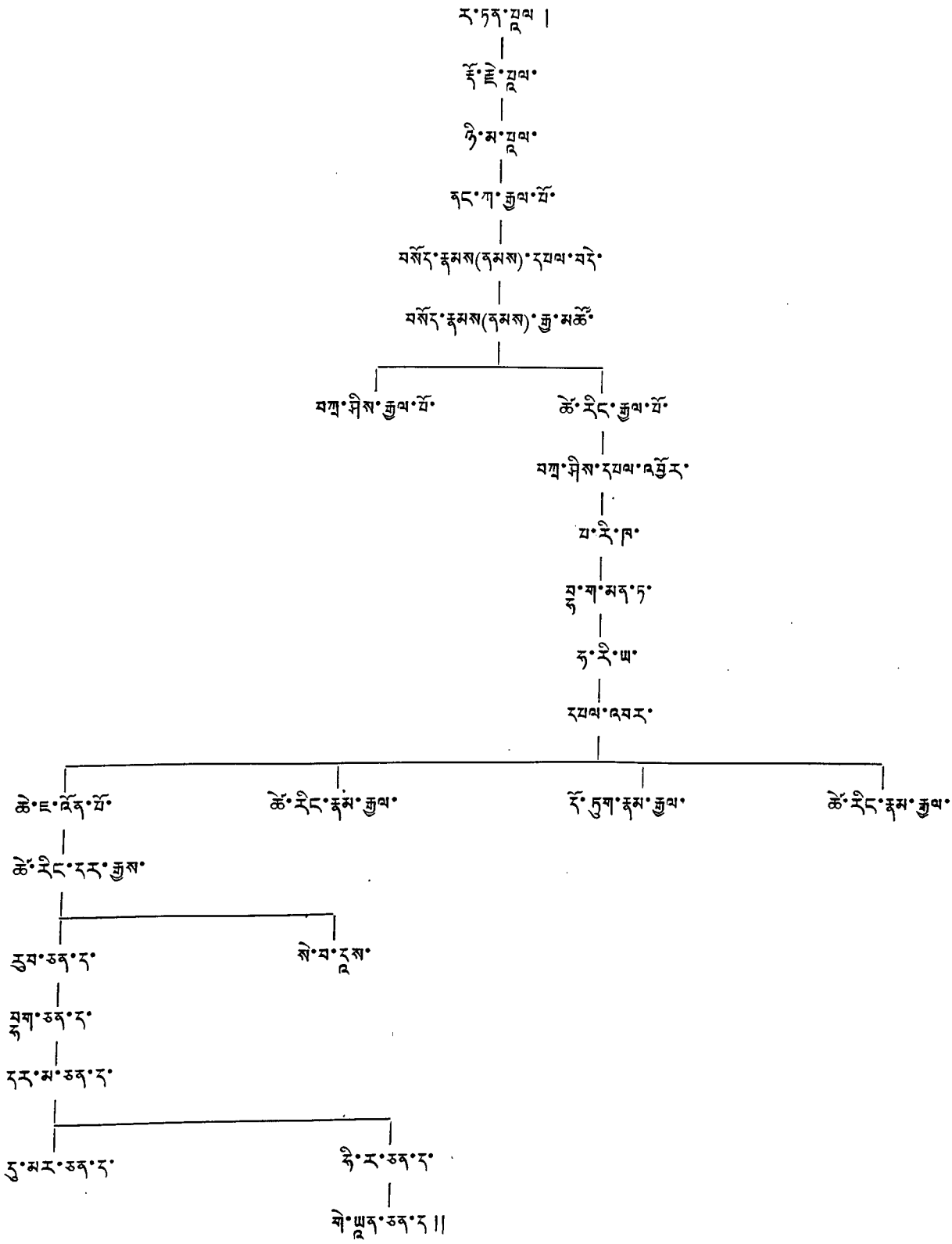
My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

XII. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Ti-nan

The following genealogical tree of the chiefs of Ti-nan was obtained at Ti-nan by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, of Kye-laṅ, in 1910, when he went to Ti-nan at my request to copy 'The Chronicles of Ti-nan'. By some mistake he got hold of the genealogical tree instead of the chronicles, and in this way this document was unexpectedly discovered. We should have expected the first half, at least, of the genealogical tree to agree with the list of names given in the chronicles. But this is not the case. For this reason it is necessary to publish both separately.



TIBETAN TEXT



NOTES

Taking the names singly, we notice the following deviations from the list given in the *Chronicles of Ti-nan*:—The first chief is here called Ra-tan, instead of Ra-na; the dynastical name is here spelt Pāl, not Pha-la. The chief of the seventh generation is here called Bkra-śis-dpal-ḫbyor, against Bkra-śis of the chronicle. The Chief Ha-ri-ya's brother is omitted here.

But there is another radical difference between the two lists, viz. that, according to the chronicles, Bkra-śis-rgyal-po and Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-po are Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho's younger brothers, whilst here they are stated to be his sons. Which of the two versions is correct will perhaps remain obscure for ever.

With regard to the second half of the genealogy, which contains entirely new material, it is remarkable that it consists of nine generations only, whereas we should expect about eleven, considering that it covers a period of about 350 years, from 1550 to 1900 A.D.

I do not think that, beside that given under No. 5 below, there exist any stone inscriptions containing the names of Ti-nan chiefs. But, as there are a number of paper documents in the country which commemorate the erection of certain stūpas, or the acquisition of important books, we might examine them in search of names of Ti-nan chiefs.

1. Bar-ḫbog document, commemorating the acquisition of a Sūtra *Za-ma-tog* in the time of Pirtib-Singhe of Kuḷū (Partāb-Siṅgh, 1569 A.D.). It mentions Tshe-riṅ-sa-grub and Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, father and son, chiefs of Bar-ḫbog. Then other chiefs of Kar-sdaṅ (Mkhar-daṅ), Kye-(g)laṅ, Ti-no, Ha-yar, Lcug-dra, Sa-raṅ, Bi-liṅ, etc., are also mentioned, but none of Ti-nan.

2. Bar-ḫbog document, commemorating the acquisition of a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* during the reign of Tre-tru-Siṅ of Kuḷū. This Kuḷū king is, as I believe, Pṛithvī-Siṅgh, *c.* 1618 A.D. The syllable *Pri* is pronounced *Tri* in Tibetan. The *v* was changed to *u* in Tibetan. The following chiefs of Bar-ḫbog are mentioned in this document:—Ḫbrug-rnam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, No-no-Phun-tshogs, Ḫbrug-bde-legs, all of whom belong to the third generation after Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, which circumstance again speaks in favour of my identification of Tre-tru-Siṅ with Pṛithvī-Siṅgh. Again, other contemporary chiefs of Lha-braṅ, Pa-spa-rag, Kar-daṅ, Guṅ-raṅ, Ti-mur, and even Ti-nan are mentioned; in the latter place a certain No-no (younger chief) Rnam-rgyal. This Rnam-rgyal is in all probability one of the three Rnam-rgyals who are mentioned in the genealogical tree of Ti-nan as Dpal-ḫbar's sons, viz. the two Tshe-riṅ-rnam-rgyals and Do-tug-rnam-rgyal.

3. Decree of Riddhi(Ṛiddhi)-Siṅgh of Kuḷū to the Gandhola monastery (*c.* 1663 A.D.). Although Ti-nan is mentioned in this decree, the chief's name is not given.

4. Document from Ko-loṅ, commemorating the erection of a *mchod-rten*, in the time of Parbat-Siṅgh, of Kuḷū (*c.* 1584 A.D.). It does not mention Ti-nan, but Śi-la, which name may refer to the same principality. There it mentions a Rgyal-po-Tshe-riṅ (or Rgyal-po-Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde). It is, of course, possible that this prince is identical with Ha-ri-ya's brother, Rgyal-po, Rgyal-po being the abbreviated form of the name; but there is no certainty about it.

5. Votive tablet from Ko-loṅ (?), time of Spri-tim-Siṅgh of Sur-stan-pur of Kuḷū (Pritam-Siṅgh of Sultanpur, *c.* 1767 A.D.). It mentions a No-no (younger prince) Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu of Ti-nan, who cannot be found in the genealogical tree given above.

6. An unknown queen, Rani Dzvivanti (Rānī Jīvantī, perhaps of Ti-nan), is mentioned in an inscription at Gandhola.

That is practically all that can be gathered from documents.

When Dr. Vogel travelled in Lahul in 1902, he made the personal acquaintance of the Chief Hīrā-cand, who showed him the Maṇi monastery at Ti-nan. Of this monastery the Chief said that he had built it himself in 1880 A.D. A small image in this sanctuary had the inscription: *Jo-Bsod-nams-stob-rgyas-la-na-mo.* It was stated to refer to the Chief Hīrā-cand's deceased brother. This inscription apparently contains the spiritual name of the prince. The following ancient monasteries are situated within the principality of Ti-nan:—Gandhola (Padmasambhava's time), Chos-skor (Atīśa's time), Śi-la (of unknown origin). But the chronicles of the country do not tell us anything about them, nor do they contain the date of the erection of the stately castle of Ti-nan by a Kuḷū king, as tradition has it.

XIII. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Bar-ḫbog, Lahul

When stationed as a missionary at Kye-laṅ in Lahul, in 1906, I was told that a certain family of zamindars at Bar-ḫbog was descended from an ancient line of chiefs, and that the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog were once the highest among the baronial houses of Lahul. To find out whether the family was still in possession of old documents or a chronicle, I sent my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ, to Bar-ḫbog, to make inquiries. Bzod-pa was so fortunate as to discover a MS. containing the genealogical tree of the family and two votive documents. The latter record the acquisition of a *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* and a *Za-ma-tog* by members of the family, and contain the names of two kings of Kuḷū. This is of great importance; for without this clue we should not be able to furnish the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog with rough dates.

The castle of Bar-ḫbog, which is still the seat of the family, is situated on a hill above Mkhar-daṅ, the ancient capital of Lahul, on the left bank of the Bhāgā river, opposite Kye-laṅ. The very site of the castle indicates that its residents may have really held authority over Lahul.

Neither the chiefs nor the castle of Bar-ḫbog are mentioned in the chronicles of Ladakh or Kuḷū; but they occur occasionally in historical documents from Lahul.

Although I did not succeed in seeing the original MS. of the pedigree, I am convinced that Bzod-pa's copy of it is quite trustworthy, as I know him to be a very reliable worker. With the exception of a short passage in Ṭākarī, the document is written in Tibetan *Dbu-can* character. But the language does not appear to be Tibetan throughout. As I find it impossible to translate the non-Tibetan passage, I shall simply transcribe it.[1] The few historical notes which Bzod-pa added to the original document will be reproduced and translated in brackets.

NOTES

The word *ko-khri*, pronounced *kothri*, is the Hindi *koṭhī*, a 'government office'. In Lahul, as in Kuḷū, this word is generally used for the whole district which is governed by the office.[2] For notes on the first non-Tibetan lines see 'The Genealogical-tree of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ'.

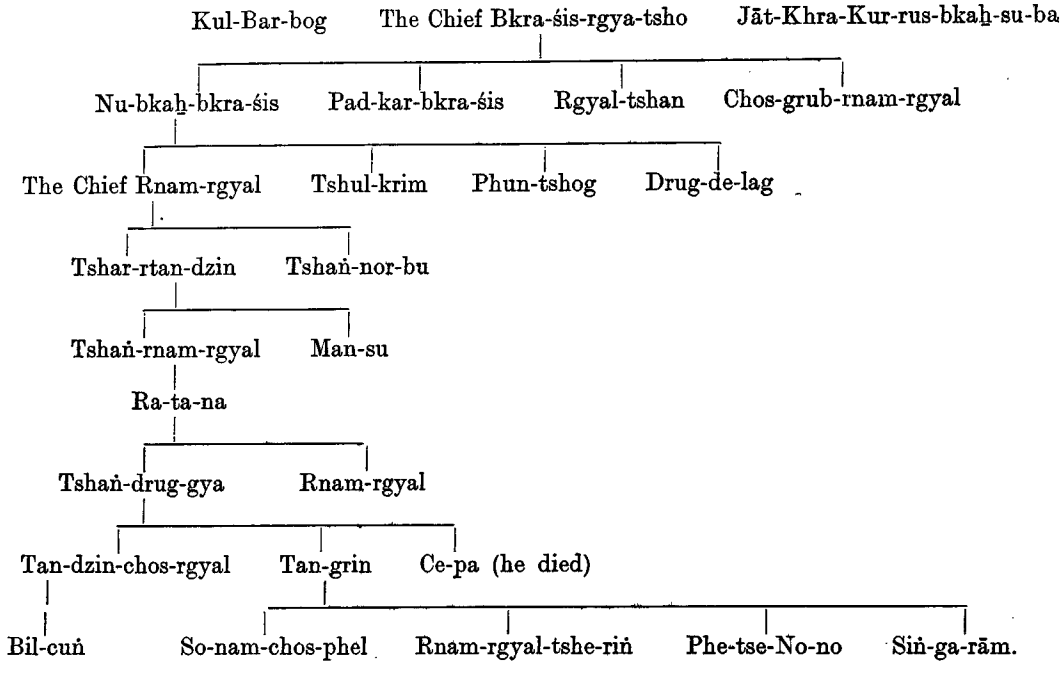
The word *Byo*, which is placed before the name of the first chief, probably stands for *Jo*, 'chief.' It is an orthographical mistake. Hardly any of the names in the list are written correctly. The following is an attempt of my own at restoring them to their correct forms:—Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, Nu-bkaḫ-bkra-śis, Pad-dkar-bkra-śis, Rgyal-mtshan, Chos-grub-rnam-rgyal, Jo-Rnam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims, Phun-tshogs, Drug(or Ḫbrug)-bde-legs, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-brtan-ḫdzin, Tshaṅ(Thse-dbaṅ)-nor-bu, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-rnam-rgyal, Mansu, Ra-ta-na, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-drug-brgya, Rnam-rgyal, Brtan-ḫdzin-chos-rgyal, Brtan-drin (Rta-mgrin?), Gces-pa, Bil-(Bil-ba)-chuṅ, Bsod-nams-chos-ḫphel, Rnam-rgyal-tshe-riṅ, Phe-tse-No-no, Siṅ-ga-Rām.

[1] [But see note 1 on p. 220.—F. W. T.]

[2] Cf. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt. i, p. 136.

TRANSLATION

[1] [Nag-se-tsi-kabaḥ-be-mu-dzab-na-mu-na-lam-bar 2 ('number two') bā-paṭa-ji-miṅ-gar-pa-nra-ko-khri-Bar-bog (' province of Bar-ḥbog ').]



(This genealogy of the chiefs [was copied] from the one that has been preserved in MS. with the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog. According to a statement by the old [ex-]chief who lives there, it is said to have been written during the reign of the Kuḷū Rājā Mān-Siṅgh.

And their power or *jāgīr* remained firmly established down to the chief Bil-cuṅ or Cuṅ-ṅun. After that they were left without a *jāgīr* and [now they] earn a livelihood as peasants. Written by Bzod-pa of Kye-laṅ.)

As we know from other documents from Lahul, Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho was a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Partāb-Siṅgh, who reigned from 1560 to 1584. Bil-cuṅ and his four cousins, on the other hand, were contemporaries of the Kuḷū king, Mān-Siṅgh, 1674–1717 A.D. Thus the genealogical tree has to be placed between the years 1570 and 1700. This is a comparatively short time, if we consider that it comprises nine generations. There must be a mistake somewhere. The genealogical roll was not continued after the chiefs were deposed by Mān-Siṅgh. From another document we learn, in addition, the name of a chief who preceded Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho. It is Tshe-riṅ-sa-ḥgrub, a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Bahādur Siṅgh, and of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I of Ladakh.[2]

It is very probable that the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog were placed in authority by Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I of Ladakh on the occasion of his conquest of Kuḷū, which included that of Lahul. The chiefs of Bar-ḥbog had to watch over the interests of the Ladakhi kings. They probably took the side of the Ladakhi kings when Mān-Siṅgh of Kuḷū conquered Lahul, and that may have been the reason why they were deposed.

[1] [On the transliteration and purport of this formula see p. 209, note 1.—F. W. T.]

[2] It is the Bar-ḥbog document that commemorates the acquisition of a *Sūtra Za-ma-tog* in the time of Partāb-Siṅgh of Kuḷū.

Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. L.

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XIV. Account of the Trade between the Kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū

When stationed at Kye-laṅ as a missionary (1906–8), I heard that a man was still alive in Kyor (Lahul) who in his younger days had done service in the trade between the kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū. He was named Drun-drub (Don-grub), of the house Myoṅ-pa of Kyor. I sent my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, to him to write down the tale of the trade according to his dictation. Bzod-pa's MS. consisted of three pages of Bu-nan text, written in Tibetan characters. The orthography employed is the same as that which we used for our translation of St. Mark. The Bu-nan text of the 'tale of the trade' was published without a translation in my collection *Die mythologischen und historischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, under No. 9. Of this collection only forty copies were printed at Kye-laṅ.

TEXT

ལ་དགས་ཀུ་ཡོ་དང་ཀུ་རྒྱ་ཀུ་ཡོ་ཉེས་པེ་རེའི་ཚོང་

ལིག་རྩམ་ཀྱི་ལོ་སྐྱས །

དང་ཡོ་དང་ཡོ་གར་ཞང་ལོད་པ་རྩི་ལྷང་ལིག་ཤི་ཡེན་རེ ། རྩང་ཅི་ཀུ་རྒྱ་ཀུ་ཡོ་ཉི་ཀི་ཟེ་ལོད་ཐགས་ཅི་གར་ཞ་ཆིང་རེ ། ཉལ་ཟི་ལྷང་ལིག་ཤི་ཡེན་རེ ། རྩ་རྒྱ་ཅགས་ཉོག་ལ་དགས་ཀུ་ཡོ་དང་ཀུ་རྒྱ་ཀུ་ཡོ་ཉེས་པེ་ཇོ་ཐེན་རྩོག་ཚར་ཀ་ཉི་ཀི་ལིག་ཤི་ཡེན་རེ ། ཀུ་རྒྱ་ཀུ་ཡོ་རི་ལ་དགས་ཀུ་ཡོ་རོག་ལོ་ཁྲང་ཅགས་ནོའི་སྲོག་རྩམ་དང་། ལ་དགས་ཀུ་ཡོ་རི་ཐེད་མང་ཀན་ཅི་རྒྱ་རི་སྲོག་རྩམ་ལིག་ཤི་ཡེན་རེ། ཏུ་ནང་ནོཅག་ལིག་ཅིས་ཉང་ ། ཀུ་རྒྱ་ཀུ་ཡོ་རྩི་གར་ཞ་པ་ཏོག་རིག་དང་ཁེ་ཁལ་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཉོག ། ལ་དགས་ཀུ་ཡོ་རོག་ཅགས་ པ་ཀྱེ་རེ་རེ་ལོ་ཁྲང་དང་ཁེ་ཁལ་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ཀྱམ་དེ་རེ ། གར་ཞ་པ་དང་མེ་རྒྱག་པ་ཆོ་ཀུ་རྒྱང་ཅེ་ཅགས་པ་ཀྱེ་རེ་རེ་ཡོག་ཀ་རེ་རྩམ ། ཐ་རྒྱ་ཅགས་ཆྱོའི་ལ་དགས་མང་ཁ་ནག་རེལ་ཚོ་རིང་ནང་ ། ལ་དགས་མང་ཅེ་ཀུ་ཡོའི་ཡོ་ཉོ་རྒྱོ་ཀི་གར་ཞང་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཅགས་ཀུ་ཐ་ར་མེན ། ཏུ་ནང་གར་ཞ་པ་དང་མེ་རྒྱག་པ་ཐེ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱག་ཅེ་རྒྱང་ཅགས་པ་ཀྱེ་རེ་རེ་དང་ཅགས་ཅོག་ཅ་ གང་ ཡུའི་ཡས་ཀེ་ཐ་རྒྱ་ཡོ་ཉོ་ཉེད་རེད་ད་རྩམ ། ཏུ་ནང་ཐ་རྒྱ་ཡོ་ཉ་ཞར་ཞང་ཞ་པ་དང་མེ་རྒྱག་པ་ཆྱོའི་དོག་ཅགས་ཆྱོའི་ཀལ་ཇེ་ལིང་ཀི་ཡས་ཀྱོག་རེལ་རྩམ ། ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཡམ་ཅེ་རེ་ཀྱི་ལང་མང་ཅེ་མ་ནི་ཡ ། གར་དང་མང་ཅེ་ནིན་ཟ ། ཀུང་ལེབ་ནང་ ། ཡང་ན་ཀ་ཟིང་གིལ་ཀུ་ནང་རེ ། ཆྱོའི་གར་དང་ཇོམ་མེན ། ལ་དགས་མང་ཅགས་ལོ་ཞུང་ཀྱ་ཐལ་ལེག་རེལ་ཀྱི་ཇོར་ཀུ་ནི ། ལ་དགས་པ་ཟི་ཀུང་པ་ཇོག་ཐུ་ཡང་ན་ བགས་ཀིའི་ཀ་རང་ཅེ་ད་ཐུམ་མེན ། ཐ་རྒྱའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱོག་ཝེར་ཀ་ཁེད་ཀུ་ ། ཀུ་རེའི་ཀིས་ཀ་རེལ་རྩམ ། ལིང་ཀི་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཅགས་ ཐུ་ཇི་དུ་ཇི ། ཐ་རྒྱང་ཅི་ཅགས་པ་ཆོ་རི་ཐུ་ཀི་ཀུ་ཅི་ཡོལ་མེན ། ཏུ་ནང་ཐ་རྒྱ་ཐུ་ཀུ་ཡི་ཀུ་ཡོ་ཉི་ཀི་ཟེ་ལོད་མེན ། ཀུ་ཞུང་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཀུང་པ་ཚོང་ཡའི་ཡོ་ཉོ་ཀི་ཡེན་རེ ། ཀུ་རྒྱང་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཐུ་ཞེ་རྩམ ། ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཀུང་པ་ཚོང་ཡའི་ཡོ་ཉོ་ཀི་ཡེན་རེ ། ཀུ་རྒྱང་ཡས་ཀྱོག་ཀུང་ཡ

ཁོ་རེགས་ལ་དགས་མང་ཅགས་རེལ་རྒྱལ་རྐྱ་ནག་མའི་ཀུ་ཟ་རིང་ནང་ | གངས་ཀང་ཤིང་པ་ལེབ་ཅིས་ཏོག་ཅི | ཐ་རྒྱ་མའི་ཀུ་ཇི་ཞེལ་ཟ | ཤིང་པ་ཚོ་ལྷང་ལིག་ཅ་ཞས་ཏོག་རེ | ཚྱེའི་དོག་བར་དོ་རོའི་ཀན་ཅིས་ཁང་ | ཅག་ན་རོཞང་མང་ཤེད་ཀུ་ནང་ཇོད་མེན | རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཞས་ཏོག་ཀོ་ཁོང་ཇོ་ཁ་ར་ཅན་དང་ | ཀུང་རང་ཇོ་མོ་ཁི་རྩམ་ཀོཞན་ཚོ | ཐྲེམས་ལིག་ཅི་པ་མེ་བྱོག་ཐུ་ཧང་པ་ས་ལི་རྩམ་ཁྱོ་ཁི་ཀི་རེན་ཟ | ཐྲེམས་ལིག་ཇི་མེ་ཇོག་ཚད་པ་ཁ་ཀལ་རྒྱམ་རིང་ནང་ | ཁང་ཀའི་ཚད་པ་མ་ཀལ་ག | ཐ་དྲག་རྒྱན་ཇི་ཀུ་རེའི་ཁེས་རྒྱམ | ཀྱེགས་ཁང་སྐྱ་པ་ཇི་ཐྲག་ལེས་ཅིས་ཁང་ | རྒྱ་རེག་རྒྱག་ཞས་ཏེ་ཁ་ཁ་མོ་ཚྱེའི་ཐུ་ཉེག་ཇི་རེལ་རྒྱམ་ཀྱི་ཚམས་ཅིས་ཏོག | ཁ་རེལ་ནང་རེ་ཡོག་ག་རེལ་ཇི | མི་ཇོག་ཀྱང་ལལ་ནང་ | ཀུ་ཛེ་ཡོ་རཛ | ཚྱེའི་དོག་ཁ་རེ་ཀུང་མའི་ཀྱིད་ཡོ་ཀུ་ཟ ||

ཀྱིད་པ་ཚྱོང་པ་རྒྱན་རྒྱལ་ཅོ་ཤད་ཇི | ཀྱི་ཡང་པ་བཟོད་པ་བརེ་ཆེན་ཟི་ལྷི་ཤི་ཡེད ||

TRANSLATION

Account of the Trade between the Kings of La-dags and Ku-zu

At first the Bod-pa (Tibetans) reigned in Gar-ża; later on a certain king of Ku-zu conquered Gar-ża from the Bod-pa, and he reigned. At that time the kings, both of La-dags and Ku-zu, made an agreement as follows:—The king of Ku-zu [promised] to send much iron to La-dags annually, and the king of La-dags [promised] to send sulphur in this direction. Then they did accordingly, and the king of Ku-zu gave orders that the people of Gar-ża, instead of a field-tax, were to give to the king of La-dags one *ba-ṭi* of iron each annually. The people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog each had to buy a *ba-ṭi* of iron in Ku-zu and to bring it. If you ask how all this iron was sent to La-dags, [we answer] that a man called 'the king's messenger' came from La-dags to Gar-ża to receive the iron. Then all the people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog from Thi-rōṭ up to here had to bring each house one *ba-ṭi* of iron before that messenger, and an old bag to hold the iron. Then that messenger, having loaded the iron on the people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog, transported the iron as far as Liṅ-ti. At that time there was no road through (from) Kye-laṅ, but through (from) Kar-daṅ (Mkhar-daṅ on the left bank of the Bhāgā). As soon as the loads arrived, the call to work was issued, and all the people had to assemble at Kar-daṅ. More than a 100 loads (coolie-loads) had to be sent to La-dags annually. The La-dags people did not give any wages or bakhshish to the carriers; instead of that they wielded the stick, and the transport was carried on under continual beating. The iron had to be taken as far as Liṅ-ti. From there we had to come back, carrying sulphur which had been brought there by the Ladakhis, and the Ladakhis went away, carrying the iron. When the sulphur had been brought to Kye-laṅ, it was passed on from Kye-laṅ according to the inter-village service, and sent to Ku-zu. At that time a man called Drun-drub of the house Myoṅ-pa of Kyor was 13 years old (or Drun-drub saw the trade carried on till he was 13 years old). He told me that he himself did service in the transport of the iron to Liṅ-ti. All that is written here was written as it was heard from his mouth. Now he is 77 years old. If we ask how the transport of iron to La-dags came to an end later on, [we answer] that it came to an end when the Siṅ-pas arrived in Gar-ża. When the Siṅ-pas reigned, they gave much trouble to everybody; every day people fled into the narrow valleys

and remained there. At that time Ta-ra-can was chief of Ko-loṅ, and Moti-Rām chief of Guṅ-raṅ. A man called Bali-Rām, of Phu-raṅ in Me-rlog, was judge. If you ask what kind of punishment he inflicted in passing judgment, [we answer that] he did not fine people; he tied them to a tree and flogged them. Later on the Sā-ba (Sahibs, English) arrived here. Instead of stealing labour, as had been done before, they paid for what they wanted. When they put a load on a man, they paid him good wages; and now there is no more fear, but happiness.

This was told by Drun-drub of the house Myoṅ-pa of [the village of] Kyor. It was written down by Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ.

NOTES

The above account contains the date of the abolition of the trade. The account was written in 1907, when Drun-drub was 77 years old. Consequently Drun-drub was born in 1830. The trade was discontinued when Drun-drub was 13 years old, i.e. in 1843 A.D. As Dr. K. Marx tells us in *JASB.*, vol. lx, p. 119, note, the tax-collector of the king of Ladakh used to visit Lahul, and probable Kuḷū, some twenty years ago, i.e. in 1870. I should think that such a thing could be done only secretly. Or does it refer to certain estates in Lahul which in Moorcroft's time (1820 A.D.) were the particular property of the kings of Ladakh? The Sikhs who abolished the trade are called Siṅ-pa in the above account, because all the names of the Sikh kings ended in Siṅgh.

The text contains a number of local names in their Bu-nan dress. Thus, Ku-zu is the Bu-nan name for Kuḷū. Gar-ża is used in two ways; sometimes it signifies the whole of Lahul, and sometimes it is used as the name of the Chandrā and Bhāgā valleys only, whilst the valley of the united rivers (the district of the Manchad language) is called Me-rlog. Dr. Vogel in his MS. notes on Lahul gives Ku-zuṅ as the Gārī (Bu-nan) name of Kuḷū. Ku-zuṅ is the locative case of Ku-zu. He adds that Kuḷū is called Ram-ti by the people of Ti-nan, and Ram-di by those of Caṅsa (Me-rlog). The Tibetans call it Ñuṅ-ti. Liṅ-ti is the name of a nomad's camping-ground north of the Baralatsa pass.

A family of the name of Pho-ña, 'messenger,' is still resident at She, Ladakh. It is probably the same family of which one member acted as royal messenger to Lahul in former days.

The Bu-nan language was first reduced to writing by the late Rev. A. W. Heyde, of Kye-laṅ, Lahul, in 1869 A.D. He used Tibetan characters for writing Bu-nan. He also made a first attempt at writing a Bu-nan grammar. More grammatical notes are found in vol. iii of the Linguistic Survey, and in my article 'Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahul's', *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiii, pp. 65 ff.

The tree to which culprits were tied for flogging is still pointed out at Taṅ-ti (Tandi) in Me-rlog.

Additional Note on the Trade between the Kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū

By Ye-śes-rig-ḥdzin of Kha-la-rtse

TEXT

དཔལ་ཀེལ་ལོ་ཆའི་གནས་ཆུལ་དེ། དང་པོ་ལོ་ཆ་འགྲོ་མཁན་ཞི་མེད་དེ། མེས་པོ་ཚོ་དབང་དཔལ་འཇོར། དེའི་ཐུ་དོན་གྲུབ་བཀྲ་ཤིས། དེའི་ཐུ་ཚོ་རིང་ཐུན་ཚོགས། མི་བཟས་གསུམ་པོ། དེའི་ཏེ། དགར་ཚ། ཀྱང་ཏེ་གྲུག། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་ཐུ་ཟི་འཁྱེར་ནས། ལས་བཟང་པོ་ཡང་ན་བན་པ་ཅི་འདུག་ཁྱེད་རྣམས་ཚོང་ནས། ཆེར་ལོག་ཡོང་ཟ་ན། ཐུགས་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཕྱོང་སོལ་འདུག། ཚོ་རིང་ཐུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཐ། ཐོ་བཟང་བསོད་ནམས་ད་ཁྱེ་འདུག། འདི་ཁྱར་པོ་ཆ་འགྲོ་ཐུགས་ལ་ཁྱེ་ན། རྩོན་མ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབའི་དབང་ཡོད་དུས། དེའི་ཏེ། དགར་ཚ། ཀྱང་ཏེ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབའི་གཡོག་ཡིན་ཏེ། ས་ཆ་འདི་འདུག་ཁའི་ཁང་པ་ཞེག་ཀྱང་ཏེ་རུ་དག་ས་ཡང་ཡོད་ཟེད་འདུག ॥

TRANSLATION

Now, as regards the position of the *pho-ña* (messengers) of Śel :—The name of the first who went as a messenger was Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-ḫbyor, the forefather; his son was Don-grub-bkra-śis; his son [was] Tshe-riṅ-phun-tshogs. These three generations went as far as Dpe-ti (Spyi-ti), Dkar-cha (Lahul), and Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū), carrying sulphur from La-dvags. They also had to look after good and bad works (inflict judgment). There was a custom that on their way back they had to transport iron. Blo-bzaṅ-bsod-nams, the son of Tshe-riṅ-phun-tshogs, is still alive. Regarding the way of travelling of those *pho-ña*: At the time when the kings of La-dvags were still in power Dpe-ti, Dkar-cha, Ñuṅ-ti were under [the sway of] the kings of La-dvags. The house where the *pho-ñas* resided in Ñuṅ-ti still exists, as [people] say.

NOTE

It is remarkable that the only *pho-ña* who is mentioned in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, viz. Bsod-nams-ṅos-grub, cannot be found in the above list.

XV. The Ministers of Rgya

The following account of the rise of the chiefs or ministers of Rgya to great power is found on pp. 73 and 74 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 73. ལྷག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་སྐས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གསུང་ལས་ནི་རེ ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་ཐོན་ས་ཡི[ས] ་ཐ་ལ་གསང་གཏམ་བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཆུལ་དུ ། རྒྱ་པ་རྡོ་བོའི་རིགས་མཁར་གྱི་ལས་ཚེན་མཐོ་སར་མི་བརྒྱལ་ཏེ ། མཐོ་སར་བརྒྱལ་ན ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡུལ་འཁོར་ཚང་མ་ལ་སྐབ་བཅུག་ནས ། འོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོངས་ལས་མི་འོས་ཆུལ ། གསུང་ག་ཅེས་ལྟེན་ཀྱག་ལ་བློ་ངན་ཏྲུང་ངུ་བརྟལ་ག་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་ ། མེས་ཀྱི་མའི་སྐབས ། རྒྱ་པ་རྡོ་བོ་འབྲུག་གཀས་ཀྱི་ནུ་བོ་ཐོག་མར་བཙུན་པ ། ཇི་དེ་ལས་ལྷོག་ཏེ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀྱི་མའི་ཟུང་འཁོར་ངུ་ཚུར ། མི་རིང་བར་བཀའ་བློན་ངུ་འཁེལ ། དེ་ནས་བཙམ ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཐང་གི[ས]་སྐྱིར་ནས་ཟ་བར ། རྩམ་པ་འབའ་ཞིག་ཡས་ངུས་འདུས་ཤེང་ ། དཔེར་ན ། ས་ཞིང་ཁོ་ནས་མཚོན་པ ། ཁོ་བོར་ས་ཐ་སྐྱེས་རྣམས་ནས་མཁར་གྱི་ས་རིས་ཁ་ནས་གསར་ཚོད་ངུ་བྱང་བ་དང་ ། མཁར་གྱི་ཐུག་འཛེབས་ཀྱི་མ(ཀ་མ?)་ནས་ཁ་ལ་ཅོའི་བར་ཐུགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྐོམས་ན[ས] ། དེ་བས་ལྷབ་འབྲུར་ལས་ཀྱང་ལྷག་པ་ཙམ་ད་ལྟ་མངོན་སུམ་འདི་ཡིན་མཚོན་ལ ། ཐ་རིག་ཙ་ཁྲ་སྐྱལ་ཞེའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཡུལ་ངུ་ཡང་བློན་བསོད་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་ས་ཞིང་དང་ ། ཙ་ཁྲ་རྒྱ[ལ]་པོའི་ཐུག་འཛེབས་གཀིས་བློན་པོ་ལ་ལག་འཛེབས་ཐས་པ་མ་དེས་ཡོད་སྐད་དང་ ། དེད་མ་ཟད ། བློན་པོའི་འབངས་སྡེ་ཡང་ཙ་ཁྲ་ལ་བརྩེ་བ་ཙམ་ཡོད་འབྲུག་པ ། དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་པ་མཁར་སྡེ[1] ཐས་པ་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་ལ ། ཁོ་བདང་གི་ཁ་ཞིས་དངོས་མ་དེ ། གོང་ཁུས་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་པ་མཁར་སྡེ ། དེ་ཀི་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་བཞིན་ཐ་རྟེན་བས་ཁའི་འཇེད་པ་ལས ། གཞོན་པས་མི་ཐོབ་སྡེ ། དོན་དེས་རྒྱ་པ་རྡོ་བོ་མི་རབས་ཅི་རྟེད་ཀྱང་ངུ་ཐུང་བ་ཡང་ ། ཐ་ཆང་ཚོས་སྐོར་ཁུགས་གཤིས ། ཐེམས་ཀང་གཅིག་ལས་མ་འཛེམ་ལ ། དེད་ཀྱི་མེས་ཀྱི་མའི་སྐབས ། མཁར་ཀྱི་ས་རིས་བློན་པོས་ཅི་བདེད་སྲུད་ཚོག་པ་ཐུང་གཤིས ། བློན་བསོད་རང་གི[ས] ་ཐ་སྐྱེས་ཚོས་སྐོར་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཙུག་ནས ། མཁར་ཀྱི་ས་གཞིས་འཚོང་མེད་[ངུ]བགོ་ཤ་ཐུས ། ཁོ་བདང་གི་ཐ་མོ་རྣམས་མཁར་ཀྱི་སྐས་མོའི་དོད་ངུ་དཔོན་ཁག་རྣམས་ལ་བག་མར་བཀང་ ། དེགས་ཀྱང་མངའ་བདག་ཡིན་ཆུ་བ་ཐུས ། མཐར་ཆུལ་སྲིད་དོངས་ཐོབ་པར་རེ་ཞིང་ ། མཁར་ངུ་དཔང་ཚོད་དང་ཚོད་ཡོད(མཚོད་ཡོན?)་རྣམ་པ་ཚོགས་པོ་ཆེ་འབའ་ཞིག་གི[ས]་ངུས་འདའ་བས ། འབངས་ཀྱེན་སྲོག་གི་རྣམ་པ་བཟོད་དགའ་ཐུས་པ ། ཆུ་དགར་ཆུ་ནག་སོད་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་པོ་སོགས ། ཆུལ་སྲིད་ལ་ཆུའི་བདག་པོ་སྲ་ཡི[ན]་བས[མ]་ཀྱང་ ། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི[ས] ་ཚ་ད་བཏང་དགོས་འངས་སྲ་བཐ་བའི་ངང་ཚུལ་ཞིག་པར་དག་ཐོག ། ཁུ་ཚེག་འཐུལ་དགོས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ ། བཟང་མཚོམས་ལོ་ངུས་ལ་ཞིག་ཀྱེད་མེ་དགོས་པ་དང ། དེད་མ་ཟད ། མཐའ་དག་ཤུན་པ་ཡང་ ། མི་སྡུད་ཆུལ་བཀའ་ནས་ཕྱི་པ་མེབས་སྐབས་འདིར་ཁུ་མ་སྡོམས་ཤེང་ ། གང་ཕྱར་བློན་ཆུལ་བང་ནས་མཁར་ལ་ཚེས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཆུང་གནོད་འགལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བར་བཏེན ། མཁར་ནས་ཆུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི[ས] ་རྩེ་གནོན་གཏོང་དགོས་ཐུང་སོང་བ་དང་ ། བློན་ཐ་གཤིས་ངེད་ལ་སྲོག་སྐྱོབས་ཐུང་བའིན ། ངེད་

[1] For ཚོང་གཅོད ।

ནས་ཀྱང་སྲོག་སྐྱོབས་སྐྱབས་རྗེ་དམ་པ་འཕྲུག་པའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་ཁ་ཤེ་མེད་པར་ཟས་པ ། དགོན་མཆོག་དཔང་བཤག་ཕིན་ཡང ། དེད་ལ་རྩིས་མེད་མགོ་བསྐོར་བཏང་ ། རྟེ་མི་དགོན་པ་སྐར་ནས་ནམ་ཆེན་མཐའ་དག་ཐར་པ་སྒྲིང་ཕིན་ཀྱང ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཆ་འཛོག་པ་མེད་པར ། སྣང་མར་དགོན་སྟེའི་བསྟན་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་ལ་གཙོད་དཔེར་འཛིས་པ་ཟས་ནས ། སྨོས་ཏེ་ཞ་ཤུལ་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཡོངས་སུ་ཟད་པ་ཡིན ། ||

[Note by Joseph-Thse-brtan : རྒྱ་པ་རྫོ་ལ་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱ་སྟེ ། སྒྲལ་བེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐྱར་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱ་སྟེ ། དེ་གཉིས་ཐུགས་ཅན་ཡོད་ཚོད་འདུག ། རྒྱ་པ་རྫོ་ཤེལ་སྐྱན་ཀྲ་བར་མག་མལ་ཏེ་སི་བསྡུངས་ནས ། མཁར་ལ་འོངས ། དེ་བཞིན་སྒྲལ་བེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་སྟོས་ཁང་ལྷག་བར་མག་མལ་ཏེ་སི་བསྡུངས་ནས ། མཁར་ལ་འོང་བའི་ཐྲིམས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ཅེས་ཟེར་ རོ ||]

TRANSLATION

p. 73. Furthermore, the precious prince (Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal) said: The Ladakhi kings in due succession [told] father to son, a secret word, in the manner of a testament; that the family of the Rgya chiefs must not be given an office in the castle or be entrusted with a high position. If they be placed in a high position, they will put a bridle on the king of La-dvags, and on the country, and behave [like] a rider.[1] This is not right! Although that speech was scattered among all the wise, as if by wind (?), in the time of [my] ancestor Ñi-ma, the younger brother of Ḥbrug-grags, chief of Rgya, first became a monk; then he withdrew from that and entered the court of king Ñi-ma. After a short time he was made minister (*bkaḥ-blon*). Then he began to nibble away the royal power of La-dvags; time passed in continual coveting. For example, he recorded exactly [the] land and fields: he investigated and made inquiries regarding the territories belonging to the castle [of Rgya], according to [the statements of] his father's sons and brothers, and collected into one the registers of the castle extending from Ño-ma (Ña-ma ?) to Kha-la-rtse. Though this was repeatedly done, yet from what now remains, this may be clearly shown:—Although it is falsely said that in the realm of [my] uncle of Pu-rig, king of Mul-be, there are grounds and fields belonging to the sons of the minister Bsod, and that two registers of [my] uncle-king were given to the minister as [his] register; yet, apart from that, the realm of the minister was [so great] as to rival that of [my] uncle. All this has been revoked through the authority of the king of La-dvags. His own real inheritance is the before-mentioned castle of Rgya in Upper La-dvags. According to the custom of La-dvags this was to be taken by the eldest son; the younger ones were not to receive anything. According to that [custom], [among] the chiefs of Rgya, through all generations that can be traced, the younger sons had to enter the clergy. They never increased to more than one branch. But in the days of our ancestor Ñi-ma the territory of the castle was dealt with just as the minister pleased. The minister Bsod did not send a single one of his sons to the clergy, and he distributed the territories of the castle in a lavish manner. His daughters he gave in marriage to officers (*dpon-khag*), instead of princesses of the [royal] castle. His family he made dominant. He hoped that in the end the kingdom would really become his own. At the castle

[1] Or, if *gżon-pa* is to be read instead of *żon-pa*, 'a younger one must not be allowed to come up.'

the time was spent in offerings for power (*dbaṅ-mchod*?), and very great covetousness. The section of the subjects who had to bear the change found it hard to remain patient.[1] The kings of India, China, and Tibet thought 'Who is this master of Rgya [who appears] in the government? Inquiry must be made according to law! What is due to it ought to be really attached to it!' Although such words should be said, now, in the days of agreement (*bzaṅ-mtshams*), we must not speak about it too closely. Besides, it might be heard by[2] the frontier [nations], and here [I] do not venture [to attack with] heavy orders this unduly behaviour. On account of very great damage to Rgya, through respect not being paid to the castle [of Leh] by the ministers [of Rgya] themselves, it was [found] necessary to suppress the chiefs by law from the castle [of Leh]. The two sons of the minister appeared before me in order to save their lives, and, in accordance with the word of the great saviour, the holy Ḥbrug-pa [lama], their safety was granted by us in a sincere manner, and the [Three] Precious Ones were called as witnesses. Nevertheless they have deceived us innumerable times; and, although the He-mi monastery has been [called] Nam-chen-mthaḥ-dag-thar-pa-gliṅ from early times, they did not adhere to it, but have worked against its teaching. This made them worthy of an example of harm (?) to be done to Rgya. Then they ran away, and went to the uncle-king [of Mul-ḥbye] . . .

[Popular saying reported by Joseph Tshe-brtan:—The chief of Rgya was called king of Upper [Ladakh]; the king of Mul-be was called king of Lower [Ladakh]. Both were powerful. When the chief of Rgya [arrived] at Sman-bla of Śel, he put on a velvet cap, and went to the castle [of Leh]. Likewise, when the Mul-be king [arrived] at Khaṅ-ltag of Dpe-thob, he put on a velvet cap and went to the castle [of Leh]. Such is the custom that is said to have existed.]

NOTES

As regards the genealogy of the Rgya chiefs, two members only are mentioned in the above text. The first generation consists of the Chief Ḥbrug-grags and his brother Bsod (the minister Bsod or Blon-Bsod). The second consists of the two sons of the minister Bsod. According to the 'Treaty of Wam-le' they are called Dbaṅ-rgyal and Bstan-ḥphel. The name of the uncle-king is Ḅkra-śis-rṇam-rgyal, king of Pu-rig. He resided at Mul-ḥbye. The Ḥbrug-pa lama who spoke in favour of the sons of the Rgya minister is the same who presided at the Treaty of Wam-le. His name was Bhoṭa-dzo-ki-Hariṅātha. A Rājā of Giah (Rgya), named Tsimma Panchik (Ḥjigs-med-phun-tshogs), is mentioned by Moorcroft (*Travels*, i, p. 233).

[1] The translation of the passage here following is uncertain.

[2] Or 'listened to'.

XVI. The Services of General Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje according to the account of King Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal

INTRODUCTION

The original of this document was discovered by Joseph Tshe-brtan at Leh, in 1915, and sold to Sir John Marshall, together with a number of other documents of more or less importance. It is No. 45 of Joseph Tshe-brtan's Second Collection of Tibetan decrees.

The document contains a grant of land by the king to his faithful general. The second part, therefore, contains a list of sites given to the general. The first part is that which interests us here. In it king Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal gives a tale of the general's services under several kings of Ladakh. As the general was engaged in more than one expedition against Baltistan, and as the names of several Balti chiefs are mentioned, the document is of importance in regard to Balti history. Concerning this history we have not yet come to know much beyond the genealogies of chieftains collected by Cunningham and published in his *Ladák*. Down to the present time it has not been proved that any of the names found in them are historical. It is through the publication of the present document that at least some of the later Balti chieftains given in Cunningham's list can be proved to have been known to the Ladakhis.

The narrative would have us believe that the Ladakhi kings were the suzerains of the Baltis. But from other documents it appears that on the whole the Balti chiefs did as they pleased. They may have bowed before the Ladakhis whenever the Ladakhi armies were at the gates of their capitals. Otherwise they were apparently rather independent.

TEXT

འབས་འདེགས་གྲྭ་པ་རྣམས་གསལ་པོར་ཁྲངས་ལྟེ་བུ་རྩོ་ན། མི་འམ་[ཅི?]་ཙོའི་གོ་འགྲངས་དང་། ཏཱསྒུ་དའི་རྒྱང་མང་སྟེགས་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱེས་ཚོག་ཏུ་ཆང་ཟད་བྱིང་བར་ཆ་བས། ཁྱོད་ཅག་ཀྱེ་རྣ་བའི་གོ་ཞེག་བར་གཏོང་ཐ། དགའ་བར་ཕྱེས་ཤེག། རྒྱལ་ཁིམས་རྩེ་རྩེ་འདི་དང་ཡོ་བཅུ་རྩ་གི་སྐབས་བསོད་ནམས་ལྟེ་བུ་དང་མཉམ་ཁ་ཆ་ཚོར་ཕྱིན་ནས། འབས་འདེགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མར་བྱ་བྱ་ཏ་ཐོ་མཁན་ཁ་ཆ་འཇོན་ཀྱི་སྐབས། ཐོག་ཏིག་གྱེམ་ཙོའི། ཉེན་མཚན་བྱ་མ་ཁྱོག་ཅ། དགུ་ཐབས་ཀྱི[ས]་ཆ་བར། བྱོ་འཇུག་ཁའི་ཏུབ་ཤེག། ཡུལ་བྱ་ཁན་པ་བྱང་བ་དང་།

ཤེང་ལྷག་ཚོང་ཁ་ཅེད་ཡབ་སྲས་རྣམས་པ་སྐྱབ་ལ་དམག་འཇུག་ཏུ་ཞེབས་བྱས་ཆུལ་ཁིམས་དག་གང་སྲིད་མཚན་ཀྱི་ཆུག་བརྡ་སོགས་ཐབ་ར་སོང་དས། ཉེན་མཚན་ཁྱོག་མེད་བྱ་ཏུབ་ཞེག་མིག་ཁྱོག་ལ་ཁན་པ་ཆས་ཤེང་ ||

མེ་སྤྲོ་ལོངས་འདས་ལང་མཁན་དང་ནང་མ་ཤིམ་པར། ཤི་ཚེར་པ་དཔྱང་དུ་སྦྲན་ནས། ས་གྲིང་མཁར་བཅོམ་ནས་བྱ་སྐྱར་ཅ་ཕྲག་ཚོ་འགྲོ་སྐབས། བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུབ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས། ས་གྲིང་མཁར་ནས་འདས་ལང་མཁན་གཙ་སྐབས་དམག་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ཐོས་རོགས་དང་གང་སྐྱིར་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུབ་ཀྱི་ངག་སྐོར་དུ་རྒྱར་ཐ་དད། ||

ས་གག་ལོངས་སྐར་རྩོ་བ་ལ་ཤི་སྐར་ནས་དམག་གཤིམ་ཐུབ། འཇིགས་སྐྱ་མ་ཟོད་པར་འདི་ཁར་དཔུང་རོགས་ཤུས་པར། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་རྩོ་རྩེ་དེ་སྐབས་དང་རྒྱ་ཕེར་ཁ་བྱང་ནས། དམག་མགོང་བཏང་བར། རྟ་ཆུ་བར་ཕྱིན་ནས། ཤི་སྐར་པ་ལ་སྤུ་འགྲོས་ཙོ་ཚ་ཞེ་དག་གཏིས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་སྲིད་ནས། དེ་བར་ཏུ་ཆུར་འཐེན་འདུག་པར། བྱོ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང། གདུ་སྐྱིང་བྱ་སྐྱེས་པ་ཁྱུ་ཆ་ཙོང་ནས། དེ་ཙམ་ཏུ་ཆུར་འཐེན་འདུག་པར། བྱོ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང། གདུ་སྐྱིང་བྱ་སྐྱེས་པ་ཁྱུ་ཆ་ཙོང་ནས། དེ་ཐོག་ནས་དམག་བཏེག་དགོས་ཤེད་པ་ཤི་སྐར་པ་འདི་ཁའི་ཞལ་འཛོམ་དུ་ཁིས་པ་སྐྱང་ ||

ལྷུགས་ཅི་ལོངས་བསོད་དང་དཀར་ཆེ་གཉིས་ཅིག་སྲིད་ཅས། ཁ་རྩལ་དང་ཆུ་སྐྱ་སོགས་ཁ་རོལ་ཕྱི[ས]་བཅམ་སྐབས། ཆུ་སྐྱ་དཀར་ཆེའི་སྡོགས་ལ་དམག་མགོང་རྟག་བཅུད་བཏང་བ། བསོད་སྡོགས་ལ་དམག་མགོང་ཆུལ་ཁིམས་རྩོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར། གྲུང་སྐར་ཐང་དམག་སྐང་ཁབ་ཐོག །བསོད་སྡོགས་ཆུག་དམག་ལུགས་སུ་ཐལ་མར་ཕྱིན་ནས། མཁན་གཡོང་དུ་ཁྱག་པ་སོང་བས། མཁན་[འགྲོ་]རྣམ་ལ། རི་[སྐད་དམག་འདེགས་བཏང་]བར། ཆུར་སྐྱོན་བཅུང་ཟད་ཙམ་མེད་པར་རེ་སྐྱ་བཅགས་ནས། [མཁན་འགྲོ་]རྣམ་བཅས་སྐྱ་ཕྱག་ཏུ་དམག་སྐད་བཅུས་ཀྱི་བར། མཁར་བཏང་ནས། ཁ་སྐྱངས་ནས་འདིར་ཕྱག་ལ་ཐྱོངས། ཚུ་ཀིལ་མཁན་ལ་སྐར་རྩེ་དང་ལྷ་ལུང་ཆོལ་མོ་སོགས་མཁར་སྐལ་དུ་བཏངས། བསོད་ཀྱི་མདའ་མན་ཆེན་མོ་བཅས་གཏམ་དོན་དུ་ཟན་རྒྱུད་འདིར་ཐྱོངས་ཤེད་ ||

ཚ་སྐྱག་ལོངས་ཤི་སྐར་ཇོ་ཚ་ཟམ་མཁན་ནས། སྐད་དོ་སྐལ་ཀི་མཐའ་དག་ངོང་ཡུལ་སྐྱ་ཤལ་སོགས་བངས་དག་འདུས་ཐབས། སྤུ་བྱ་ཀ་ཐམ་མཁན་ལ་དམག་གཤོམས་ཀྱི། འཇིགས་སྐྱ་ཆེན་ཡིའི། འདི་ཁར་དཔུང་དམག་ཞུས་འགྲུང་བར། དགུན་ཟླ་12་པ་ཁ་བའི་བུས་ཐུང་ལ་སྡོགས་ནས་ཐུས། ཚུལ་ཁིམས་རྩོ་རྗེ་དམག་མགོང་ཇངས་པར། ལྷུམ་ད་ནས་ཐུས། མ་འགྲུངས་པར་ཕྱིན་ནས། བྱ་བྱ་ཀ་ཐམ་མཁན་པ་ཟུ་ཐོ་ཐེན་ནང་མི་ཤིམ་པ་སོགས། མཚམས་སྐྱོང་ཤས་ཆེ་ཐོག་ཁ་ཤུ་ཐོ་ཐེན་ནང་ཁ་ཟུ་ཐོ་ཐེན་ནང་ཁ་ཟུ་ཐོ་ཐེན་ནང་ཁ་ཟ

མི་སྐྱན་བའི་དགེ་གི[ས] ཚངས་གོངས། སྐྱིང་རྡེ་མེད་པའི་ཡིད་ཀྱི[ས] དགྱོངས་པ་བཅས་པ་གཤེགས་ཏུ་བསྟིག་པ་ལ་དཔའ་བའི་མེ་ཤུང་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་ཞིང་། ཐ་རོལ་གཡུལ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བས། མཚན་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་སྐྱེ་རྩེ་ཅན་ཁྱོད་ཀྱང་ཐུབ་ཅིང་། ཤེ་སྐད་ཎི་ཙ་བསམ(=ཟམ)་མཁས་འཇིགས་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་པོའི[ས] རོང་ཡུལ་འབྲུ་ཤ་ལྟོགས་སྤོས། སྐུར་ཚུམ་ཁྲིམས་ཤེ་སྐད་དུ་སྦྱིན་ནས། ཙ་ལི་མཁས་མཁར་དུ་ཇོ་ལ་བསྐོས། སྐད་རྒྱུད་ཀ། བར་ཀྱ་ཀ། རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་སོགས་ནས་ཇེ་ལྷ་ཟིང་བཅས་དང་དང་ཤེ་དམག་རྣམས་དང་བཅས་དེར་ཐུག་ཐུབ་ནས། [ཁོ་ཆེར་] བར་ཚོགས་ཤིང་ । [འདི་ཁའི་མཚན་དོན་དུ།] ཤེ་སྐད་ཅི་ཤེད་ཆུལ་ཚེ་ཁམས་བཅད། ཐག་ལ་ཡི་ཅེ་ཟིས་སྲོན་དུས་ཐོག་ མར་ཡལ་བས(=བའི?)་སངས་ཆུས་བློང་ཁའི་གདུང་རིང་ཟེལ་ཅི་ཡོད་ཚེ་ཟད། སངས་ཆུས་ [ཁ]ས་བླངས་ཏེ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེར་ཤེས་ཏེ། ཆུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ཅན། ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་གྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ཅན། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ཅན། རྣམ་པར་གྲོལ་བའི་ཕུང་པོ་ཅན། རྣམ་པར་གྲོལ་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཐོང་བའི་ཕུང་པོ་ཅན་ཏེ། [ཀ] ཉེན་པོ་ཁོར་དང་བྲལ་ཞིང་ ॥

རྒྱ་ཡོས་ཤིང་གཅེས་མ་རོང་འཇེག་དབང་མོ། བློའི་སྟེ་བ་བཅས་པར་མེབས་སྐབས་སུ། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་སྐྱེལ་དུ་ཐྲོངས་པར། བློའི་སྟེ་བ་ཡབ་ནས་མཛད་མ་བའེ་བ་ཞེག་ལ། ། ། ། ། ། ། འཕྲོམ་ལང་བ་དང་ཁོག ། སྟེ་བ་དང་ । ཙ་ཀེ་རོང་འཇེགས། ཁམས་དེའོ་ཁུ་མོག་ཀྱི་བཙོག་ཏུ་བཅུམ་ནས། བློར་མོག་ཀྱི་འཇིགས་ཉེན་ཀྱིས་གཟིར་དུས། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ནས་སོ་གཤེད་དུ་ཕེབ་ནས། སྟེ་འཚེད་བྱ་དུང་ཞུ་ཁེག་ཏུ་བཙུམ་ནས། ཁྱོ་ཁ་བདུན་སྐྱེས་ཤེག་ཏུ་ཁ་བཅུ་སྐྱེས་ཤེག་ བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ནས་ཁྱོ་ཁ་བཅུ་ཐུབ། སྐད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི[ས] ཁྲུག་ཐབ་ལ། དང་ན་རྣམས་ཕྱེད་ཐོག་བྱུང་ནས། ཤེ་ཐང་ནས་མོག་ཀྱི་ཉེས་ཚིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ནས་མེ་མདའ་ཆུབ་ནས་ བཀྲམ་པ་དང་ । སྐད་ཐང་ཅག་ནས་མོག་མང་རྩམ་མཆོག་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཤེ་ན་དང་ । རེ་ཐོག་འཇེག་ར་བཀྱོག་ནས་སྐྱའི་ཆུལ་ཁོར་བང་ཕྱེད(=ཚེད)་སྲིངས་པར། སྐྱ་པའི་མོག་སྐྱོང་ཐག་སྟེག་སྐྱེ་བྱུང་བར། ཤེ་སྐད་རྩོང་ལ་བསྐོར་ཆུག་དམ་དུ་བཏང་བར། ཤེ་ཚངས་ཅན་ བཆུར་ཀྱི་བར་ཐབས་ནས། སྐུར་མོག་ཀྱི་ཆུལ་ཁོ་བབས། ཁ་སྐྱངས་ནས། ཡབ་སྟེ་པ། ཙ་ལི་རོང་འཇེག ། འཕོ་ངོ་དཔོན། བློན་བའི་བཅུ་ཕྲག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཐུག་ཏུ་སྐྱངས་ཤིང་ । ཤོག་འཁོན་ལྟུང་ཁུངས་ཤེག་སྟེག་བྱུང་བར། ཤེ་ཚངས་ཅན་ཁྱོ་ཁ་ཐུབ

འདི་ཁར་དགྱང་རོགས་ཤུས་འཐུང་བར། འདི་ཁ་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྐོལ་མ་ཡིན་སྟབས། རྒྱང་རྐོལ་ཀྱི་དབུ་ཙོ་གཉའ་ཤ་རེངས་སུ་རྒྱ་བའི་མེ་ཐག་ཤིང་། ངོས་ཉིད་ཤ་ཡི་བདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཆེབས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཙོ་བཐུང་ཞིང་། ཐུ་འབྲོག་སུ་རྒྱུག་དམག་ལྷགས་སུ་བཟང་མཁར་ཨ་ཁུ་ལགས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རྩེ་རྩེ་བཏང་བར། རི་ལྟང་འཐུག་གི་ཐུ་དབྱངས་མེ་ཟད་པར་ཐོག་ཆོ། ངང་ཡིན་ཐུ་ཆོགས་དངངས་ཤིང་སྐྱག་པའི། སྐོགས་བཅུར་བོས་པ་ལ་ཙོན་པ་བཞིན། ཤིར (= རྒྱང?)་རྐོལ་བ་མཐའ་དག་གི་སྟེང་ཐུགས་ནས་ཐོག་ཏེ། ལྷོ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྐུགས་སུ་རྒྱབས་ལ་འཛོམ་པའི། འདང་ཞིང་། ཐུག་ཚད་རྐོལ་བའི་སྒོབས་པ་རྩེག་མེད་དུ་བཅོམ་པ་ལ་མངགས་པའི་གཉེན་ཡོར་ཐུར་པ་གང་དེ་ཉིད། ཁ་རོལ་ཡོ་དཔུང་ཚེན་ཀྱི་སྟེང་དུ་དམག་ཚེན་རྣམས་དང་། ཐུ་མཚོ་ཚེན་ཡོར་ངང་པ་འཕྱག་པ་བའིན། [ཐེ]་ཚོམ་པ་མེད་པར་ཕྱེན་ནས། ཁ་རོལ་ཀྱི་དམག་གཐུམ་སྟོང་ལྟ་བུ་བཙུ་བཅོན་དུ་བཐུམ། གཐུམ་བཙུ་སྐོང་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཕྱེ་ལམ་དུ་ལྟུད་མོར་ཐྲོད་པ་བྱས། གོ་མཚོན་རྣ་དང་ལག་ཚ་རྣམས་ཆུར་སྐྱེད་ཤིང་ཕུག་ཏུ་འཕྱོར། ། སྐད་བཅོན་[པ་]རྣམས་ཆོ་ཐར་དུ་ཟུད་ནས། མ་འདོངས་པར་དེའ་བཟེའི་ལ་རྒྱུ་གནས་ཆུ་ཐལ་མནའ་ཚད་ཟུམ་བཅུག་ནས་བཏང་སྐེད། ། ཐོ་རྩེ་མཁར་བའེ་ཐབས་ཀྱི[ས]་བཀོད་པར་ཕྱས་ཤིང་། ངུག་གི་ཙ་བ་འདོན་པ་བའིན། དབུ་བོ་རྩད་ནས་ཐུབ་ནོ། བའེས་བའེན་དང་ཐུན་པས ། ཙ་སར (= ཏ་སར)་མཁན་ཀྱི་ཐུ་རྣམས་ཙ་འདོན་ཕྱག་ཤོད། ཏོལ་རྟིར་ཙ་ཤེ་ངས་ཇོར་བསྐོས་ནས ། སྐར་སྐུག་ཤ་ནས་ས་རྒྱུད་སུ་དེ་གཡོང་འགྲུར་སོགས་དང་། · · · ནས་ལག་ཚ་རྣམས་དང་དོར་དགོས་ཐུ་ཐུང་བ་རྣམས་དང་བཅས། བྱ་བྱ་ནམ་བའེ་བར་ས་བགོས་ཐུ་འགས། སྐྱེ་རེས་ཀྱ་ངོས (= རེས)་གཉེས་ཐུ་ཇོང་ཐུལ་བསྐྱེད་བསྐོས་ནས་འགས། མོད་ད་སྟོང་དོང་རེས་རྩེས་གཐུམ་དང་ལྡན་པའེ་སྐོ་ནས། ཐུལ་ཀྱི་རེགས་ཅན་མཐའ་དག་ཇི་སྲིད་ཚོ་བའེ་བར། འདི་ཁའེ་འགས་ངོག་དུ་ཁྲིས་ནས། བསྟོད་པའེ་མནའ་ཚད་སྲིས་ནས། སོ་ཙེ་མཁར་ཀྱི་ནང་གྲལ་རྣམས་ཁོད་མཉེས་ནས། ཐུལ་ཐུགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་འདི་ཀའེ་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་ལ་ཐུང་ཟད་པའེ་འགས་ འདེགས་སོགས་དཔེར་ཇོད་དུ་[ས]འགས་ཐུའེ་ཐུས་ཅན་ཀོ་ནང་རྟེན། ། · · · · ·

TRANSLATION

In order to tell clearly the services rendered [by Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje], and in accordance with the authorities (?), let us tell them as if the voices of Kinnaras were mingled with the beautiful sounds of the *Tambura* (drum). You all must lend an attentive ear, and enjoy [the tale]!—When this Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje had reached his sixteenth year, he went with Bsod-nams-lhun-grub to Kha-bu-lo. As the first of his services, on the occasion when Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan, father and son, were seized, he worked with intelligence, not regarding day or night, in the manner of an enemy [of the Baltis]. To relate summarily, an advantage ensued for our country.

In the Wood-Sheep year (*c.* 1715 A.D.), when we, the exalted father and son, went off to carry war to Pa-skyum, Tshul-khrims (generally ?) went to battle upon a night alarm. Not regarding night or day, he achieved an advantage for us within no time.

In the Fire-Monkey year (*c.* 1716 A.D.), when there was an inner disagreement (?) with Ḥdab-lad-mkhan, when [the chief of] Śi-sgar summoned an army, when Sa-gliṅ castle was seized, and when they came to Bha-bha (= Ha-tham-mkhan) in distress, he went there together with Bsod-nams-lhun-grub. And, when Ḥdab-lad-mkhan was brought down from Sa-gliṅ castle, [they gave] military advice and assistance in general. Through Bsod-nams-lhun-grub's clever (?) tongue all was brought to a quick end.

In the Earth-Pig year (*c.* 1719 A.D.), when Śi-sgar made ready an army against the people of Skar-rdo, [the latter] were not only afraid, but even asked here for assistance with an army. Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was able to make all [necessary] arrangements himself (conveying ?). He was sent as head of an army. When he had arrived at Ha-nu, he stopped the Śi-sgar people by means of messengers, both mild and strong, sent in the morning. Meanwhile he waited at Ha-nu. Expert in wise expedients, as if treating an illness with medicines, he thenceforth, without the necessity of keeping there an army, made the people of Śi-sgar submit to our commands.

In the Iron-Mouse year (*c.* 1720 A.D.) Bsod and Dkar-rtse united (lit. became one government). At the time when Kha-rul and Chu-thug, etc., were seized by the enemy Rab-brtan was sent as general against Chu-thug [and] Dkar-rtse ; and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent as general against Bsod. On the Gur-sgar plain an encampment was established, and a quick attack was directed against Bsod. In front of the castle it came to a battle. Also Ri-[sna] on the Mkhaḥ-[ḥgro hill was attacked]. Although there was no fault whatever on our part, Ri-sna was demolished, and the [Mkhaḥ-ḥgro] hill was seized. Then behind [Ri-]sna an encampment was established and for seven days the castle was surrounded. Then Sbag-ram-bhig came down therefrom, and, his face having been raised,[1] was brought here [to Leh ?] to make his salutations. Mu-til-mkhan received Sbar-rtse and Hla-luṅ-tshil-mo as his portion, and the big drums of Bsod, because of their [beautiful] sound, were brought here.

In the Water-Tiger year (*c.* 1722 A.D.) 'Azam-mkhan, the chief of Śi-sgar, brought Skar-rdo under his sway, together with all Sbal-ti, Roṅ-yul (= Roṅ-mdo), Sbru-śal, etc. As Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan was afraid of war being prepared [against him], he asked here for military assistance. In the twelfth winter month, in the time of snow, we started in (lit. from) the direction of the Byaṅ-la [pass]. Tshul-khrims-rdo-[rj]e was sent as general. Coming from Ldum-ra, he arrived soon [in Baltistan]. Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan, father and son, chief and subjects, who did not agree [with one another], were brought to an agreement. [Then we] passed through Skye-ris castle, and seized the castle and country of Ku-res, etc., before [we] could be seen by a bird. At Skye-ris there rose a quarrel, and on the occasion when a hand was raised against a son of Mir from his own side and he died, and when the chiefs and subjects of Sbal-ti who were [originally] on our side, began to talk of their religion, all became inimical [to us], and it was a difficult time, [then] Tshul-khrims-rdo-[rj]e was a hero in the face of the enemies, and a wise man among his own party. He was clever in every situation and showed (lit. produced) great wisdom (?). He made everyone, be he an outsider (Muhammadan) or an insider (Buddhist), be he high, low, or middling, abide by the boundaries due to him. It occurred [even] that the Sbal-ti men of his own side found it easy (?) to bow [their heads]. The castle of Skye-ris was surrounded with magical swiftness ; Mag-mud-mkhan was brought down before any-

[1] I.e., he had received grace.

body's life was risked, and [his] castle was taken. Next morning the armies of Śi-sgar, Skar-rdo, Roṅ-yul, Ḫbru-śal, etc., assembled in one place; and after they had ascended (lit. leapt to) the top of their own trenches a great battle ensued. Then Tshul-khrims, never making a wrong step, and remaining free from all fear, by his wisdom made clever arrangements to meet the tricks of the enemy in an unembarrassed way. He fought with them, and in a moment annihilated the great opposing host. The dead and wounded of the enemy were beyond counting; many leapt into the water, and were sent on the road [which leads] beyond this world. [Their] armour together with [their] horses were taken by us (lit. taken on this side).

If you ask how, he was a most splendid general in subduing foreign countries; he knew how to humiliate the hostile heroes in a manner which was not mild; he examined them with a tongue that was not well-sounding. When, with a merciless mind, he burnt the enemy together with their belongings, he was like a conflagration of heroism. [In battle] he was victorious over the adversary, and he was a man who worked solely for the advantage and fame of [his own] government. When the chief of Śi-sgar, 'A-bsam-khan (or 'A-zam-mkhan), in great alarm fled in the direction of Roṅ-yul and Ḫbru-śal, once more Tshul-khrims marched to Śi-sgar and appointed 'A-li-mkhan as chief of the castle. At Skar-rdo Ma-ma Za-phar-mkhan was appointed chief. From Skar-stag-śa, Par-ku-ta, Rtol-ti, etc., the chiefs and wazirs, accompanied by their several armies, were made to assemble there (at Skar-rdo ?) to pay homage.

[For the sake of our fame] the great trees (Chenars ?) of Śi-sgar were cut. An inscription was carved on the rock. The relics of Buddha's bones in his elephant incarnation, which had withered through old age and were kept in a mound (lit. having a mound), the horn of Buddha in his rhinoceros incarnation, the rifles, etc., of Skar-rtse [workmanship], the famous iron drums, etc., were handed over to us (lit. to our side): furthermore, the things hidden in a hole at Smen-rtse (or Sman-mdze); horses, and clarionets which could be repaired later, were afterwards recovered (?). In short, he was a discouraging adversary to all the Sbal-ti nobles.

In the Water-Hare year (*c.* 1723 A.D.), when the noble Nor-ḫdzin-dbaṅ-mo arrived on the other side together with the governor of Glo, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent to meet [her]. Upon an unfair action by the father, the governor of Glo, . . . whilst smiling, he [nurtured] hatred. The governor himself, the grandmother Nor-ḫdzin, and the Žal-ño-dpon, with a retinue of forty ministers, were detained at Skag, in the prison of the Mons. At a time when Glo was seized by fear of the Mons, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje went to Bro-gśod. The Sde-ḫchiṅ-Bha-dur (= Bahādur) asked in a clever way for assistance; and together with an escort of 100 Mongol horsemen and 70 Ladakhis, a call to arms having been issued to Glo, the force was led against the castle of Skag. Whilst the Mons fought from inside the castle, the most ferocious came outside, and, they pressing near [towards us], a battle ensued. One of the Rgyal-ba (leaders) of the Mons was hit by a bullet from Tshul-khrims and died. They were thrown back (lit. turned), and many Mons died from wounds. After that a prisoners'

camp was established, and a swift messenger was sent to the King of Gru. Thereupon one thousand Mons from Gru arrived [at Skag]. The castle of Skag was surrounded in a solid manner, and after the fighting had lasted for eighteen days and nights the King of the Mons came down again. They having been comforted, the father-governor, the grandmother Nor-ḥdzin, [and] the Žal-ño-dpon, with [his] retinue of forty ministers, were seized by us (lit. on our side). A meeting with the Mons was arranged, and an oath was written, saying that both sides were to live according to the rules [laid down] at the time of the son of Bhi-[khra] and Bsam-grub-dpal-ḥbar. The stone-image of the Mgon-po of Skag-rdzoṅ, [called] Nag-las-grub-pa (made of black stone ?), and the king's own rosaries of iron were both put forward as witnesses; and, the agreement having been concluded, they came to offer service [to us]. If you ask in what manner they were [expected to work for] the fame of the government and the religion of La-dvags, which combines, as in a couple, the hero-overcoming [power] of Viṣṇu (Khyab-ḥjug) and the wisdom of Phur-bu, they were to tell pleasant things [regarding us] among the heroes of all Mongolia and Tibet.

In the Earth-Hen year (*c.* 1729 A.D.), after many questions had been asked here [regarding a princess] from Gu-ge, and although previously noble messengers had been repeatedly sent, in company with the bride-bidders (*mdun-ma-pa*), no result had appeared. [Then] Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent once more, an [oath of engagement ?] or an invitation here (?) was agreed upon without delay.

In the Wood-Tiger year (*c.* 1734 A.D.), I, the great Brahmā of the earth, was placed on the throne, and the flags of conquest over the four ends [of the world] were hoisted. At the outset of my enjoyment of the seven jewels, inasmuch as our enemies, the clever Sbal-tis of the black region, looked for an opportunity to fight, I went out to Kha-bu-lo on our frontier. Although Ḥdab-lad-mkhan was not in the least danger regarding his life, he was in a helpless state, and asked us for reinforcements. As I was just at the beginning of my government here, and therefore could not march (lit. enter) against the stiff-necked enemies who fought with us, I, the great ruler of the world, having to guide my own steed, sent the King (uncle) of Bzaṅ-mkhar and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje in the morning as a flying column. Just as a flock of geese which, suddenly hearing the melodious sound of the thunder, become frightened and strive to escape in the ten directions, so our enemies, their hearts leaving their bodies (lit. sheaths), ran to (lit. seized) [all] the secret caverns and recesses for shelter. They trembled and were afraid. Finally, [their] fighting spirit being rooted out, they became adversaries who [may be] sent to defeat. Just as geese rush into the great ocean, so [our] great army rushed on to the great host of the enemy, without hesitation. And the enemy's army, numbering 3,500 men, was taken prisoner. About 300 [of them] were sent on the road to the next world (i.e. were killed) for the sake of [our] entertainment, and their armour, horses, and utensils were brought here and offered into [my] hands. Afterwards the prisoners were released and their lives spared. They had to swear an oath that in future they would work for the advantage of [our] gracious government. The castle of Tho-rtse was built in a beautiful manner. Just as a poisonous root

is taken out, the enemy was thoroughly rooted out. Thus, in accordance with the purpose [of the war], the sons of 'A-sad (or, Ha-sad)-mkhan were rooted out. At Tol-rti 'A-śe-rab was appointed chief. The places Spa-ri, Gyiṅ-ḫgud, etc., which had been taken from Skar-stag-śa, together with the necessary utensils and riches, were handed over for distribution to Bha-bha, for so long a time as he should live. At Skye-ris and Ku-res, both, Sul-bstan was elected and appointed chief.

Finally, for past, present, and future the nobility of Sbal-ti, for so long as it should exist, was brought under our sway (lit. feet). A contract to remain [in that condition] was written; the inner state of Tho-rtse castle was set straight; and it was agreed that for ever, for the present and the future, they [the Sbal-tis] should be an example of service to the welfare of this (our) government, etc. . . .

NOTES

The dates found in the above account appear to be more accurate than is usual in Ladakhi chronicles. They seem to refer to the reigns of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal and Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal.

The Balti rulers named in the document correspond to the following chiefs of Cunningham's list (p. 30) :—

Ha-tham-khan of Kha-pu-lu is Hatim Khan, No. 63 of C.
Ḫdab-lad-khan of Kha-pu-lu is Daolut Khan, No. 64 of C.
'A-zam-khan of Śi-dkar is Azem Khan, No. 22 of C (p. 33).
'A-li-khan of Śi-dkar is Ali Khan, No. 23 of C (p. 33).
Ma-ma Za-phar-khan of Skar-rdo is Zafar Khan, No. 6 of C (p. 35).

The expedition against the Mons of Blo-bo in *c.* 1723 A.D. led apparently to Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's marriage to Ñi-zla-dbaṅ-mo of Glo-mon-braṅ; see the Chronicles.

The document contains a number of place-names which at present I cannot identify. The sites of the principal places mentioned in the text are, however, well known, and on the map will be found all those which have been identified. The chief Sbag-ram-bhig of this document is apparently identical with Mag-ram-beg of the Sod genealogy; see *ante*, p. 177.

XVII. The Services of Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, minister of Snon-dar in Ldum-ra, according to the tale of King Tshe-dpal-mi-ḥgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal

PREFACE

The original of the following document was discovered at Leh in 1915 by Joseph Tshe-brtan, and sold to Sir John Marshall, together with a number of other documents of more or less importance. It is No. 46 of Joseph Tshe-brtan's Second Collection of Tibetan decrees.

The document contains a grant of land by the king to his faithful minister. The second part therefore furnishes a list of estates given to the minister. In the first part King Tshe-dpal tells a tale of the minister's services. It comprises several expeditions against Baltistan; and, as the names of several Balti chiefs are given, it has for our study of Balti history a value similar to that of the document containing the services of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, according to the tale of King Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal. See the latter (pp. 228 sqq.).

TIBETAN TEXT

ལྷུམ་རྡེའུ་ནང་གསོ་ནོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམ[ས]་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཞེས་ལྷག་བསམས་རྣམ་དག་གི[ས]་རྩ་ཕྱི་འགས་སྐྱོག་སྐལ་བ་རྣམས་སྤྱིད་བར་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣ་བ་ཉོན་ཅིག་དང་ | ཤེ་དཀར་ངོ་ཙཱ་ཟམ་ཁན་དང་ཁོ་ར[ང་]གི་ལྷ་ཞིང་མ་མ་སྐལ་ཤོག་གཉིས་ མ་མཐུན་པ | ངོ་ཙཱ་ཟམ་ཁན་ཤེ་དཀར་མཁར་དང་ཟལ་ནས | ལ་རྟགས་ཆུལ་ཁོའི་འགས་བདུ་བ་མགོ་གཏད་ཅས | དགྲང་དམག་སྐགས་རྩེ་གཟིགས་དགོས | ནས་ཚེར་ཤུས་པར | འདི་ནས་ཡཀའི་དགྱངས་ཏྲོག་ག་ག་ཚོ་དབང་དོན་སྐབ་དཔྱང་ཚེན་དང་བཅས |

5 ཆུ་ཕྱི་ཟླ་ཚ་ཚོས་ཟ་འགག་དཔྱང་གཅིགས་ནས | ཀིང་སྐང་བུ་ཝེབས་བསྟུན | ཐ་རིག་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དང་ འཛོམ་ཐོག་གཐུང་གྱེས་མཛད་དེ | ད་ལྟ་ཚོད་ཆེ་ས་དང་ཆུ་ཆེ་སྐབས་དམག་བཅུག་པ་ལ | དགུ་ཡུལ་བུ་ཅུས་པ་[ཉ]ཐོན་ཐུ་བར(=བར)་བཞག | དང་རེའི་ དམག་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཁག་སྐྱོང་ཡོང་ཚོད་ལ་རེས་ཤེག་ དམག་(ཉ)བྱས་པར(=བར?) | སྲིང་ཐག་གི་ཆེད་བུ་དོ་དོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་ | གཅེ་སྐྱིད་བྱེད་པོ་རིག་འཛིན | ལྟེ་[ས]ཀིང་སྐང་གི་ཐུང་པོ་དང་བཅས་ཚོ་ཤ་ལ་སོང་བར | ཐུར་མོ་[ཉ]ཐོག་བསྡེབ་སྐབས་ཐུ་ཁ་ཐ་ལ་ཉི་ཚེ་ལྷ་རིར | ཤེ་དཀར་ངོ་ཙཱ་ཟམ་ཁན་བཅས་ཚོང་མ་བྱེ་ཁོལ་ཆེད་འབབར་ཏེ | དམག་ཆེན་ འཐེགས་པ་དང་མི་སྐྱིད་པར | ཁྱེད་ཚོ་ཚོ་ཤ་

10 ཡོང་དོན་མེད་ཟེར་ཏེ | ཤག་བཅུ་སྐོར་བསྐགས་འདུག་ཀྱང་ | ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ནས་ཐབས་ སྐོ་བྱ་མའི་ [སྐོ་ནས་] | ཁོ་པའི་མེམས་མལ་བྱ་ཐབ་སྟེ | ཚོ་ཁ་ཤས་དམག་གཏང་མི་དགོས་ཐུས་ཚོ ||

ཤེང་ཆེ་ཚོར་གཤན་མཛེའུ་ཚོ་དབང་དོན་སྐབ་དང་ | ག་ག་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཉིས་དམག་དཔོན་ བྱ་བསྐོས་སྟེ | མང་ཡུལ་སྐྱོད་ཤམ | བཟང་དགར | ལྷམ་ར | ཐ་རིག་ ཐུམྱི(=བཅས་ཀྱི)་དམག་ཞིས་བསྐྱལ་དང་བཅས | དཔྱང་ཚེན་ཙོང་ཁམས་ཤེད་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཁ་ཤོང་ཤེད་ | གག་རྡོ་རྗེ་དང་ | ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཀྱི་གོང་མ་མ་སྐལ་ དང(=དག?)་ལ་ཆུ་མཚོན་སྐྱེད་བར | ཁྱེད་ཀྱ་ཐུང་

15 བསྐྱས་ཀྱི | དང་ཀེ་ཁོ་བསྐྱུད་ནས | སྐད་རྡོ་བ་དཔྱངས་ཐུ་ཁད་དང་ཚོད་མེད་པ | ཀྱ་མའི་ཁོད་ལ་མང་མེས་འགྲན་པ་ནེ་ཁོས་ཐུ་མ་

སྐབས་ཅིང་ | དེ་བས་ཁྱོད་སྔར་ཐག་ལ་འཚོང་བཤགས | ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཁྱོད་རང་གཞོན་གཤེགས་ན | ཤི་དགར་མཁར་ཐག་རྐེག་དུ་ཁངས་ནས་འགོ་ལུས་འདུག་ཕྱེད་ཀ་ལེགས | དེ་ལྟར་མ་ཕེད་[ཀ་] | དེའི་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པ་མི་དེང་བར་དེར་ལྷགས་ནས | ཁྱོད་དག་དཔུང་འཁོར་དང་[བཅས]་པ་བཙོམ་དུས | ཁྱོད་འཚོང་ཐས་མི་བཏེ་ཅས་སྲིད་ཉལ་བ | དེ་ནས་ག་ག་རྗེ་རྗེ་དང་ཀོ་ཀོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པ་ཁྲ་ཤུམས་པ་ལྟར་སོང་ནས | དམར་ཡོ་ཇང་གི་སྐར་རྗེ་ཐས་བཅོམ་ཡོད་ཐོག་ དུ་ཟུར་བཅགས་ཀྱི་སྐར་རྗེ་པ་ཕྱིར་བསྐྱུར་རེ | དེ་སྟ་དེ་ལྷག་ དུ་བྱངས | སྐྱན་མཛོས་ཁོམ་ ཅད་ དམག་ ཟླར་ གཏད | ཡུལ་ཤེ་ ཤོང་བརྒྱགས(= རྒྱག་དམག)་བཏང་ནས | མཁོམ་པ་བྱངས | དེ་ནས་ནམ་ཆུ་དང་བསྟུན་དང་འཚོ་བརྟན་པའི་ཐ་བ་འོས་ སུ་བབ་ བར | ཀོ་ཀོ་བསྟན་འཛིན | ད་རྒྱའི་བྱིན་ཡོ་རབ་བརྟན་གཉིས་ཤོ་ཤུར་ཤོང་ནས | བཀའ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་སྩལ་དེ | ཁེ་དབུ་གང་མཚམས་སྐྱོ་ནས་ མ་[མ་]སྐྱལ་ དུས་ ཀྱི་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་དུ་ཕྱར་ཐོང་བ་དེ་གཏན་བཞིན་བཤགས་སྐྱེ | ཐུ་ཚབ་འདུ[ལ་]ལ་ཐུག་རྗེས་གསེད་དང་ | ཏུ་བག | རྒ་བཅས་བཀལ་ནས | ད་རྒྱའི་བྱིན་ཡོ་རབ་དང་སྐྱས | གཡག་རྗེ་རྡེའི་གམ་དུ་ཐུག་ཐལ་བར་བཏང་ནས | ཀོ་ཀོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ རང་མི་ ཚོགས་ལ་སྐུང་ནས | ཁུ་ཟིར་དང་ནང་ཁོས་ཤེག་ཆད་དོན་ཅས་བར | འདི་ལོ་ང་ཕེ་གཞིས་ཐུ་སྐུང་རྣམས་ སྐར་ རོང་ཡོད་ སྐུབས་ ཀྱི | མཁར་ཐུལ་བ་དེས་ཤེག་མ་བདེ་ན་ཡང་ | ཕྱི་ལོ་མི་རྣམས་སྐར་རྗོ་ནས་འདིང་ཟིངས་ཀ | ཤི་དགར་མཁར་དང་ཐུན་ཚ་ཐུ་འཁོར་ བཅས་ལ་ དུགས་ ཆུལ་ཁོའི་ཐུག་ཐུལ་ངེས་གྱིས་ མནན་ཏེ་ཐུག་ཐུ་ཐུལ་བ་ནས | འདིང་ཐུལ་བ་དང་ | ཕྱི་ལོ་ཁ་དོན་མཚུངས་པའི | ཤི་དགར་ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཐུལ་བ་ནས | ད་བར་འགྱངས་མེད་དང་ |

མེ་སྐྱག་ལོངས་ཀ་ཀ་བཀའ་མཛོད | ཀོ་ཀོ་དབང་དུག་གཉིས་ཤི་ དགར་ ཏུ་ ཕྱོན་ ནས | ནང་ལ་མཁར་སྐོང་བཆུབས་ནས | སྐར་རྗེར་ཁོ་ཤུ་ལ་ནོ་ཁོ་བསྟན་འཛིན | ས་སྐྱོ་ཅི་ཞེ་བྱིན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས | བརྟན་པ་ཚེ་དིང་བཅས་སོང་ནས | སྐར་ རྗོ་ཇོ་ཚ་མང་ཤུ་དང་ | ཤི་དགར་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཆེར་བཅས | ཐང་ཁག་མེད་བཞི | ཚང་ཁེག་མོར་རྟགས་ཅན | བཀའ་ མཛོད་ ལ་ཐུག་ཐུལ་བར་ ཐུ་ བར་ཇོ་དང་ | སེར་པོ་པ་གཉིས་ཐུག་རྟེན་བཀལ་ཏེ | བཀའ་བྱིན་གྱི་ཚད་ཁྱོངས | ནང་ལ་ཡོད་ བའི་ དམག་རྣམས་ཁིངས་ནས | བདག་ དང་ཅིའི་མཁར་དཔོན་བཞག་ནས | ཁོག་ལམ་ ཐུང་མེས་ཐུབ་པ་དང་ ||

ལུགས་ལུག་ལོངས་གང་དག་ཤ་བའི་ས་མཚམས་ཏོལ་ཏི་ རྡ་སྐར་རྩོ་བས་ དམག་ ཐུས | ཁའི་ ནས་ ནོ་ ནོ་ དབང་དུག་དང་དཔལ་ཐུས་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་ཁ་ ཐུ་ལུང་ནས་ཁྲིས་ བཅུ་ བཞི་ ཐུ་ཐུལ་ བ་ནས | ཐུ་ རྡེའི་ཁི་ཐ(= སྟེ་ཐ)་ ཐུང་ བཅས་ཐུ་ ཐུལ་ བ་ནས | ཐུ་ རྡོ་ལྟ་ཁི་ བང་ ཁུལས་ ཐུ་ཁྲུག་ ཐུ་ཐུལ་བའི་ཁུལས་ ཐོུག་ ཐུས ||

ཐུ་ཐོུ་ལོ་ཏོ་ཡ་ཡ(= ཡ་རྡེ་ཡ)་ཁྲན་ཆོས་མ་ ཐུབ་ཐུས | ཁངས་ལང་ཚ་ལི་ཁན་ན་[ཁོ་]ཐུ་[ཁོ་]ཐུས | ཚ་ རྒོད་རྣམས་ཅེད་ ཐུ་ཁྲུ་མང་བར་རྡེན | ཁ་ ཐུ་ ཐུའི་ནང་ཁེག་ལ་ ཐུག་བར | འདི་ནས་ནོ་ནོ་རྡ་མཚེན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདུད་འཛིམ[ས]་དང་ནོ་ནོ་ བསྟན་ འཛིན་གཉིས་ཁོ་བའི་བདུལ(=གྲུལ)་ཐ་བར་བཤད་བར | ཀྱི་རིས་ ཐུ་རིས་པ་བཁགས | མཐོང་ ཆེ་མཁར་ དུ་ཁངས་ལང་ཚ་ལི་མཁན་ཐུལ(=བཀལ)་ཅེ | ཇོ་ལྷ་ཆེར་ཐིུ་ ཐུལ་ ཐོུས | ཚར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ དང་ | ཐུ་ བཅུ་གཉིས་ ཐུ་ཐུལ་ བ་ཅེ་ རྡ་ མ་རྣམས་ བསྟུས་ཅེ | ཁོ་པ་རྣམས་ ལ་ ཐིུས་ ཁངྱག་ ཅུ་ བཟོ(ས)་བདེ་ གཉིད་ཁངས་ཡོང་ བའི་ བགོད་པ་ བཤད་ རྡེ་ས | དེ་ནས་ བཅུང་ཁ་ ཐིུར་ ཐུ་ མེད་པ་(= ངོ་མ་ ཚོག་ བར་)་ལ་ དུག་ས་ ཐུལ་ པའི་ བཁགས་ ཐོུད་ བའིང་ རྡོ་ ||

ཐུ་ཐོུ་ལོ་ཏོ་ཡ་ཡ(= ཡ་རྡེ་ཡ)་ཁྲན་ཆོས་མ་ ཐུབ་ཐུས | ཁངས་ལང་ཚ་ལི་ཁན་ན་[ཁོ་]ཐུ་[ཁོ་]ཐུས | ཚ་ རྒོད་རྣམས་ཅེད་ ཐུ་ཁྲུ་མང་བར་རྡེན | ཁ་ ཐུ་ ཐུའི་ནང་ཁེག་ལ་ ཐུག་བར | འདི་ནས་ནོ་ནོ་རྡ་མཚེན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདུད་འཛིམ[ས]་དང་ནོ་ནོ་ བསྟན་ འཛིན་གཉིས་ཁོ་བའི་བདུལ(=གྲུལ)་ཐ་བར་བཤད་བར | ཀྱི་རིས་ ཐུ་རིས་པ་བཁགས | མཐོང་ ཆེ་མཁར་ དུ་ཁངས་ལང་ཚ་ལི་མཁན་ཐུལ(=བཀལ)་ཅེ | ཇོ་ལྷ་ཆེར་ཐིུ་ ཐུལ་ ཐོུས | ཚར་བཅུ་གཉིས་ དང་ | ཐུ་ བཅུ་གཉིས་ ཐུ་ཐུལ་ བ་ཅེ་ རྡ་ མ་རྣམས་ བསྟུས་ཅེ | ཁོ་པ་རྣམས་ ལ་ ཐིུས་ ཁངྱག་ ཅུ་ བཟོ(ས)་བདེ་ གཉིད་ཁངས་ཡོང་ བའི་ བགོད་པ་ བཤད་ རྡེ་ས | དེ་ནས་ བཅུང་ཁ་ ཐིུར་ ཐུ་ མེད་པ་(= ངོ་མ་ ཚོག་ བར་)་ལ་ དུག་ས་ ཐུལ་ པའི་ བཁགས་ ཐོུད་ བའིང་ རྡོ་ ||

ཨིང་ཐག་ཙོ་སྤེལ་བློན་ཙོ་དོ་དོ་རྒྱ་མཐིན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དམག་དཔོན་དུ་[ན]སྐོས་ཏེ། ཙ་དྲགས་སྤྱི་ཤམ་ཀྱི་དམག་ལེབ་སྐྱལ། ཐུ་རིགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་ཐངས་སྐྱེ་རིས་ཐུ་དབྱུག་སྐབས་ཐུ། ནོ་དོ་ཐསྤྱན་འཛིན་མེ་གཐུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཐབས(=ཐངས)་སྦག་ནས། སྟོན་ལ་སྨྲ་ཟད་ལ་སོང་ནས། ཚོས་ནིའི་ཉེ་སྟག་ཐོག་[ཏུ་]། ཀུ་རིའི་འབྲོག་རྒྱུད་ནས་སྐྱེ་རིས་ཐང་མཚོང་ཁར་སྦྲ་ཐསྤྱད། ཆོ[ས་]ཐབྱུང་ཉིན་ཁན་ཀ་ཚང་དགེ་བཤད་བའི་ཐང་དུ། སྐྱེ་རིས་མཁར་ནང་ནས་ཉིན་མཆོངས་ཐ་སྒྲུང་ཐད། ནོ་དོ་ཐསྤྱན་འཛིན་ཉམ་ཞེས་ཐུ་ཐུགས་ནས། དེའི་འཇུག་དབྱང་བཀྲེ་བས། སྐལ་དྲི་གཡུལ་ཐམ་ནས། ཁན་ཀཱའི་ནང་དུ་སྐོས་ཏེ། རི་ཐ་གཉིལ་མེད། རླ་འགྲམས་བཏང་སྐྱབས། ཙ་མད་ཤེས་བཟང་སྐྱེ་ཐུས་པས། སྐྱེ་རིས་སུ་མཁར་དཔོན་བཤེས་ན[ས] དམག་ཐྲིངས་ཐྲེར་ཚོག་ཁང་། ནང་དུ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ཚད་ལ་ཆེས། དེ་རྗེས་སུ་ཡོང་བའི་ཐམ་པར་བཅད་དེ། དགེ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་འཐས་ལ་མི་བཙུ་བའི། ཙ་མད་ཤེས་བཟང་རི་དམག། སོད་པ། ཆུ་ཤོད་པ། ཁ་ཐུ་ལུ་པ། ཆོར་འབབ་པ། ལྷམ་ར་པ་བཅས་མི་གྲངས་བརྒྱ་རྐྱེར་རྒྱས་ཁྲེད་སོང་ན་ལ། ནོ་དོ་ཐསྤྱན་འཛིན་ འདེ་པ་བྱོ་སྐྱབས་ཆེ་ག་བཅས་ངང་སྲོག་བྱོག་བཀྲས་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་གཏོན་བའི་ཐྲིད་ཁ་ཐ་གཐུམ་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་འདུགས་ཏེ། རྐང་རྩོད་མི་ཚང་གཐུ[མ]་བཀངས་པར། ཁེ་དུག་ཐབས་སྐྱོ་དུ་མའི་ཐྲོ་བས། བང་རེ་མི་རྣམས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ལུས་པ། གོས་ལྷམ་སྐྱེན། བང་ཡུལ་ཁྲོངས་བའི་འགས་སྐྱོག་ཐུལ་ན་ནི། ཡིད་ཅན་ཀུན་ཀྱེས་རིག་པ་ལྟར་དང་། གཤེན་ཡང་ཐུ་ཁྱེ་བར་གཐུམ་དུ་ཁ་ཅམ་ཆོག་ཅམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། ཁེ་དུག་གི་འགས་སྐྱོག་གཤེན་འབྱེད་མེད་པ། རིམ་ཅན་ཐུལ་བའི་མཐུད་ཉེན། ཁོ་བར་བདག་ཀྱེས་མཇུད་དོགས་དོགས་ཐུ་བས་པ་བཅས།། . . .

TRANSLATION

Now listen to my tale of the superior and pure services rendered in former times and also later by No-no Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, warden of Ldum-ra. 'A-zam-khan, the chief of Si-dkar, and Ma-ma Sul-tan, his wa-zir, did not agree. The chief 'A-zam-khan left the castle of Si-dkar, bowed before the king of La-dvags and earnestly implored [him], 'Kindly send me an army!' Then from here the minister Ga-ga Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub [was sent] with a great army.

The army was raised on the third day of the sixth month of the Water-Mouse year (*c.* 1792 A.D.); and on its arrival at Tiṅ-sgaṅ it united with the armies of Bu-rig. A council of war was held, [as follows]:—'If now in the time of great heat and high water we should enter into war, we shall [not] succeed in the lands of the enemies.' And it was given up. Only, for the sake of giving some training to the respective soldiers, the armies were occasionally summoned. During this [time of] waiting No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, Rig-ḥdzin, the minister of Bde-skyid, and the elders of Lte-ba-Tiṅ-sgaṅ, went [to Kha-pu-lu] as messengers. When they arrived at Sur-mo-ḥbrog, the chief and the wa-zir of Kha-pu-lu, as well as 'A-zam-khan, chief of Si-dkar, boiled with anger. They said, 'Having raised an army, you must not come! It is not your intention to come as messengers!' Although they opposed for about ten days, No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, through many contrivances, brought their minds to reason, and it was agreed that for several years there should not be any warfare.

In the Wood-Mouse year (*c.* 1804 A.D.) the minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub and Ga-ga Rdo-rje were both appointed generals. The forces of Upper and Lower Maṅ-yul,

Bzaṅ-dkar, Ldum-ra, and Bu-rig were called up, and a great army was dispatched. Once, when the minister had waited [a little] at Ha-nu, Ga-ga Rdo-rje together with No-no Bstan-ḥdzin [went off] to question Ma-ma Sul-dad (= Sul-tan ?) about his circumstances. 'To examine your position,—you have left your own chieftain, and you have brought here the army of Skar-rdo! [This shows] your own inability. It cannot be right that the lamp should fight against the sun. Therefore you should repent of what you previously did. If henceforth you wish to live in happiness, you should offer the castle of Śi-dkar as a present and bow [before us]! If you will not do so, we shall approach it with an army forthwith! When you are defeated together with your army, repentance will not save you!'—such a message was sent. Then Ga-ga Rdo-rje and No-no Bstan-ḥdzin together with the host marched away in alarm, and the Phur-bcags Skar-rdo people were turned out after they had been seized by the Dmar-po-jaṅ Skar-rdo people. Ri-sna was taken in a moment, and at Sman-mdzes and Khom-bu an encampment was established. Through several villages (countries (?)) flying columns were sent, and booty was taken. Then, the time (*nam-zla* ?) being come to take measures for safety, [and] No-no Bstan-ḥdzin and Rab-brtan, the minister of Da-ru, both went as messengers and delivered the Prime Minister's letter. Through mild and strong means the heart of Ma-ma Sul-tan, which was as hard as horn, was bent like a bow; and after a present consisting of gold, rifles, and horses had been sent with 'Ab-ḥdul-la, the son, they [the Sbalti wazīrs] were sent with the minister of Da-ru before Ga-ga Rdo-rje to greet [him]. No-no Bstan-ḥdzin himself sat there as a representative, and made a contract of clear words with the wa-zirs and Inner Councillors [of Śi-dkar], [as follows]:—'As this year my (i.e. Ma-ma Sul-tan's) son and family are staying at Skar-rdo, it is not proper to offer the castle [to you now]. Next year, when those people will be sent here from Skar-rdo, the castle of Śi-dkar [will be offered], and we, father, son, and retinue, will salute the King of La-dvags!' Such a document, furnished with a true oath and promise, was brought and offered here. The following year, in accordance with the promise, Śi-dkar was offered into [our] hands, and until now has remained so without change.

In the Fire-Tiger year (*c.* 1806 A.D.) the noble Prime Minister and No-no Dbaṅ-drag both went to Śi-dkar and besieged the Nar castle. No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, the Minister Bsod-nams of Sa-spo-rtse, and Brtan-pa-tshe-riṅ went together to Skar-rdo as messengers. 'A-mad-śa, the chief of Skar-rdo, and the chief of Śi-dkar, who before had been quarrelling with his wa-zir, had now given up their hatred and respected their agreement. They offered salutations to the Prime Minister. The chief Mu-rad and Ser-po-pa both sent presents and brought them before the Prime Minister. The garrison posted at Nar was turned out, and, after [our] own castellan had been placed there, we went [home] by the lower road.

In the Iron-Sheep year (*c.* 1811 A.D.), when on the frontier of Gar-dag-śa (Skar-stag-śa) the people of Skar-rdo waged war against Tol-ti, No-no Dbaṅ-drag and Dpal-rgyas marched with an army from here to Kha-bu-lu. Presently No-no Bstan-ḥdzin was sent as (*bcas*, with ?) general, and the tower of Ku-ro was demolished (?). Bon-dor

castle [also] was taken and given to a representative of Kha-bu-lu. Ku-ro-wa-li came into our hands and did service to us.

In the Water-Monkey year (*c.* 1812 A.D.), when the chief Ya-ya (= Yahia)-khan was in bad health, and when Ḥdab-la[d]-'A-li-khan was [still] very young, the 'A[r]-rgon (*Akhon*, children of Muhammadan fathers and Tibetan women) became very busy. For that reason we sent No-no Rta-mgrin-bkra-śis-bdud-ḥjoms and No-no Bstan-ḥdzin both to meet in a place inside Kha-bu-lu; they were to take their side. At [S]kye-ris a representative was placed. Ḥdab-lad-'A-li-khan was sent to Mtho-rtse castle. He took the side of the chief and wa-zir. The *gra-ma* (villages?) of the 'A(r)-rgon and of the Pā-bcu-gñis (?) were gathered together, and it was arranged for them to settle down happily later on. Henceforth [they had] to remain bound to the orders of the king of La-dvags without any rebellion. [A messenger] was sent to Ḥdab-lad-'A-li-khan, and an oath taken (lit. placed) from him, [as follows]:—He was to heed what he was told. He had not only to serve [the Ladakhis], but also never to show any sign of rebellion. A firm contract was made, and he served [our] government, and with all his power (lit. pure power) he carried out the inner and outer interests of our government (*la-rgya*).

In the Wood-Pig year (*c.* 1815 A.D.) No-no Rta-mgrin-rnam-rgyal, the minister of Slel, was appointed chief-general. He issued a call-to-arms to Upper and Lower La-dvags. When he had entered Skye-ris, together with an army from Bu-rig, No-no Bstan-ḥdzin together with 300 men whom he had collected went first of all to Sna-zar. When he had met with Phos-naḥi-ña (?), he marched through the out-fields of Ku-ro, and pitched his tents opposite Skye-ris. Until Char-dgan (?) of Khan-ka was sent off on the eighth day, they used to issue from the Skye-ris castle in the day-time. Then No-no Bstan-ḥdzin fearlessly drew his sword against the enemy, leaped to the other side, and killed one man with his sword. After that he sent a host, the Sbal-tis were beaten in the struggle, fled right into Khan-ka, and did not know what to do. At the time when a proclamation (*rma-ḥgrams*?) was issued, 'A-mad-śa made peace. At Skye-ris a castellan was installed. The army returned quietly (lit. in a concealed manner), and those who were at Nar were punished. Later on he was cut off on the way by which he had come. Not considering the fruit of good and sinful works (?), 'A-mad-śa had seized and carried off about 100 men from our own army, people from Sod, from Chu-śod, Kha-bu-lu, Chor-ḥbar, and Ldum-ra. To deliver these men No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, using the great power of his intellect, even risking his life, waited at Kha-bu-lu for three months, and sent a man to Skar-rdo three times; and by using many mild and strong means he brought all his men to their own homes, not leaving a single one; [they were even] equipped with clothing and shoes. Such service was rendered by Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin. It is a clever [kind of service] in the minds of thoughtful people. Besides, in the three times, past, present, and future, there are not words enough to set forth his mild and strong services rendered on occasions when there was no warfare. And it is right that they should meet with recognition.

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NOTES

As regards the Balti duchy of Kha-pu-lu, the above text contains the names of two more chiefs, whose names are also found in Cunningham's tables (p. 30). They are :—

Ya-ya-khan, identical with Cunningham's Yahia Khan, No. 66.

Ḥdab-lad-'A-li-khan, identical with Cunningham's Daolat-Ali Khan, No. 67.

The Balti duchy of Skar-rdo appears here under the government of 'A-mad-śa, Cunningham's Ahmed-Shah, No. 8 (p. 35). The capture of a large portion of the Ladakhi army, which is here narrated as having taken place in 1815 A.D., under Ahmad-Shāh, is stated by Vigne to belong to the reign of Ahmad-Shāh's predecessor, viz. 'Alī Sher-Khān.

The names of the chiefs of Śi-dkar, as given in the above text, cannot easily be reconciled with Cunningham's list. The fault may be with the author of the present text, who may not have known the personal names of the Śi-dkar chiefs of those times. It is hardly possible to believe that A'zam Khān, who was a contemporary of king Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, should have been still alive in 1792 A.D. Possibly the Wazīr Ma-ma (= Muhammad) Sultan became chief in place of A'zam Khān. He is probably identical with Mohammed Khan, No. 25 of Cunningham's list of Śi-dkar chiefs (p. 34): see *ante*, p. 192.

A chief called Murad can only be traced in Cunningham's list of the chiefs of Roṅ-mdo. But Ahmad Shāh's eldest son also was called Murad: see *ante*, p. 186.

I cannot venture to identify the new local names found in the above text: but see the map. It is evident that Sa-spo-rtse is Sa-spo-la, Gar-dag-śa or Skar-stag-śa is Mkhar-stag-śa, Skye-ris is Kye-ris, Bzaṅ-dkar is Zaṅs-dkar.

XVIII. King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal's Account of the Deeds of General Śākya-rgya-mtsho

The following account is found in a decree by King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal concerning the descendants of this eminent general, who died without a son. For some time I tried in vain to obtain information concerning the family of a famous minister called Baṅ-kha-pa, who rendered important services during the times of the Dogra war. I was of opinion that the Baṅ-kha-pa family was probably connected with Śākya-rgya-mtsho. The above-mentioned document shows that, if the Baṅ-kha-pa family is descended from the general, it can only be in the female line. But a connexion is probable, in particular, because the castle of I-gu (Dbyi-gu) was the property of Śākya-rgya-mtsho as well as of the Baṅ-kha-pa family. The following account is of importance as supplementing the meagre notice of the Mughal wars which we find in the Chronicles. By taking account of enemy generals mentioned in this narrative it might be possible to connect the Mughal histories with those of the Ladakhis.

The Baṅ-kha-pas

About eighteen miles above Leh, in a side valley branching off from the Indus valley, is the principality of I-gu (Dbyi-gu). Its castle, called I-gu-khri-khaṅ, is mentioned in many inscriptions. It was the seat of a line of chiefs called Baṅ-kha-pa, who were extremely loyal to the kings of Ladakh. The first chief who distinguished himself by his bravery was Śākya-rgya-mtsho, the field-marshal who conquered Bu-rig and part of Baltistan under king Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Oral tradition connects this general with the castle of I-gu. We do not hear anything further of these chieftains prior to Moorcroft's report of them. He visited Ladakh in 1820 A.D. He says (vol. i, p. 425, of his *Travels*): 'The Banka, who to his office of master of the horse adds the government of this district . . . The district under the Banka comprises seventy villages. His office is hereditary, and is held by the condition of bringing 700 armed men into the field when required.' Thus a Baṅ-kha-pa who commanded a Ladakhi army during the Dogra war is repeatedly mentioned. The Baṅ-kha-pas are possibly descended from the traditional king Sūryamati (now pronounced Surgamati) who once resided at a now ruined castle opposite Stag-sna, on the right bank of the Indus.

TIBETAN TEXT

དེར་ལྷ་བཞིན་ཡབ་མེས་རིམ་པར་རིམ་པར། ཤཱཀྱ་ཀུ་རུ་མཆོག་ཉ་མེས་རིམ་ཅན་དུ་འབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་འདུག་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་ཤཱཀྱ་ངང་ཉིད་ཧ་མེས་ཆེན་གཅེ་ལྷན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། ཐ་རིག་ནང་ཁུལ་ཡོད་དོ་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་དང་། ཀ་ཡི་ཁའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བང་འབས་ས་བསྡུས་པ་དང་། བྱི་ཁའི་སྐག་རྫོང་རྩར(=དམའ་བར)་འཛས་བྱས། བྱི་ག་མེས་ཞང་ཆོར་འབས་འཛེགས་བྱས་པ་དང་། དཔལ་བཅག་ནས་གངས་རིང་ཆག་ཚོམ་མེད་པ་དང་། ཐ་རིག་དུ་ཀ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་དམག་དབྱང་། ནཱ་བབས་ཨིབ་ར་ཧིམ་མཁན་དང་། ཏི་སྨར་ཝྱེག་ཁོགས་དོར་དམག་སྒྲས་ཆེན་ཡང་ཡང་བྱུང་བར། ཤཱཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱི[ས]་རིམ་པར་ལྡོག་བྱས་ནས་བདེ་ 5
འཇགས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ཡབ་ཆེན་བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། དབུས་གཙང་ནས་ཁོག་དམག་གི་དུས་ཟིངས་ཐང་ས་པར། ར་ལ་དཔལ་རྒྱས་ཁོགས་སུ་དམག་འཁྲུགས་ཤིན་དུ་ཆེ་བར། ཤཱཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཐབས་རྣམས་བདེ་བར་ལྡོག་བྱས་ཤིང་། ལ་དྭགས་གཞུང་ལ་ཐོག་བའི་དམག་དབྱང་སྐོབས་ཆེ་ལྟགས་པར། ཤཱཀྱ་ཀྱི་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་གོམས་སྐབས་མ་འཁྲིར་བར། པ་ཅ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་དམག་དབྱང་སྦྱན་ཀ། ཁ་རོལ་པོ་རྣམས་རྒྱ་མེད་དུ་བཏུག་ཅིང་། དབུས་ན[ས]་འབྱུག་མཁྱེན་གཞིགས་ཁོ་ནས་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཐུལ་ནས་ཤིན་ 10
འདེན་ཞུས་ནས། གཙང་ས་མཆོད་ཡོན་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣེ་སྐེད་བསྐལ་པ་རབས་གནས་བར་དུ་ལུགས་ལེགས་ཀྱི་བཟང་འཆེངས་སྐྱིག་ནས། མངའ་འབས་བདེ་འཇགས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། སྐོས་ལམ་མངའ་རིས་འཁལ་ངོས་ནས་འཛོན་སྐྱོང་ཅེར་སྐབས་ ཞི་ཞི་དགྱ་འདུལ། ནང་གི་གཉེན་སྐྱོང་ཁོགས་མདོར་ན། གཞེས་སུ་བློ་ཡོ་རིན་ཡོ་ཆེ་ལྟ་བུ་དང་། ཅེས་ སུ་དམག་དཔོན་རིན་ཡོ་ཆེ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཐ་ཚིག་[ཁོ་] ॥

TRANSLATION

The forefathers of Śākya-rgya-mtsho have been in succession servants of our successive god-like forefathers. In particular, Śākya[-rgya-mtsho] himself, during the lifetime of Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, who is our second great ancestor (viz. grandfather), gathered under his own feet the entire district of Pu-rig and the kingdom of Kha-po-lo; he brought low the Skag-rdzoṅ [castle] of Glo-bo; he rendered services at the lake Mes-żaṅ of Glo-bo. Having broken Da-liṅ, he did not halt at Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa); but, when the Kashmir army under Na-babs (Nawāb) 'Ib-ra-him-mkhan, and the Hor (Mughal or Turk) army under Ti-mur-bhig, etc., appeared repeatedly in great force, Śākya-rgya-mtsho was able through his ingenuity and wise methods to turn them back one after another. And during the lifetime of my great father, Bde-legs-rnam-par-rgyal-ba, when a war arose with the Mongol (Sog) army from Dbus-gtsaṅ (Central Tibet), when great battles [were fought] at Ra-la, Dpal-rgyas, and other places, we were enabled by the counsels and measures of Śākya-rgya-mtsho to turn them back in a fortunate manner. When powerful armies assembled from all four sides in the middle of La-dvags, the clever methods of Śākya's ingenuity did not fail. He summoned an army from the great Pa-ca (Mughal emperor), and the enemy was destroyed until no army [of them] remained. Then he invited the Ḥbrug-[pa] lama Thams-cad-mkhyen-gzigs to the palace of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ; and there a fortunate treaty was arranged regarding the offerings to the Gżuṅ-sa (Lhasa government) and the rights of the great Lha-chen-po kings (Ladakhi kings), to last as long as this Kalpa. The subjects lived in a happy

state. In particular, when I became ruler over these districts of the empire, foreign enemies were conquered, friends within were protected, and so on. In brief, at home he was a gem-like minister, and abroad he was a gem-like general. All these deeds were made to agree [with other accounts], and together with the reasons for them collected in a book [containing his] biography.

NOTES

It is of some interest to hear that a biography of the famous general was actually written. Perhaps it may yet come to light. At present we must be content with the slight substitute for it contained in the above text. King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal's decree further tells us that Śākya-rgya-mtsho's daughter, Rgyal-ḫdzom, married a certain Dbaṅ-phyug from Zaṅs-dkar, and that the couple received the villages of Dbyig-gu (I-gu) and Sa-bu. We also learn that the general belonged to a clan called Ḫcho-ḫbraṅ, and that he was related to the thirteen great hierarchs of Sa-skya. For local names, so far as identified, see the map. Glo-bo is Blo-bo, and Kha-po-lo is Kha-pu-lu.

XIX. Tshe-brtan's Account of the Dogra Wars

When stationed at Kha-la-rtse, Ladakh, in 1899–1904, I made the acquaintance of an old man, Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse, who in his younger days had done military service in the Dogra wars, 1834–42 A.D. I received the impression that he was a reliable man, and that he would not purposely invent. I therefore asked him to dictate to my munshi, Ye-śes-rig-ḥdzin, his reminiscences of the Dogra wars. The munshi's copy was then sent to the late mission schoolmaster and munshi, Shamuel Ḥbyor-ldan, at Leh, who corrected the orthographical mistakes and wrote a fair copy of it for lithographic reproduction. Tshe-brtan told the tale in 1901, and the lithographic printing of 40 to 50 copies took place at Leh in 1903. Tshe-brtan died at Kha-la-rtse in 1905, almost 90 years old. His account was translated into German by my wife, and fifty copies of her translation were printed. I am of opinion that Tshe-brtan's account, although it cannot replace that of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, throws so much fresh light on the history of that interesting war that it fully justifies its appearance among the Minor Chronicles.

TEXT

ཀ་ལ་ཇོ་བ་མེ་མེ་ཚོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྱེད་བཟླ་བའི་ཙམ་གྱི་ཚེ་

ཐའ་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ཀོ ||

སྔོན་མ་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཚེ་རྒྱུས་དང་ | སེང་ཁའི་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ | ཏ་ཏ་ཀྱི་ཡོའི་དུས་ལ | ཐན་མེ་སེར་ཚོང་མ་འདུ་ཞེ་ལ་ནས་ཀྱེན་ཕྱོགས | སྐལ་ཀི་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འགའ་ལ་ནས་ཀྱེན་ཕྱོགས | ཟངས་དཀར་ཀྱི་ལ་འདར་ནས་ཀྱེན་ཕྱོགས | ལྷུམ་ད་ཤེ་འདུ་ལ་ནང་ཞུགས | ཅང་ཐང་གི་ཡོ་ལོང་འདུ་འདུ་ནང་ཞུགས | དེ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དྭགས་ཏ་ཏ་ཀྱི་ཡའི་མངའ་བོག་གི་ཐན་ཡིན་པས | རྒྱ་ཀྱམ་ཚང་མ་ཏ་ཏ་ཀྱི་ཡའི་མིན་པ | སྐས་ཀྱང་མེད་པ་ཡིན | ཀ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱལ་ཡོ་ལ་ས་ལྷམ་ཞུ་ཅེས་ལ | ཀ་རེ་མ་ཞིག་ཅེད་མཁན་དང་ | ཀོ་ལ་ཡ་ཇི་མི་རྟ་བ་བཀྲ་ཤོམ་ཡོངས་འདུག་པས | དེའི་ལན་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱལ་ཡོས་ཀ་ལ་རེ་བ་དྭག་ཚོས་དོན་གྲུབ་ཅེད་མཁན་ཡོ་དང་མཉམ་ཡོ | ལ་དྭགས་ཁའི་ཐོན་ཁངས་གཡོག་གིའོག | ལྷག་གིའོག | ད་མ་གིའོག | ཞི་གིའོག | ཡང་བཟང་ནོར་ཀ་ཤས་དང་སྐྱགས་ཏེ་བཏང་སོང་ | ཀྱལ་ཡོའི་ཐུག་མཇེད་ལ་སྐྱེ་མོ་བ་ཏློན་ཡོ་གི་ག་ཐུན་ཚོགས་རབ་བསྡུན་ཡོད་བ་ཡིན | འདེགས་དཔོན་ལ་ལྷན་ལ་བ་གསོལ་དཔོན་བ་ཡོད་བ་ཡིན | ཤ་དཔོན་ལ་ཤལ་ཕྱི་ཤ་གཉེར་བ་སྐྱོགས་ལྷན་དང་ | རྒྱབ་རྟོ་བ་འགོ་བ་གཉེས་ཀ་ཡོད་བ་ཡིན | ཀྱལ་ཡོ་ལ་ཀར་རྡེ་ཁེ་དགོས་མཁན་ལྷམ་ད་ནས་འཁྱོང་འདུག | ག་ག་བསྡུན་འཛོན་ཞེད་མཁན་ཡོ་ ཀར་རྡེ་ཕི་གཉེར་བ་ཚེན་མོ་ལ་ཡོད་བ་ཡིན | གསོལ་མད་དགོས་མཁན་ཚོང་མ་ཟངས་དཀར་བས་འཁྱོང་འདུག | ཡང་ཟ་མེན་དྲུད་ལ་བས་གསོས་དང་ཁལ་མཐུད་ཅང་མེད་བ་ཡིན | ལྷ་ས་སྐྱོགས་ལ་ལོ་ཐུག་བ་ཚ་ཅ་ན | ཡུལ་རེ་རེ་ནས་ཀོ་ལ་ཡ་དོ་མེ་རེ་བཅད་དགོས་འདུག་པས | དེ་ལ་བློ་ཚ་ཧཱུ་གཉེས་རེ་བཅད་

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འདུག །ལོ་ཐུག་གི་ཀོ་བ་ཡུལ་རེ་གཉིས་རེ་ལ །ཡུལ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ཀོ་བ་གསུམ་རེ་འཕོག་འདུག །ཡང་ཁ་རྩྭ་བ་དང་ །ཡར་ཀྱེན་བ །དཀར་ཞྭ་ཆོང་མ་ཆོང་ལ་ཡོང་ན །ཤོ་གམ་རེ་ལེན་ཏེ །ཐ་རིག་བ །སྐྱལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་བ །ལ་དྭགས་པ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་ཅང་ལེན་པ་མི་འདུག །དེ་ནས་དཀར་ཞྭའི་ཁང་གསར་ནས་རྩྭལ་ཡོ་ལ་སྐུ་བག་ཅིག་ཞུས་པས །རྩྭལ་སྡུ་རྩལ་ཤོ་འགོ་བའི་ཐ་མི་འདུག །དེ་ལ་སྤས་རྩྭལ་ཐུ་ཞིག་བལྟམས །མཆོད་ལ་དོ་རྩང་དུ་བཏགས། །དེ་ནས་རྩྭལ་ཐུ་ཁྱི་ལ་བལྟེབ་ཅེ་ན །ཡུལ་སོ་སོ་ལ་སྡོད་ལ་རྩྭལ་ཡོའི་ཐུ་ཚེ་མང་ཡོ་ཡོད་པས །ཁེད་ཚོང་མ་ཐུ་ཚེའི་ལ་ཡལ་ཏེ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཁྱེད་རྩྭལ་ཐུ་ཁྱིས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བལྟེབས་པའི་འགལ་ལ་དེ་ཐུ་ཚེའི་ཅི་ཡོད་མཁན་ཚོང་མ་རྩྭལ་ཡོས་ཐུག་མང་ཡོ་འཐད་སོང་ ||

དེ་ནས་ཚོ་མང་ཡོ་སོང་སྟེ །ཉིད་ཚོ་ཏུ་ཚའི་རྩྭ་བ་དགུ་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཀ་ཤིར་ཐོག་གས་ནས །སེང་པའི་དམག་ཐོན་པའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཚོར། །དེ་ནས་རོང་ཆུ་རྩྭ །ལྷུམ་ར །སྐལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ །ལ་དྭགས །ཐ་རིག་ཚོང་མ་ནས་དམག་སྐུལ་ཐུས །དེ་ནས་ཐ་རིག་ཐོག་ལ་ཁེར་ནས །ཐ་རིག་ཀེ་སང་ཀུ་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་དང་ཐག་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་སྟེ །དེ་ནས་ཤེར་ཁོ་ལ་ལ་བིང་སྟེ །སིང་པ་དམག་ཚོང་མ་ལང་དཀར་ཅོ་རྩྭ་བ་གཅིག་ཙམ་འདུག་ས །ཐ་རིག་བཅུ་པའི་རྩྭ་ཉིས་ཏེ །དེ་ཐུ་དམག་ཐུང་བཏབ་ནས་འདུག་ས །ཡང་རྩྭ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཚེས་མཁོ་ལ་སིང་པ་ཚོང་མ་པ་སྐུམ་ཡུལ་ལ་བསྟེབ །པ་སྐུམ་ཡུལ་ལ་ཁག་བཅོ་ལྔ་འདུག་ནས། སིང་པ་ཚོང་མ་ཡང་ལང་དཀར་ཅོ་ཐུ་ཁོག་སྟེ་སོང་ །དེ་ཐུ་རྩྭ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་འཕྲེད་རིང་བར་ཐུ་འདུག་ས །ཡང་རྩྭ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་མཁོ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ཚོང་མས་གླགས་བཅོས་པས །དག་ས་དགུན་ལ་ཁ་མང་ཡོ་ཡོངས །སིང་པ་ཚོ་ལ་ཁོས་མེད་པས །གྲང་མོ་སོང་སྟེ་ཁོ་ཀུན་ཐུས་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་མེ་ཐུབ །ང་ཏང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཐུལ་ཕིན་རེད་ནས །སིང་པ་དང་འཐབ་ཅིས་ལ་སོང་ །ལ་དྭགས་པ་དམག་མི་སྣོང་དགུ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན །དེ་ཚོང་མ་སིང་པ་ལ་ཐུལ་འདེད་ནས །དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་སྐྱིད་མངའ་ཅོ་ཐུ་བསྟེབ་སྟེ །སྐྱིད་མངའ་ཅོ་སིང་པ་དང་འཐབ་མོ་ཆེ་བ་བཏང་ནས །ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁམ་སོང་ །ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཅིའི་ཕི་ལ་ཁམ་རེད་ད །ལ་དྭགས་པས་ངང་གི་ཐུགས་དང་སོག་ཆས་སྐྱ་ཚང་མ་བཀུར་ཏེ །ཀྱེས་ཀྱེས་བསྐང་སྟེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན །དེའི་ཁ་སྐོག་ལ་ཏུ་བག་ཡང་ཡོད་པས །ཐ་ཅུ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པས །འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་མེ་ཐུབ་པ་ཁམ །སིང་པ་ཐུལ་སོང་ །སིང་པའི་ཏུ་ཁུ་ཐག་ཅད་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁམ །དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ཐུ་ཁྱིས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བལྟེབ་ཅེ་ན །དམག་མཁོ་ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་ཡང་དེ་ཐུ་གོང་ས །ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁ་ཤས་སིང་པས་བཐུམ་སྟེ་ཁེར་ས །དེ་ནས་ཚོང་མ་གར་སོང་གར་མ་སོང་ཤོར་ཏེ་ཡོང་ས །ཁམ་བསྟན་བཅོ་སྟེ་ཁྱོང་ནས་ཐུ་ཁྱི་ལ་ཁེར་ཏེ་ཡོང་ས །ཁམ་ཤེས་པ་ཐུག་མཛོད་རྩྭ་ཡོ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན །དེ་ནས་ཁམ་ཐུག་ཏུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཁམ་ཤེས་པ་ཐུ་ཚེ

དམག་ཚོང་མ་ཙོག་སྟེ་ཚ་ཅེག་འདུག་ཟེར་ས ། ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་ཙོས་གསན་པས ། དངྒལ་དང་རྟོ་ཚང་མང་པོ་སྒེལ་མཁར་ནང་ནས་ཤིང་སྟེ ། སྟེ་མོ་ཙུ་བསྒེགས་ཏེ་ཤིང་བཞི་རྩང་སྟེ ། ཤིང་པ་ཚོ་ཕེས་རོད་དང་དངྒལ་ཚང་མ་ཡང་ཤེག་ཏེ ། ཤིང་པ་འཐད་ནས་ང་ཁ་ཙོག་སྟེ་ཚ་ཕེན ། དཔལ་ལ་དུགས་ལ་ཕུ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཤི་ལ་སྒིས་ཅིག་ཚ་ཕེན་ཟེར་ནས ། ཟོ་ར་ཁར་དང་དམག་མི་ཚང་མ་ལ་དུགས་ལ་ཤོང་སྟེ ། གཡུལ་ན་ཡང་མེ་མདའ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱབ་མཁན་མེད་པར་སྒེལ་ཏུ་བསྒེག་ནས ། གར་བཅུ་ཙུ་དམག་སྐང་ཐབ་ནས་འདུགས ། རྒྱ་ག་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་མགོ་ལ་བསྒེག་ནས ། རྒྱ་ག་བཞི་སྐུག་ཤིའ་ཐང་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་འདུགས ། དེ་ནས་ཟོ་ར་ཁར་ཤིས་ཟེར་དོན་ལ ། ཁ་ལ་ཅོ་དྲག་ཚོས་ཀྱན་དགའ་ལ ། ཁྲོད་རང་གིས་ལ་དུགས་པ་འདི་ཚང་མའི་ཁཀ་འཁྲང་དགོས་ཟེར་པས ། ཁ་ལ་ཅོ་པ་དྲག་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་ལན་ལ ། ང་དག་ས་རྩུག་པ་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་འགས་འཕྲི་བཅོས་མཁན་ཡིན ། མ་ཚད་པར་བསང་རབ་ཀྱི་གས་འགས་མང་པོ་ཟོས ། ར་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ངོ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་ཟ་བརྒན་པོ་བཅོ་སྟེ ། དེ་ཟུག་ཟེར་པ་སངང་ । ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ལ་སྐོ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས ། དེ་ནས་ལ་དུགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ । ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་གཉིས་ནས་ཚད་དོན་བརྒན་པོ་བཅོ་སྟེ ། ལ་དུགས་པ་ཚོང་མ་ལ་བས་གྲོང་པ་ཅེ་ཅ་ལ་ཚོད་ར་བྱལ་བཅུ་དང་ཁ་ན་རྒྱ་ཅེ་དང་ཕེ་ཅེ་གཉིས་ཅེ་བཅོ་སྟེ ། སྒེལ་བློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ར་ཐ་བཅོ་སྟེ ། བ་སྐྱོ་བཀའ་བློན་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བློན་བཅོས ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུང་ངུ་དཀར་ཞུ་ཐོགས་ལ་ཤོར་ཏེ་བསྐྱོད ། ལྟ་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ཅང་མེད་མཁན་བཅོ་སྟེ་ཁོངས་ས ། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ལ་ཅོ་དྲག་ཚོས་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་ཁཀ་མི་འཁྲང་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ལ་སྐོ་བཅོ་སྟེ ། ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ལ་ཡ་དོ་བཅོམ་ཏེ ། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཕྱིད་དེ་བཅོའོ་བ་བཅོ་སྟེ་ཁྲེངས ། དེ་ནས་ཁེང་བའི་དམག་མི་སྐམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཁེག་ལ་དུགས་ལ་ཀྱི་ལ་བཅོ་སྟེ་དེ་རྩ་ཁོངས ། དེ་ནས་ཁེང་བ་དམག་མི་ལྷས་མཁན་སྐག་ཁྲིད་ནས ། ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ཁ་རྒལ་ལ་སོང་ । ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ཏིང་མོ་སྒང་མཁར་དུ་བསྒེག་ནས ། མཁར་ནང་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀྱི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་གཏེར་ཁ་བཅོ་སྟེ་ཁྲེངས ། དེ་ནས་ཁེང་བ་དམག་ཚོང་མ་ཁེང་ཁ་ཤོར་ཏེ་བསྐྱོད་ཟེར་ཁ་ཤོར་ཏེ་ཕྱིར་ཐོན་ཡོང་ཟེར་ས ། ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ཁ་ལ་ཅོ་དྲག་ཚོས་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་ཁཀ་མི་འཁྲང་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ལ་སྐོ་བཅོ་སྟེ ། ཟོ་ར་ལྷར་ཁ་ལ་ཅོ་དྲག་ཚོས་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་ཁཀ་མི་ཐུབ་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཁ་ཤོར་ཏེ་ཕྱིར་ཐོན་ཡོང་ཟེར་ས

དགས། དམག་མགོ་ལ་ག་ག་བང་ཁ་བ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། ཏ་བྱའི་ཚོས་འབའ་ལ་རྒྱུད་དགས་སོང་། སེང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚོང་མ་དང་མཉམ་ཁོ་མ་དེ་ནས་ཤ་ཟེར་མཁར་པོ་རྩེང་མ་ཞག་ལ་བཏང་། ཐ་རིག་པ་དམག་ཚོང་མ་དང་། འཇམ་འབྲུ་དགས་དམག་སྨོན་བསྟེགས་མཁར་དེ་ཚོང་མ་ཁིད་དགས། ཐོ་ར་ལྷར་དཀར་ཀྱེལ་ལེའི་ལམ་སྐྱེགས་དགས་སོང་སྐྱེ། ཅོ་ཅོ་ཅན་ཟེར་སའི་ས་ཁྲུ་ལ་བསྟེབ། ཡ་སྐྱེགས་དགས་སྐལ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་ཐུག་སོང་། དེ་རྒྱ་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་ས་དགས། སི་པ་ཁ་ཤས་ཡང་ཤི། དཀར་ཀྱིལ་ཚོ་བ་ནེ་ཟམ་དེད་ཟེར་མཁར་ཁོ་དམག་མགོ་ཡིན་པས། ཁོ་ཡང་ཤི་སོང་། དེའི་རྗེང་ན་ལྷ་རིར་ཐོ་ར་ལྷར་དང་གིས་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་ས། སྐལ་ཀྱི་ཚོང་མ་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ་ཤོར་སོང་། དེ་ནས་སིང་ཐའི་དམག་དང་། ལ་རྒྱས་ཐའི་དམག་ཚོང་མ་སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་ལ་སྟེབ་སྟེབ་ཙོག་པ་མེ་མདའ་རྒྱབ་མཁར་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད་པར་སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་ལ་བསྟེབ། དེ་རྒྱ་ཚོང་མ་འཛིམ་ནས། དམག་ཐང་ཐབ་སྟེ། འགེ་མ་བཅུ་གཅིས་ཐན་ཙོན་གཅིས་ཀ་འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་འབྱགས། སྐར་རྡོ་ཇོ་ཙག་མདུ་ཤ་ལ་ཡོངས། ལྷ་ཟིང་འབྲད་ནས་ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀྱིས་ཇོ་ལ་འདི་རྒྱག་ཟེར་པ། ཅིག་ཅན་ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་གར་ཡོད། ཁོ་བཙམ་སྟེ་ཁྲོང་ཟེར་སྐྱ། ཇོ་ཙེག་ང་ལ་ཁ་བར་མེད་ཟེར་ནས། ལྷ་ཟིང་ཀྱིས་ཁོ་མ་འཁྲོང་ན། ཁྲོ་རང་ལ་དཀའགས་པོ་བཅོ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཅི་ཞི་ལ་བཅའ་འབྱག་ཟེར་ན། སྟོན་ཟེ་ལ་རྡོ་ར་ལྷར་ཁ་རྩལ་གས་ཡོང་ཡོང་ཚུག་པ་ལ་རྒྱགས་པ་ཚོང་མ་ལ་དམག་སྐྱལ་བཏང་ས། དེའི་ཕྱིར་བྱ་ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ལ་རྩུ་གྱེད་དྲག་པོ་ བཏང་ས། རྐྱེ་ན་ཇོ་ཙེག་ལ་ཚུར་ཡོང་ཚུར་ཡོང་ཐུག་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཁོ་ཚོ་ཐུག་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཡོང

ཐང་ཁང་ལ་ཞེངས། གོང་ཐ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཞེ་ཀར་ཁལ་ལྟ་རེ་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཞེངས། དེ་ནས་རྩ་ཁོག་ཏུ་བསྒེལ་སྟེ། དེ་རྩ་འཐབ་མོ་མ་བཏང་བར་རྩ་ཁོག་ཏུ་ཏོར་ཅི་ཡོད་མཁན་ཚོང་མ་བཀོག་སྟེ། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀལ་ཏེ་བཏང་ངས། དེ་ནས་གྲོག་ཁོ་རབ་གསུམ་ལ་བསྒེལས་ཏེ། དེ་རྩ་ཁོད་ཐའི་དམག་ཡང་ཁྱེན་ཤོང་། དེ་ནས་ཤིང་ཐ་དད་ལ་དྭགས་པ་གཏེམ་གྱབས་བཅོ་སྟེ། ང་ཏང་གིས་གྲོག་ཁོའི་ཚ་སྐྱིལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ཏེ། གྲོག་ཁོའི་ཚ་བསྐྱིལས། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་འགག་གཅིག་ཀི་ལམ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཤོང་ངས། ཤིང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ཡང་ཤོང་། གྲོག་ཁོ་རབ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་སྟོང་ལ་ཤིང་ཐ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་ཐའི་དམག། ཁོང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དམག་ཐང་བཏབ་སྟེ་འདུགས། མཚན་ཉིག་ལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་མེ་ར་ཆ་མང་ཁོ་ཁོངས་ནས། ནམ་ལངས་ལངས་ལ་ཤིང་ཐ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཁོན་ཚས་མེད་མེ་ར་ཆ་འབྱེ་ནད་དུ་ཆུས་སྟེ། ཤིང་ཐ་མང་ཁོ་ཀྱི་ཤོང་། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་ཆེ་ཤར་དང་ཁོང་ཐ་དང་ཤིང་ཐ་གཉིས་ཀས་འཐབ་མོ་ཆེ་བ་བཏངས། ཉི་མ་ཐྲེད་ཙམ་ལ་ཟོ་རུ་ལྷན་ལ་ཁོང་ཐའི་ཆུ་བག་ཁོག་ནས། རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམ་སྐྱེ་བྱུང་སྐྱེ་ཀྱི། ཁོང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མས་ཟོ་ཆ་ཐམ་པ་ཤར་ཏེ་ཁྱེར་ཤོང་། ཟོ་ཆ་ཤང་ཁྱི་མཁོ་བཙར་དེ་འཁམ་འབྱུ་རྩ་བཏབ་ཟེར་ཏེ་ཁྱེར་ཤོང་། ཟོ་ཆ་ལྷན་ཁྱི་མཁོ་བཙར་དེ་ཁངས་ཀ་བཏབ་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཐས་ཤིང་ཐ་མང་ཁོ་བཟུམ་སྟེ་ཁོང་ལ་ཁྱེར་ཤོང་། ཁོང་ཐའི་ཉིས་གཅིག་མོ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་ཉིན་ཁོང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ནང་སྐྱི་ཤོང་ཐམ་པ་ཤར་ཏེ་ཁྱེར་ཤོང་། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཐས་ཤིང་ཐ་མང་ཁོ་ཁྱེར་ཤོང་། ཤིང་ཐའི་ཉིས་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ནང་སྐྱི་ཤོང་ཐམ། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་ཐས་ཤིང་ཐ་མང་ཁོ་ཁྱེར་ཤོང་། ཁོང་ཐའི་ཉིས་གཅིག་ཁོང་ཐའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ནང་སྐྱི་ཤོང་ཐམ། དེ་ནས་ཁྱེན་ཁན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཞུགས་ཏེ

ཆོ་ངང་གིས་གོང་བའི་ཆུགས་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་གཉམ་ཙོག་པོ་རེངས། ཆོ་ངང་དོ་ཀ་ཉེ་ལ་མེ་འགོངས་རེངས་རས། སེང་སྐྱེ་གཤན་ཡུལ་འཁྲི་ལ་བཏངས། སྤྲོན་ལ་ལ་རྒྱས་པ་གོང་ལ་བཆུམ་སྐྱེ་ཞེངས་དེགས་ནི། དགོན་པོ་ཚོ་དབང་ངས་བསྐྱེན། ཆུ་ཤོད་ཏོ་སྐོ་ལམ་ཁན། ས་སྐོ་བཀའ་བློན། བློན་པོ་ས་སི། ཕྱེ་ས་པ་འོལ་ཚགས་པ་ཆུག་ཇོང། ཁོང་མེ་ཕུ་གོང་རས་ཚོག་སྐྱེ་མ་བསྒེས། དེ་ཅི་ཡིན་རེངས་ན། ཁོ་ཚོང་ཀ་གོང་བའི་ཆུགས་མ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། སེང་བའི་ཆུགས་བཅོ་མཁན་ཡིན་རེངས་དེ། གོང་པ་ལ་སྐོ་ཡོང་སྐྱེ། ཁོང་ཚང་ཀ་ཤི་ཤི་ཆུག་ཀ་གོང་ལ་གོངས།།

TRANSLATION

In the following is contained the history of the Indian war, as told by the grandfather Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse.

This is the tale of the former king of La-dvags (Ladakh) and of the war with the Siṅ-pas. During the time of the father-king the following [districts were inhabited by] his subjects: [the region] from the Ḥdu-żi pass (Zoji pass) upwards, from the Chos-ḥbad pass of Sbal-ti-yul upwards, and from La-ḥdar in Zaṅs-dkar upwards; [the region] within the Še-ḥdu-la pass of Ldum-ra (Nub-ra), and within Pho-loṅ-ḥdra-ḥdra of Byaṅ-thaṅ. All those [who lived there] were the subjects of the father-king of La-dvags. Besides the father-king none could give orders to them. To say 'Salām' to the king of La-dvags there came annually from Kashmir [a Kashmiri] called Ma-lig, and together with him about one hundred assistant pony-men. In return to this, the king of La-dvags sent with a man from Kha-la-tse, called Drag-chos-don-grub, various products of La-dvags, for instance, a yak, a sheep, a goat, a dog, and also more valuable things. The king's steward was the minister Ga-ga Phun-tshogs-rab-bstan of Sñe-mo, the chief cook (storekeeper) was a man of the house of Gsol-dpon (cook) at Wan-la. Chief purveyors in flesh were Śa-gñer-pa (meat provider) Stobs-ldan of 'Al-lci, and the magistrate of Rub-śo, these two. What the king wanted of victuals (grain) was brought from Ldum-ra, and a man called Ga-ga Bstan-ḥdzin was the chief caterer of victuals. What was wanted of butter was brought by the people of Zaṅs-dkar. The peasants had [to pay] no taxes, and there was no forced labour. When the biennial embassy went to Lha-sa, every village had to send one man each to attend, and every [peasant] had to contribute two *jau* (a coin) as his wages. Every village had to give two hides (for packing) for the biennial embassy (*lo-phyag*), but the large villages three. Toll had to be paid by the traders of Kha-ce (Kashmir), Yar-kyen (Yarkand), and Dkar-żva (Lahul), on entering La-dvags; but it was not asked of the people of Pu-rig, Sbal-ti-yul, and La-dvags. Then a bride was asked for the king from Khaṅ-gsar (Ko-loṅ) of Dkar-żva. Later on, as a son was not born by that queen, they brought a daughter of the chief of Rub-śo. To her was born a prince, who received the name of No-chuṅ-ṅu (boy prince). Formerly many villages were deeply in debt to the king, and at the time when the prince was raised to the throne the king remitted all the debts. Thereupon all the landholders were much pleased.

Then, many years later, at last, in the ninth month of a Horse-year, a rumour was heard of an army of Siṅ-pas coming from Ka-shir (Kashmir). Then a 'call to

arms' was issued in Roṅ-chu-rgyud, Ldum-ra, Sbal-ti-yul, La-dvags, Pu-rig, and all [the other provinces]. Then [the armies] were led towards Pu-rig, and at Saṅ-ku of Pu-rig the army of the Siṅ-pas was met, and a battle was fought. The Siṅ-pas were victorious, the Ladakhis were beaten, and fled during the night across the Rus-si pass. They came out [of the defile] at Śer-go-la (Śar-sgo-la); and the whole army of the Siṅ-pas remained at Laṅ-dkar-tse for about one month. There they threw up trenches and remained for the whole of the tenth month. On the first day of the eleventh month all the Siṅ-pas arrived at the village of Pa-skyum. After having remained at Pa-skyum for fifteen days, the Siṅ-pas went back again to Laṅ-dkar-tse. There they remained till the end of the eleventh month. On the first of the twelfth month the whole Ladakhi army held a council [as follows]: 'It is winter now, and much snow has fallen. As the Siṅ-pas have not [sufficient] clothing, they will catch cold and not be able to fight. Then we Ladakhis will be victorious.' Thus saying, they went to fight with the Siṅ-pas. The number of the Ladakhi soldiers was about 9,000. They all went after the Siṅ-pas. When the Ladakhis arrived at Skyid-mar-tse, they fought a great battle with the Siṅ-pas, and the Ladakhis were beaten. If you ask why the Ladakhis were beaten, [we answer] that the Ladakhis had to carry [on their own backs] their food, clothing, and a carpet, which filled a litter. On the top of that was placed the musket. As they had to carry so much, the Ladakhis could not fight and were beaten. The Siṅ-pas were victorious. Being hit by the muskets and swords of the Siṅ-pas, about 300 Ladakhis died there. The chief commander, the minister of Tog, died there also. Several of the Ladakhis were seized and carried off by the Siṅ-pas. Then they fled in all directions. The treasurer Rnam-rgyal of Kram-bis acted as guide to the Siṅ-pas and Zo-ra-war, and [thus] they arrived at Mkhar-bu. When the people of Gyu-ru and Wan-la heard that the army of the Siṅ-pas had arrived at Mkhar-bu they became afraid, and, to welcome the Siṅ-pas, they brought a horse and some money. They all went to Mkhar-bu and, bowing their heads before the Siṅ-pa army, greeted them. Then Zo-ra-war and the Siṅ-pas became very much pleased. He said to the people of Gyu-ru and Wan-la: 'I will not allow any harm to be done to your villages!', and gave them one soldier (*si-pa*) each to guard them. When [Zo-ra-war] arrived at Gyu-ru, the people of Lte-ba and Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ became frightened, and one man from each village went to Gyu-ru, leading two horses and carrying some money. They welcomed the Siṅ-pas, who were highly pleased. The people of Lte-ba and Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ also received one soldier each to guard [their villages]. Then the soldiers arrived at Myur-la, and the people of Sñe-mo, Ba-sgo, A-lci, Sa-spo-la, and Li-kyir, carrying some treasure each, went to meet the Siṅ-pas, and came to Myur-la. The Siṅ-pas liked that, and gave one soldier to each village as a guard. Then the whole army of the Siṅ-pas arrived at Sñe-mo, and the following rumour was spread: 'If some money is given, the whole army of the Siṅ-pas will go back!' When the king of La-dvags heard of it, he took much money and many [silver] ingots out of the Slel castle, went to Sñe-mo, and arrived before the Siṅ-pas. The Siṅ-pas were pleased, took all the treasures and the money, and said: 'We shall go back! Only just now

we want to go to La-dvags for a moment to see it.' Zo-ra-war and all his soldiers went to La-dvags. Nobody fired a bullet in any village, and thus they arrived at Slel and stayed at Gar-bzu (Dkar-zu), where they had their camp. They arrived there on the first of the second month, and the Siṅ-pas and the King of La-dvags stayed without fighting till the fourth month. Then Zo-ra-war said to Drag-chos-kun-dgaḥ of Kha-la-tse: 'You must take the responsibility for all these Ladakhis!' To which Drag-chos of Kha-la-tse replied: 'Until now have I been a servant of the king of La-dvags; not only that, but I have also received ample food and drink from him. I shall not now revolt against the king!' As he spoke thus, Zo-ra-war became very angry. Then the King of La-dvags and Zo-ra-war both made an agreement [as follows]: 'Every peasant among the Ladakhis has to pay ten Tibetan rupees, six annas, and two paisa as tribute [to Jam-mu].' The minister of Slel, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, was made Ra-ja, and the minister of Ba-sgo (Bab-sgo) was made minister of La-dvags. The 'little king' fled in the direction of Lahul, and the father-king remained [in Leh], being deprived of every power (work) in La-dvags. Then anger was shown against Drag-chos of Kha-la-tse, who had said that he would not accept the responsibility for La-dvags. He was appointed a servant of Zo-ra-war, and taken to Kha-cul (Jam-mu) as a prisoner. Then a fort (*kyi-la*) was erected in La-dvags, and about 300 Siṅ-pa soldiers were placed in it. The remaining Siṅ-pa soldiers were taken by Zo-ra-war to Kha-cul. When Zo-ra-war arrived at the castle of Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ, he destroyed the treasury of king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, and the Siṅ-pas carried off the king's sword, the strings of pearl, the branch (hand) of coral, the royal saddle cloth, and all the precious things.

Then there were six years [of peace]. In the seventh year the Ladakhis held a council against the Siṅ-pas who lived in Sle[l]. They made [everything] ready for war. There was a man called Su-ka-mir, of Hem-babs. That man admonished the people in Pu-rig to make war. And, when he led them [against the enemy], Zo-ra-war arrived at Slel, coming by the Zaṅs-dkar road and leading many Siṅ-pa soldiers. The soldiers of La-dvags and Pu-rig, being afraid of the Siṅ-pa soldiers, went before Zo-ra-war and said: 'We have all come [here] to say Salām to you! We want to make a petition.' Such a lie they said. Then the Wa-zir answered: 'Whatever petition you have, I will listen to it. Some of you may remain here; all the rest may return to their own villages.' He kept back Su-ka-mir of Hem-babs in Pu-rig, Yis-mal-mir of Cig-tan, and several more people of Pu-rig. After several days, he began to examine them, saying: 'Who is the one that issued the first call to arms?' After all, Su-ka-mir of Hem-babs was found out. Su-ka-mir was abused, and, his right hand being cut off, the stump was dipped into boiling butter. That hand was fastened with nails on the top of a pole at the Kha-la-tse bridge. Then it was again taken off and wrapped in a handkerchief at the bridge of Kha-la-tse. When that hand was placed in the room of the government storehouse (Ko-khri) of Kha-la-tse, a cat carried it off over night. Then the people of Kha-la-tse thought that they would all be punished. But, a 'grandfather lama' having died, his hand was cut off and fastened on the top of a pole at the Kha-la-tse bridge. Su-ka-mir's tongue was also cut out.

Then a call to arms was issued to all the Ladakhis to carry war to Sbal-ti-yul. The Ladakhis were sent from Gyu-ru in the upper direction, their general being Ga-ga Baṅ-kha-pa. They marched across the Chos-ḫbad pass of Ha-nu. On the following day the Siṅ-pa army was sent off together with a man called Ma-di-na-Śa. Zo-ra-war, leading an army of Pu-rig people and an army from Ḫjam-ḫbu which had arrived only recently, marched by way of Dkar-gyil-lo and reached a place called Tse-tse-tsaṇ. There they met with the army of Sbal-ti-yul, a battle ensued, and several Si-pas were killed. A general called Ne-zam-din of Dkar-gyil-lo also died there. Later on the Wa-zir Zo-ra-war himself fought a battle, and all the Sbal-tis fled at once. Then the [other] army of the Siṅ-pas and that of the Ladakhis arrived at the castle of Skar-rdo, without ever having fired a single bullet. There they all gathered and made a camp. Both sides remained without fighting for twelve days. 'Ag-mad-Śa, the chief of Skar-rdo, remained hidden in the castle. After twelve days had elapsed, the chief 'Ag-mad-Śa came down from his castle for no particular reason, and bowed his head before Zo-ra-war. The Wa-zir was pleased and said to the chieftain: 'Where is Ra-yim-Khan, the chief of Cig-tan? You must seize and bring him [here]!' The Chief 'Ag-mad-Śa-Khan answered: 'Who knows? I have no news [about him]!' The Wa-zir said: 'If you do not bring him [here], I will make it unpleasant for you!' If you ask why the chief Ra-yim-Khan was looked for, [we answer] that, before Zo-ra-war had come from Kashmir, [Ra-yim-Khan] had issued a call to arms to all the Ladakhis. For that reason a strict inquiry was made for Ra-yim-Khan. Later on the Chief 'Ag-mad-Khan sent scouts over the whole country. They seized and brought Ra-yim-Khan [to Skar-rdo]. When he arrived before Zo-ra-war, Zo-ra-war issued an order He assembled the whole armies of the Siṅ-pas and Ladakhis, of the Pu-rig-pas, and of Sbal-ti-yul, men and women, old and young, blind and deaf, all at a time. In the middle of the town was a large field of lucerne, and all men were taken there. Tents were put up for both Zo-ra-war and the father-king. Then the whole army was drawn up in order, and Ra-yim-Khan was seized by seven soldiers and escorted there. He was admonished to eat much opium, which made him intoxicated. It was to save him much pain, they said. He was placed in the middle of the whole army. One man brought an armful of wood, another a small kettle filled with a *ba-ṭi* (four pounds) of butter. Then [three] hearthstones were put up, and the small kettle was placed on them; a fire was lit, and the butter was boiled. A 'man-killing executioner' appeared and seized Ra-yim-Khan. At first he cut off his hand and smeared the hot butter over the wound. Then he cut off his tongue. When he had cut off his ears, he showed him to the whole army. Then he pushed him into the middle of the crowd. There was also a man from Pas-kyum, called Hu-sen of [the house] Boṅ-pho, who had rebelled against the Siṅ-pas. His right hand and tongue were also cut off. Then they let him go. He did not die. Ra-yim-Khan cried for about two days; then he died. Thus the Siṅ-pas were victorious, and everything went as they could wish. Several Siṅ-pas were stationed at Skar-rdo. 'Ag-mad-Khan, the chief of Skar-rdo, and all the [other] chieftains were carried off, and the army returned to La-dvags.

The father-king and Baṅ-kha-pa both died at Skar-rdo. Their corpses were brought to Tog, where they were cremated. Then the Wa-zir took out of the castle of Skar-rdo the whole treasure that there existed, and went to Slel. He remained for a winter in La-dvags.

In the second month of spring some soldiers were sent over the whole country on account of a war to be undertaken against Byaṅ-thaṅ. All people had to carry loads and were taken along [with the army]. About 6,000 [men] arrived from Kha-cul as reinforcements of the Siṅ-pa army. They had thirty cannons with them. Then [more] men were gathered from La-dvags, Sbal-ti-yul, Pu-rig, Ldum-ra, and all directions; and when about 12,000 soldiers were assembled, they were led to Byaṅ-thaṅ. Every villager was made responsible for the transport of five *khal* (150 pounds). Then they arrived at Ru-thog. Without fighting they carried off all the riches that existed at Ru-thog and sent them to La-dvags. Then they arrived at Grog-po-rab-gsum, where the Tibetan army made its appearance. Then the Siṅ-pas held a council with the Ladakhis [as follows]: 'We will dam up the water of the brook!'; and they dammed up the water of the brook. Then the whole Tibetan army went back for a day's journey, and the army of the Siṅ-pas followed them (marched also). In the upper part of Grog-po-rab-gsum, the Siṅ-pa-Ladakhi army, as well as the Tibetan army, made their camps and remained there. During one night much hail came down from the sky. When it dawned, the Siṅ-pas, who had only little clothing on them, sank under the hail, and many Siṅ-pas died. When the sun rose above the summits, the Tibetans and the Siṅ-pas fought a great battle. About noon Zo-ra-war was hit by a Tibetan bullet. He fell from his horse and died. The Tibetan soldiers cut Zo-ra-war's corpse (flesh) to pieces and carried it off. They cut off Zo-ra-war's head and sent it to Ḥjam-ḥbu (Jammu). Then the Tibetans seized many Siṅ-pas and took them to Tibet. A Tibetan of high rank, named Żib-bcod, made an agreement with the Siṅ-pas: 'What has been done on both sides should not be spoken of again. The biennial trade (*lo-phyag*) is to be continued as formerly.' After this letter of agreement was duly written, the Siṅ-pa army went to La-dvags, and the Tibetan army to Tibet.

After three months had elapsed, De-wan Ha-ri-cand and Wa-zir Ra-tun, these two generals, came from Kha-cul into Tibet, leading 8,000 Siṅ-pa soldiers. They arrived at Slel in the fifth month. Then a call to arms was issued to La-dvags, Ldum-ra, Sbal-ti-yul, and Pu-rig. The peasants were taken to do transport work, and the noblemen to serve as warriors. Some Tibetan soldiers, who had arrived at the Lcem-ḥbre castle, were deprived of their water supply in the castle [and the castle was conquered]. Several Siṅ-pa soldiers were left stationed there. The De-wan and many Siṅ-pas pursued the Tibetan army. They caught them at Chu-śul. Some Tibetans were killed, others were seized and carried off. Ra-ga-śa, the Tibetan general, was also seized. They said: 'It is in reply to their having killed Wa-zir Zo-ra-war first!', and severed his neck with a sword. Then the Tibetans were beaten. All the customs of the former kings of La-dvags were re-established. Those Siṅ-pas who had been made prisoners in the preceding year, when Zo-ra-war died, were

returned, and the captive Tibetans were also returned, and an agreement was arrived at. Then those Siṅ-pas who had been kept captive in Tibet had married Tibetan women. They all went to Kha-cul, every one carrying a child. Those Tibetans who had been taken captive by the Siṅ-pas had married women of Ḥjam-ḥbu. They went [back] to Tibet, carrying two or three children each. Mi-ña-re-ya-siṅ had been in Tibet with the Siṅ-pas as an officer. When he arrived at Ḥjam-ḥbu [home] from Tibet, the Ma-ha-ra-ja asked him: 'If once more we go to war against Tibet, shall we win or not?' To which Mi-ña-re-ya-siṅ replied: 'We cannot make war against Tibet! If you ask why, as many soldiers as we have, so many lamas have the Tibetans; as much food as a Siṅ-pa consumes within a month, a Tibetan eats within a day; as many dresses as are put on by ten Siṅ-pas, a single Tibetan puts on; and they are in possession of much magic. They know how to bring rain from the sky, and how to cause fire spontaneously. They cause heaven and earth to shake, and they can show great power. Some men fly up to the sky; others make themselves invisible and kill people with a sword, and there are many [more] unusual things!' The Ma-ha-ra-ja became angry and said: 'You are taking the side of the Tibetans! You are telling ugly things! I will not keep you in my service!' He turned him out and sent him to some other country. Five Ladakhis out of those who had been taken captive by the Tibetans and carried off, viz. the astrologer Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-bstan, the chief Sgo-lam-Khan of Chu-śod, the minister of Ba-sgo, the minister Sa-bi, and Ḥol-chags-pa-phyag-rdor of Lte-ba, did not return from Tibet. If you ask why, [we answer that] they said they were taking the side of the Siṅ-pas and not that of the Tibetans. Therefore the Tibetans became angry and kept them in Tibet till they died.

NOTES

The language of Tshe-brtan's account is not quite the spoken language of Ladakh, as might be supposed. Tshe-brtan himself spoke the Ladakhi dialect when he told his tale; but the munshi who wrote it down contrived to embellish it with as many classical Tibetan words and grammatical forms as he thought necessary, to make the account acceptable to educated men. The natives themselves would never write as they speak. It is only the missionaries who pursue that aim.

There is a remarkable number of foreign words, Urdū, contained in the account. These words testify to the influence exercised by the Dogras and Kashmiris over the Ladakhis since the times of the Dogra war. Such foreign words are the following: *Bā-bā* (Turk.), 'father'; *hu-kum* (*ḥukm*), 'order'; *sa-lām*, 'peace,' 'salutation'; *khar-ji* (*ḳharch*), 'taxes in kind,' often used in the sense of 'food'; *za-min-dār*, 'landholder'; *bab* (*bāb*), 'taxes'; *tu-bag* (*tupak*), 'musket,' 'rifle'; *nog-san* (*nuqṣān*), 'harm,' 'injury'; *si-pa* (*sipāhī*), 'soldier'; *'a-na* (*ānā*), 'a coin'; *pe-ne* (Indian *paṇa*), 'one paisa'; *kyi-la* (*qil'a*), 'castle,' 'fort'; *ar-ji* (*'arẓī*), 'petition'; *bad-nam* (*badnām*), 'abuse'; *ko-khri* (*koṭhī*), 'warehouse,' 'granary'; *kha-bar* (*ḳhabar*), 'information,' 'news'; *'a-phim* (*afim*), 'opium'; *ba-ṭi* (*bāṭ*), 'a weight' (four pounds); *tob* (Turkish *tōp*), 'cannon'; *be-kar* (*begār*), 'forced labour'; *ja-du* (*jādū*), 'magic'; *no-ka-ri* (*naukarī*), 'service.'

Among the local names the spelling Ka-shir for Kashmir is of particular interest, as reminding us of the old name Kaśvīra of that country. It occurs only once: in all other cases we find Kha-cul. Jam-mu is regularly spelt Ḥjam-ḥbu. The Tibetans seem to connect this name with Ḥjam-bu-gliṅ, Jambū-dvīpa.

As regards the use of the pronouns *ṅa-taṅ* and *ṅa-ża*, 'we,' they are very carefully distinguished in Tshe-brtan's account, *ṅa-taṅ* being used inclusively, and *ṅa-ża* exclusively, of the addressed person.

As the text shows us, Tshe-brtan had never understood that in 1834 Jammu and Kashmir were not one and the same state, as they have been since 1846. He believed them to be one and the same even then, and therefore he often speaks of Kashmir when he means Jammu. Although the general course of events is the same in Tshe-brtan's and munshi Dpal-rgyas' accounts, there are many differences with regard to minor matters. Bastī-Rām's account, which is found in Cunningham's *Ladák*, also differs from both of them in many points. At the present day it will hardly be possible to decide which of the three accounts is to be given the preference in particular points, and it will therefore be useful to compare the three in a table, showing the chief events in three parallel columns, one for each authority. (See *ante*, pp. 129 sqq.)

The main importance of Tshe-brtan's account rests in the fact that he alone describes the Dogras on their cruel and avaricious side. If we had nothing but the two other accounts, we should come to the conclusion that the Dogra generals and soldiers were as chivalrous as any army in the world has ever been. In reality, they appear to have been not much above the average of Oriental warriors.

XX. Bastī-Rām's Account of the Dogra War, and Cunningham's 'Other Information'

Bastī-Rām was a Dogra officer and one of the early Wazīrs of Ladakh. His Wazīrate lasted from 1847 to 1861 A.D. Cunningham met him in Ladakh, probably in 1847, and asked him to write an account of the Dogra war, to which he agreed. As Bastī-Rām held a high office in the conquered kingdom of Ladakh, his account has a right to appear among the 'Minor Chronicles' of Ladakh. His account of the Dogra war is of particular importance, for the simple reason that it is the earliest ever written. On the other hand, it is in much need of re-editing; for the names contained in it have never been identified with those contained in the later Tibetan accounts of the same war. The original (probably Urdū) text of Bastī-Rām's tale has been lost. What we possess now is Cunningham's English rendering of the same. Cunningham says (p. 332) with regard to it: 'The following account of the Dogra invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram, a Hindu Rajput of Káshtwár, now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge (in 1847 A.D.), I should have preferred giving the narrative almost literally, but I found that in this shape it would entail the insertion of too many footnotes, which would have completely distracted the attention of the reader. I have therefore re-written the account entirely, and have given the Tibetan names, which my knowledge of the localities enabled me to do without much difficulty. The narrative was of course dictated in the first person, for which I have throughout substituted the name of "Dogra" and "the Dogra troops".' Bastī-Rām's account breaks off immediately before the Balti war. The history of the conquest of Baltistan and the two later Tibetan Dogra wars was compiled by Cunningham from 'Other Information'. The correct Tibetan forms of the names have been added by the present author.

ENGLISH TEXT (Cunningham, p. 333)

1. Conquest of Ladák by the Dogras

1. The chief officers engaged in this expedition under the Vazir Zorávar Sing were, 1st, Mia Rai Sing; 2nd, Mehta Basti Rám; 3rd, Mirza Rasul Beg; 4th, Rána Zálim Sing; 5th, Singhé Mankotiah; 6th, Mian Tuta (Tibetan, Miyanota); 7th, Sirdar Uttam Sing; and 8th, Vazir Khojah Bhunjah.

2. The Dogra troops marched from Káshtwár (T. Kastrawar), and entered the Ladák (La-dvags) territory by the pass at the head of the Suru valley, where, on the 16th of August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti (Tibetan) leader Mangal, at the head of 5,000 men. The Dogras advanced to the attack up a hill, which was obstinately defended for a whole day, and at last succeeded in dislodging the Ladákis with a loss of only six or seven killed, and five or six wounded; whilst the enemy lost thirty killed, and as many wounded. They encamped on the north side of the hill for the night, and on the next morning marched to Suru, where they halted for eight days. During that time the Vazir prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort, which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to Shakhar (Śag-mkhar), where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultan (Khri-Sultan), and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri (Saṅ-ku-ri ?) and Shakhar (Śag-mkhar) in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by Langkarchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse) and Manji (Mainji of the map) to the bridge of Paskyum (T. Pas-kyum), where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory, and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis (Tibetans) had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge, which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sōd (Sod), where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

4. The Dogras advanced towards the place and raised a battery against it; but after ten days' firing nothing had been effected, although they had lost forty men in killed and wounded. The Vazir, who had remained behind at Paskyum, then ordered Mehta Basti Rám, with a party of 500 men, to make a vigorous assault upon the place. Accordingly, early the next morning, whilst it was still dark, the attack was begun by a discharge from the battery, under cover of which the Dogras advanced rapidly to the assault. By daybreak they had gained possession of the place and had captured the Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*, 'king' or 'chief'). Altogether the number of prisoners taken at Paskyum and at Sōd amounted to 6,000 men. A whole month was then wasted in fruitless negotiations with the zamindars of the district, who would not agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Vazir.

5. In the meantime Akabat Mahmúd Khan (the King of Ladakh), the Gyalpo of Ladák (La-dvags-rgyal-po), with the Banka Kahlan (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon) and four chiefs, named Gapaju (T. Ga-ga-jo ?), Dorje Namgyal (Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal), Chang or Chovang Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Kahlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), and Rahim Khan, of Chachot (Chu-śod), accompanied by a force of 22,000 men,

arrived at Mulbil (Mul-ḫbye). From thence they dispatched envoys to the camp, who at first talked boldly, and tried to frighten the Dogras, but they afterwards declared their readiness to agree to honourable terms, and proposed that some respectable and confidential agents should be sent back with them to treat with their chiefs regarding the terms of accommodation. To this the Vazir consented, and after having feasted the envoys and placed turbans on their heads, he deputed Mehta Basti Rám, with some other Dogra officers and a guard of 500 matchlock-men, to accompany them. When the men were ready to start, the Vazir was requested not to send so large a party, as their number would be more likely to alarm than to pacify the minds of their countrymen. Accordingly only five men, with two respectable zamindars, named Gola and Nanda, were sent with the envoys. On their arrival in the Ladáki camp, these men were treacherously seized by the chiefs, and dispatched under a guard of 500 men to the bridge of Darkech (perhaps Durkit of the maps between Śar-sgo-la and Pas-kyum). One of the men, however, a Suwar, named Ratan Sing, managed to escape, and returned to the Dogra camp. In the meantime Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon), by a circuitous route, attacked the Dogras in their rear, and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river in sight of their comrades. On this the Vazir, seeing the danger of his situation, ordered a retreat, which with some difficulty was effected to Lang-karchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse), in the Suru valley, to the fort of the Thai Sultan (Khri-Sultan). There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months, procuring a precarious subsistence by plunder alone.

6. At the end of that time Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon) with his 22,000 men advanced towards Langkarchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse); but the Vazir, having received intelligence of their movements, dispatched a party of 100 men to oppose them, when they were within one kos (one mile and a half) of the place. Now the straggling manner in which the Dogras were obliged to wade through the snow, and the unsoldierlike way in which their tents were scattered over the open country completely deceived the Ladákis as to the real number of their enemies. They were, besides, quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march through the snow; and therefore, instead of attacking the Dogras at once, they halted for a consultation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare their evening meal of tea and wheaten flour. On seeing this the Dogras attacked them with their swords, and after five or six were killed on each side, and several were wounded, Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon) and the other Ladáki leaders became alarmed and fled with numbers of their men. The remainder of the Dogras, who had hitherto held aloof, now rushed to the attack, and completed the rout of the Botis (Tibetans); 400 Ladákis, in attempting to escape along the bank of the river, were overwhelmed by the fall of a snow-bed, and 1,200, who had been concealed behind a hill, were made prisoners, along with Moru Tádzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḫ-blon), and his son Gyurmed (Ḫgyur-med). The Dogras lost three of their leaders, namely, Uttam Vazir, Hazru Vazir of Una, and Surtu Rana, with twenty men, and between fifty and sixty wounded.

7. After this victory the Dogras were again enabled to advance to Paskyum by making use of their prisoners for the carriage of their baggage. From thence they marched by Shergol (Śar-sgo-la) to Mulbil (Mul-ḫbye), where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded by Kharbu (Mkhar-bu) to Lama-Yuru (Gyuṅ-druṅ), where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultán Akabat Mahmud Khán (the King of Ladakh), sueing for peace. Eight months, he said, had now elapsed in the vain struggle for independence, and that, if the Vazir would promise faithfully that he should not be seized, he would himself come to treat about the terms of peace. To this the Vazir at once assented, adding that the king need not be under any alarm, as the Dogras wanted nothing more than the payment of a regular tribute to their master, Maharaja Guláb Sing. On this the Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*, king) advanced to Bazgo (Bab-sgo), and intimated his wish to have an interview, provided the Vazir would not bring a large body of men with him. Accordingly the Vazir, Zoráwar Sing, with Mehta Basti Rám and 100 men, waited upon the Gyalpo, whom they found encamped upon the plain of Bazgo, with a party of 2,000 men. The Gyalpo received the Vazir kindly, and begged that he would move his camp to Bazgo, which was soon afterwards done.

8. When ten days had elapsed, the king wished the Vazir to accompany him to Lé (Sle), but with only a small party, lest the inhabitants should become alarmed. Zoráwar Sing assented, and started for Lé with only 100 men. Soon after their arrival the Vazir waited upon the Gyalpo, and was preparing to make his usual offering of a Sadka of rs. 100 to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo (Bab-sgo), when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning.

9. For four months the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo (king) should pay rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru (Gyuṅ-druṅ).

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles (twenty-five *kos*) in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis (Tibetans) by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with 50 men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

NOTES

For a comparison of Bastī-Rām's account with the other authorities see *Ryyal-rabs* (*ante*, pp. 129 sqq.). As regards numbers, I cannot place any confidence in Bastī-Rām's statements. Thus it is not possible that the first Tibetan force which opposed the Dogras should have numbered 5,000 men. The Dogras surprised the Ladakhis in time of peace, and at the utmost 500 men could be gathered together in the remote Suru valley. Nor can I believe that Bań-kha-pa's army numbered 22,000 men, and that even after 6,000 Ladakhis had been taken prisoners at Sod and Pas-kyum. I cannot help suspecting Bastī-Rām of exaggerating the number of the enemy in order to make the victory of the Dogras appear in a better light. With regard to Moru Tadzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin) let me state that according to the Tibetan accounts he was 'minister of Leh'. Cunningham continually mixed him up with Bań-kha-pa, the 'minister of Lce-ḥbre', probably because these two persons are often mentioned together. Tshe-dbań-rab-brtan was apparently 'minister of Bab-sgo'. In a later note Cunningham spells his name Chang Raphtan (instead of Chang Nabdan). Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was visited by Vigne in 1839. He calls him Marut Tanzin, and says that hewas only a puppet in the hands of the Dogras. 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān was the title given by the Mughal emperor to the King of Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D., when he was supposed to become a Musalman.

2. Second Expedition to Leh (Cunningham, p. 340)

1. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku or Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar), the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

2. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé (Sle); that the Gyalpo (king), at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants; that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin) and the Banka Káhlon (Bań-kha-bkaḥ-blon), and that he had imprisoned and tortured his munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he determined to march at once. Everyone professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) in perpetuity.

3. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from 45 to 60 miles a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur (Lce-ḥbre), where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot (Chu-śod), and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, 'Although we conquered your

country with 10,000 men, we did not place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom.' The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

4. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu ('A-jo-mgon-po), offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jaghir. A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tādzi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.

5. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé (Paldér, Dpal-dar). Accordingly they marched with 1,500 foot-soldiers by the Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.

NOTES

Cunningham has the following note on Miyān-Siṅgh's plans when exciting the Ladakhis to rebel against the Dogras: 'Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.' According to Cunningham Bastī-Rām's statement about marching 45–60 miles a day is exaggerated. 'A-jo-mgon-po was not a *bkaḥ-blon* or minister, but the warden of the He-mis monastery; see the Tibetan accounts. As has been stated, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was not minister of Baṅ-kha (Lce-ḥbre, etc.), but of Leh. Balde, or Palder, is the Tibetan Dpal-dar, Indian Padar, a district on the Chenab river, east of Kashṭavār, which was in those days under Chamba. It was wrested from the Chamba State by the Dogras. See the account in the Chamba State *Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 105.

3. CONQUEST OF BALTISTAN (Cunningham, p. 343)

1. Maharaja Guláb Sing and the Mia (Uttam Sing, eldest son of Guláb Sing) were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tādzi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé (Sle). One year after this, news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé (Dpal-dar, Padar) and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

2. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of 3,000 infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé (Padar); but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more. At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the fort of Chatrgarh, which they carried by storm with a loss of fifteen men on their own side and of twenty on that of the enemy. Some twenty or thirty prisoners that were taken, had their ears and noses cut off, which frightened the people so much that they immediately tendered their submission.

3. Leaving a garrison in the fort of Chatrgarh, the Vazir again marched into Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) over the hills. On this march twenty-five men died from the severe cold, and ten men lost their feet and hands in the snow. On reaching Zanskar the Dogras found that the people had fled; but during a halt of two months everything was arranged satisfactorily. After that Rai Sing and Mia Tota (T. Mi-ya-no-ta), with about 1,000 men, advanced towards Lé (Sle), on which Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the new Gyalpo (king), who was formerly Káhlon of Banka (no, minister of Sle, F.), fled with precipitation from the capital. Being closely pursued, he was nearly overtaken, when, by the resistance of some of the more trustworthy of his followers, he was enabled to continue his flight. He was at length captured at the village of Tábo (T. Ta-bo) in Spiti, after a loss of six or seven men on each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned.

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him.

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year, after which he returned to Ladák (La-dvags) with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the Káhlon of Banka (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon), and Chang Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.

End of Basti-Rām's narrative

Beginning of Cunningham's 'Other Information' (p. 345)

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti (Sbal-ti), whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted;

but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) and heard of the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau (Mkhar-maṅ or Parkuda) and Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu), but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhán Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar (Śi-dkar), to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhán Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party was surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow, and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

The Dogra army had halted in this position for fifteen days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow amongst the overhanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant, and utterly indifferent whether they should be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be frozen to death by the cold. The Vazir saw the desperate state in which he was placed, and roused himself to discover a passage across the river, but after several hours' vain search he returned in the evening wearied and despondent. Upon this Mehta Basti Rám and some others, to the number of about forty, determined to make a last effort to extricate themselves from their difficulties. At midnight, with only one companion, Basti Rám examined the bank of the river for several miles, while his party kept up a smart fire upon the Botis (Tibetan Baltis) on the opposite bank, to distract their attention. At length they discovered a place where the river was frozen over sufficiently thick to bear a man's weight, save about 20 feet in the middle, where the ice was thin. Then, sending for assistance, they cut down trees and placed them over the weaker parts of the ice, and by 5 o'clock in the morning the Indus was passable.

Intelligence was sent at once to the Vazir, by whose order this small party of forty men was the first to cross the Indus; but they had been so benumbed by their night's work, and by their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted, and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and eighteen others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Rám was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving, they moved to attack him; but, in the meantime, Zoráwar Sing, having roused a number of his men, pointed out to them that the river was passable, and that it had already been crossed by some of their more adventurous fellow-soldiers. Upon this a number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly passed, and the small party of daring men, after a smart fight, were safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action; but they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hand or foot during the exposure to the snow of the last few days.

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles, as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The Vazir halted there for a few days to reorganize his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To Mehta Basti Rám he gave rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty-two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some rs. 100, to some rs. 50, and to others rs. 40, according to their deserts.

Zoráwar Sing then advanced to Skardo (Skar-rdo), and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water. He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zoráwar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammed Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of rs. 7,000. But the astute commander, who had profited by his experience in Ladák, would not leave this new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmed Shah and his favourite son were carried off

as prisoners to Ladák. In this campaign the invaders lost about 200 men, and the Botis (Baltis) about 300 men.

Previous to the conquest of Skardo, the old king of Ladák, Tonduk Namgyal (Don-grub-rnam-rgyal), or 'Akabat Mahmud', had been accused of having intrigued with Ahmed Shah for a simultaneous and organized rising of the Tibetans of Ladák (La-dvags) and Balti (Sbal-ti). He may, perhaps, have been wrongfully accused; but as his feelings must naturally have inclined him to think favourably of any enemy of the Dogras, it would have been impolitic to have left him behind, as the absence of the conquering troops might have tempted him to rebel. Zoráwar Sing therefore carried Tonduk Namgyal (Don-grub-rnam-rgyal) with him on his expedition against Skardo. The old man had outlived the downfall of his country; he had survived close personal restraint and bitter indignity; but when his last hope was cut off with the fall of Skardo, he gave way to despondency, and being attacked with small-pox, he died within a month after the annexation of Balti (Sbal-ti) to the Jammu vice-royalty of the Sikh dominions. On the death of Akabat Mahmud, his grandson Jigmet Singgé Namgyal (Ḥjigs-med-seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal), a mere boy, was acknowledged as Gyalpo (Rgyal-po) by Zoráwar Sing. The father of this lad, Prince Chovang (or Chang) Raphtan Namgyal (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal), fled first to Hundar (Sṅon-dar) in Nubra, and afterwards to Spiti, on the deposal of Akabat Mahmud. In October, 1837, he reached Sarāhan, in Bisahar (Bashahr); and in April, 1838, he came to Kotgurh, where he resided until his death in 1839. He was then about 21 years of age. His wife, a daughter of the Káhlon Chovang Tandup (Bkaḥ-blon-Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub), remained in Ladák with her young son, Jigmet Singgé (Ḥjigs-med-Seṅ-ge).

NOTES

According to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* the deposition of Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin took place immediately before the expedition against Baltistan, and not before Zorāwar's visit to Jammu. The conquest of Chatrgarh was not directed against Ladakh, but against the Chamba State (see the Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 105). Ahmad-Shāh's quarrel with his eldest son is found fully described in Vigne's *Travels* (see *ante*, p. 186). The chief of Khatakchan (Parkuda) not only submitted to the Dogras, but energetically took their side, because he wished to assist Ahmad-Shāh's eldest son in his plotting against his father. As regards the construction of a bridge across the Indus, it was mainly due to the Dards, who assisted Bastī-Rām. The Dards have traditions about this incident. The Dards every year, in winter, make bridges across the Indus in places where they wish to have them. Their method is the following:—they fasten several beams to the bank of the river in such a way that they project into the river. After a short time they are frozen in an incrustation of ice of such solidity that it is possible to walk on them as far as the outer end. Then several more beams are fastened to the first, and are made to project into the river. When they are frozen in, another set of beams is brought, and so on, until the other bank is reached. It is only Cunningham who knows of Prince Rab-brtan's (or Mchog-sprul's) death in Kotgur. The Ladakhis believe that he died in Spyi-ti. A song of his flight is found in my *History of Western Tibet*, p. 152.

4. WAR AGAINST CENTRAL TIBET (Cunningham, p. 351)

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring States, and even talked of invading Yarkand. But the Lhasan provinces of Rudok (Ru-thogs) and Ngari (Mṅaḥ-ris) were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror

revived the old claims of Ladák (La-dvags) to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal (Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal). It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja.

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé (Wam-le) and Tashigong (Bkra-śis-sgaṅ). His troops penetrated to Rudok (Ru-thogs) and Gáro (Sgar, modern Gar-thogs), both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his headquarters on the Sutluj at Tirthápuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Ram was stationed at Takla-Khar (Dvag-la-mkhar or Stag la-mkhar), on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Nepal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot (Chu-śod), was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books, and the pictures, excited the religious bigotry of the Musulmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese (Tibetan) force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam (No-no-Bsod-nams), to oppose the advance of the Chinese (Lhasa-Tibetans); but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar (Kar-dam-mkhar), to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad (Rakas-Tal) lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese (Tibetans) with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th of December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese (Tibetans) made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zoráwar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battlefield was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese (Tibetans) gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar (Dvag-la-mkhar, Stag-la-mkhar); but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.

Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, Rai Sing, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhasan authorities.

2nd. Chang-Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo (Sñe-mo), to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. Nono-Sungnam (No-no-Bsod-nams), the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. Ghulám Khán, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

NOTES

The statement that Ru-thogs and Mñaḥ-ris had been alienated from Ladakh since the time of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal is not quite correct. These districts were separated from Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo under Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal. With regard to Bastī-Rām's flight from Dvag-la-mkhar (Stag-la-mkhar), Cunningham says in a note that the Dogras were very kindly received by Mr. Lushington, British Resident of Almora. According

to a statement by Dr. Hutchison, Ahmad-Shāh's grave is shown to travellers in Kaṣṭawār, so that he cannot have died in Lhasa. The minister (*bkaḥ-blon*) of Bab-sgo seems actually to have taken the side of the Dogras; for we find the same statement in Tshe-brtan's account. Tshe-brtan also mentions in this connexion a certain Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, whom he calls an astrologer. Thus it is quite possible that the minister of Bab-sgo and Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan are two different persons. Cunningham believed them to be one and the same, probably because they were occasionally mentioned together.

5. Second War against Central Tibet (Cunningham, p. 354)

During the winter the Chinese (Tibetans) re-occupied the whole of the Garo (Sgar, Gar-thog) territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák (La-dvags), and laid siege to the new fort at Lé (Sle). (The people of Balti (Sbal-ti) also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.) They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal (Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal), and the unwarlike Tibetans once more began to dream of independence. But after a short reign of six weeks, Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu advanced with fresh troops, and the Tibetans were rudely awakened from their dream of liberty by the musketry of their old enemies, and the 3,000 would-be heroes who had talked of invading Kashmir, fled ignominiously towards Rudog (Ru-thogs). There they recovered themselves, and taking up a strong position, they determined to await the approach of winter, and then join in a general rising against the Indian invaders. But the simple Tibetan was no match for the wily Indian, and the Lhasan commander was soon made a prisoner by stratagem. The strong position of the Tibetans was shortly afterwards turned; and the Lhasan Vazir was glad to be permitted to retire on the single condition that the old boundary between Ladák and China (Tibet) should be re-established.

NOTES

In my opinion Cunningham emphasizes the cowardice of the Ladakhis more than is just. A great deal of their inability to resist the Dogras was due to their insufficient armament. The Dogras were equipped in the most excellent way with cannons and modern rifles. The Tibetans had ancient matchlocks, and, as we know from Moorcroft, there was only one matchlock to ten soldiers. Even swords were rare, and most of the Ladakhis had to rely on clubs, bows and arrows, and stone-flinging.

XXI. The Song of the Dard Colonization of Baltistan and Ladakh

The following song is taken from a collection of Dard songs called *Bono-nā-yi-glu-'a-thruṅs*, "the eighteen songs of the Bono-nā festival." When I discovered this collection at Mdaḥ (Dah), in Lower Ladakh, the natives told me that they had written it down about thirty to forty years ago at the request of the famous traveller R. Shawe. No reference to it can, however, be found among Shawe's publications. I published this interesting hymnal in my *Ladakhi Songs*, where it is found under Nos. xxxi–xliv, together with a Tibetan translation; and again in the *Indian Antiquary*, where it was furnished with an English translation. The "Colonization song" is No. vi of the hymnal, and is found under No. xxxvi of *Ladakhi Songs*. As I am not satisfied with my previous translation of this song, I propose to publish a new attempt at solving its difficulties. I have come to the conclusion that several words which I believed to be terms of a descriptive character are in reality local names. These places cannot yet all be traced on modern maps; but a tour along the Indus from Skar-rdo to Ha-nu would probably help us to identify them all. On the whole the song follows the natural course of the Indus in enumerating them. If several places are mentioned together in a single line, we may expect to find them close together in the district. As I believe, the hymnal contained in earlier times several more Ladakhi names than it does now. Probably some of the names were dropped when the Dard language became extinct in those places. But a study of Ladakhi ethnography and archæology leads to the conviction that several villages which nowadays appear to be entirely Tibetan were in former centuries Dard.

DARD TEXT

1. ཨོ་ཏ་ཏཻ། རོང་ཆུར་ཇུར་ཏུ་རྩ་ཆོས་བྱང་ཕེ་ཐུམ་མོ།
2. རོང་དེ་ཆུར་ཇུར་ས་ལི་ཕོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་ཏེད་།
3. ཏང་སེ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ཕེ་ཏང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཏེད་།
4. ན་ཀོ་གུ་སུད་ས་ལི།
5. ཀོ་ཚར་ཏོ་ཀུ་མར་ས་ལི་ཏོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་ཏེད་།
6. ཏང་སེ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ཕེ་ཏང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཏེད་།
7. ཨཱར་དོ་ཁོར་དེ་ཡུང་ས་ལི་ཏོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་ཏེད་།
8. ཏང་སེ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ཕེ་ཏང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཏེད་།

9. ཨི་གངས་དེ་ཚམ་སྦྱི་ཞིང་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
10. ཏང་སེ་ཏོ་ཅོ་ལོ་ཏང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
11. ཀྱི་དིས་ཆུམ་རྒག་ས་ལི་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
12. རྒ་སིང་མན་སྦྲ་ཁར་ཤག་གལ་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
13. པར་ཀུད་ད་ནམ་ཀྱིལ་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
14. གཅིས་ཐུག་རྩག་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
15. གཅོག་སེ་ཟང་གི་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
16. ཀྱི་ཐུར་ལྷ་འཕྲོག་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
17. ཅ་ཏུ་ཅན་དང་མིར་ས་ལི་ཅོ་ཡ་ཨ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །
18. ས་ནེར་ས་ཚུག་ཝེར །
19. རུ་ཁོ་རོ་ཅ་རུ་ནེ་ཁོ་དེ་ཟན །
20. ཅོ་ཅ་ཡོན་མ་སྦྲོན་མན་དེ་དེ་མན་དེ་མན་དེ་ཤིན །
21. ཏེ་ཅྱོན་མཚ་མཚ །
22. མན་དེ་དེ་མན་དེ་ཤིན །
23. ཅོ་ཀེ་ཡོན་མཚ་མཚ །
24. མན་དེ་དེ་མན་དེ་ཤིན །
25. ཅོ་ཀེ་ཡོན་མཚ་མཚ ||

TRANSLATION

1. Then they went, and arrived at Roṅ-chur-rgyud, oh Mum-mo!
2. At Roṅ-ṅe-chur-rgyud. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
3. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
4. [They arrived] at Ba-śo [and] Gu-sur,
5. At Go-'ar-to [and] Ku-mar. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
6. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
7. [They arrived] at Skar-do [and] the willow of God. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
8. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
9. [They arrived] at Cham-bro-żiṅ of Śi-gar, oh Yan-driṅ!
10. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ?
11. [They arrived] at Kye-ris [and] Chum-rgag, oh Yan-driṅ!
12. At Rga-siṅ, Man-thro-khar, [and] Śag-gal. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!
13. At Par-kud-da [and] Nam-kyil. Love, oh Yan-driṅ!

14. At Ga-bis [and] Śug-tug. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
15. At the willow (*Caṅ*) of Ga-nog-sa. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
16. At Kyi-śur [and] Lha-ḫbrog. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
17. At Ha-nu [and] Han-draṅ-mir. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
18. Sa-nid is the beginning [of colonization].
19. [There are] two out-fields, oh happy youth !
20. Oh Ha-yon-Ma-sron, Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
21. [This is] a dancing-place.
22. Oh Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
23. This [is] a dancing-place.
24. Oh Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
25. This [is] a dancing-place.

NOTES

This song contains the names of several Dard deities which have not yet been identified. *Mum-mo*, literally ' uncle ', seems to be a deified forefather. *Yan-driṅ* is probably a corruption of the Tibetan word *Yar-ḫdren*, ' upwards-drawer,' one of the epithets of Kesar. *Ha-yon-Ma-sron* is translated by the Tibetan *Lha-mo*, *Devī*. *Man-de-de-man-de-śin* is given in Tibetan by *Yul-lha-gźi-bdag*, ' local deity.'

Local names.—The following may be identified: Roṅ-chur-rgyud, the Indus valley between Lig-tse and Ño-ma. Ba-śo, west of Skar-rdo. Gu-sur, Tibetan Khu-tshur, near Ba-śo. Ku-mar, near Skar-rdo. Skar-rdo, the capital of Baltistan. Śi-gar (Śi-dkar), north of Skar-rdo. Kye-ris, close to the confluence of Sha-yok and Indus. Man-thro-khar, probably identical with Anthrokar or Kharmang of the maps. Par-ku-da, below Kharmang. Ga-bis (map Gavis), name of the valley of Palpaldo. Ga-nog-sa (map Ganoks), name of a side-valley above Ga-bis. Ha-nu and Han-draṅ-mir, in a side-valley above the latter. Sa-nid (map Sunnit), a few miles above Mdah (Dah of the map).

As regards the seventh line, another translation, viz. ' willow of Skar-do-god ', might be proposed; for among the Dards this town may be known by the name of Skar-do-god. Taṅ-se is probably an abbreviation of [*rtses*]-*btaṅ-sa-ig*, a dancing-place.

XXII. Notes on those Vassal States of which no Chronicles remain

1. The Khri-Sultāns of Dkar-rtse

The principality of Dkar-rtse comprised the valleys of the Su-ru and Dras rivers; but the chiefs of Dras may at times have been independent. The capital of the State was Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru valley, and the towns of Su-ru, Dkar-kyil, Pas-kyum, at times even Mul-ḫbye, Wan-la, Śim-śa-mkhar-bu, and Hem-babs (Dras) were subject to these chiefs. The population was for the greater part of Dard origin, and the Dard language is still spoken in its western villages. The religion of the state was originally Buddhism; but in the fifteenth or sixteenth century this was exchanged for Muhammadanism. Raṅ-ḫdum in the upper Su-ru valley is the only place in the district which has remained Buddhist.

Inscriptions:—At Dras there are several sculptured stones with inscriptions in Śāradā, one even in Tibetan. They go back to the times of the early chiefs of Hem-babs. 'A-la or Dram-'A-la seems to have been the name of one of those chiefs. The huge sculpture of Maitreya at Mul-ḫbye is probably the work of one of the earlier chiefs of Dkar-rtse. It is now stated to be the work of the eight minor sons of Ñe-ba, viz. the eight spiritual sons of Buddha (see S. Ch. Das' dictionary). Similar sculptures near Dkar-rtse are said to be furnished with Tibetan inscriptions, which have, however, not yet been examined. A sculpture at Śiṅ-go is pictured in Drew's book (*The Northern Barrier of India*, p. 270). A Tibetan inscription mentioning one of those chiefs by his dynastic name *Khri-rgyal* (later on changed to *Khri-Sultān*), is found in my collection of historical inscriptions under No. 42.—King Ḫod-den, mentioned in a votive inscription at Mul-ḫbye, may be one of the Muhammadan chiefs (Khri-Sultāns) of Dkar-rtse.—An inscription from Wan-la is of the greatest importance with regard to the history of these chieftains. It seems to be the only Tibetan record of the Kashmir expeditions against Ladakh in the fifteenth century. It is found on one of the walls of the Bcu-gcig-żal monastery at Wan-la. There the chiefs are called *Khri-dpon* (a synonym of *Khri-rgyal*). Their dominions are said to have included Wa-kha, Kan-ji, Su-ru, En-sa-ali, and Maṅ-rgyu. The Chief Ḫbhag-dar-skyabs became a vassal of the Kashmir king, and apparently in his service conquered (or assisted in the conquest of) Sbal-ti, Ḫbrog-pa (district of Mdaḫ), Gu-ge, Pu-hraṅs, and Mṅaḫ-ris-skor-gsum. At that time began the introduction of Muhammadanism into Pu-rig; for names like Khātūn and 'Alī appear in the record by the side of perfectly Tibetan names.

Other records:—In the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (*c.* 1532 A.D., pp. 462 sqq.) we read of several expeditions of the Turkomans under Mīrzā Haidar against Su-ru. Apparently they were not crowned with much success. From the Ladakhi chronicles we learn that two chiefs of Pu-rig were fighting with one another (*c.* 1550–80 A.D.). One of them was the chief of Cig-tan, and the other in all probability the chief of Dkar-rtse.—Then in the

course of the great Mughal wars during the first half of the seventeenth century the chief of Dkar-rtse, the Khri-Sultān, was taken prisoner and transported to Leh. We do not know whether he again obtained his liberty and his kingdom. During Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's reign Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal ruled over Pu-rig; and at the beginning of the Dogra wars (1834 A.D.) we find a Ladakhi garrison stationed at Dkar-rtse.

2. THE ANCIENT KINGS OF KHA-LA-RTSE

Kha-la-rtse must have been in ancient times an important place; for here we find the most ancient rock-inscriptions of Ladakh. The inscription in Maurya Brāhmī characters discovered here contains nothing but the name Bharadaya (Bharadvāja) in the genitive case, as stated by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. This may be the name of some Hindu or Buddhist priest. But one of the ancient Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Kha-la-rtse begins with the title Mahārāja, as pointed out by Professor Rapson. Unfortunately it has not yet been possible to make out the proper name of this king. Then there is a Gupta inscription at Kha-la-rtse, which has not yet been read with absolute certainty. Dr. Vogel proposed the reading *Śrī-Sacamatisya*, the genitive case of Śrī-Sacamati (Satyamati), whilst Mr. F. W. Thomas suggested the reading *Śrīma*[*c*]-*carpatisya*. [*Carpati* is known as the name of a Buddhist divinity, and a legendary Yogin of this name is mentioned in the Chambā *Vaṃśāvalī*. See Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pp. 92–3.—F. W. T.] With the former reading the inscription would seem to contain the name of one of the old [perhaps Dard] chiefs of Kha-la-rtse, who will have reigned there *c.* 400 A.D. In the close vicinity of this inscription are found the so-called *mgo-chen-mchod-rten*, the ancient *stūpas* of those chiefs, as I suppose. I have not yet been permitted to open any of these monuments. The names of the last kings of Kha-la-rtse are found on some of the boulders near Kha-la-rtse bridge. There the names Khri-ḥod, Rgya-śin (Brgya-sbyin, Indra), and Śi-ri-ma (Śrīmān) occur. The orthography of these inscriptions points to the time between 1000 and 1300 A.D. These kings probably reigned during the twelfth century, when Lha-chen Nag-lug of Leh built the Brag-nag castle of Kha-la-rtse. Probably the firm establishment of the Ladakhi rule put an end to their power.

3. THE CHIEFS OF NUB-RA

Nub-ra is a province of Ladakh, situated in the Śha-yok valley, to the east of Chor-ḥbad. In classical Tibetan it is called Ldum-ra, 'fruit garden.' Nub-ra means 'western realm'. To judge by the two inscriptions which have come to my knowledge, it looks as if in former days Nub-ra had been ruled by its own princes. Inscription No. 40 of my collection, which comes from Hun-dar in Nub-ra, speaks of a king Tshe-dbaṅ-brtan-pa, who resided at a castle called Bde-chen-rtse-mo. His wife was called [R]nam-rgyal-skyid, and his son Mgon-po-[r]nam-rgyal. Inscription No. 41 speaks of a king Bhag-ram-mir, who resided at the same castle. This king is in all probability identical with Bahram-Chu (Jo), mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* as having guided the Turkoman army to Śi-dkar (1532 A.D.). There he is called a chief of Baltistan. This is not so extraordinary. As his country bordered on Baltistan, he

may in the eyes of the Turkomans have appeared a Balti chief. Lha-chen Grags-pa-ḥbum (*supra*, p. 102) is the first Ladakhi king whose name appears on votive tablets in Nub-ra. Bhag-ram-mir was probably the last native chief of Nub-ra. He may, moreover, be identical with Sultan Bairam of Kha-pu-lu (*supra*, p. 189), since, as I was informed, Nub-ra was at one time a province of that state.

4. The Chiefs of 'A-lci

'A-lci is an old town, situated on the left bank of the Indus, opposite Sa-spo-la. Judging by its many ruins, it may have been a place of importance in ancient times. Most of the inscriptions near the bridge of 'A-lci contain only the names of colonels who guarded the bridge, probably after the Tibetan conquest in the tenth century. But there is a single inscription which may contain the name of a king. It is No. 5 of my collection, and the king's name would be Rgyal-khri. Local tradition connects the castle above the bridge with a legendary king Bandel or Bahand, or it attributes the erection of the castle to king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh. The latter statement is apparently a mistake for Ñi-ma-mgon, the conqueror of Ladakh, who may have placed his colonels together with a garrison in this castle.

5. The Chiefs of the Rub-śo Nomads

The chiefs of the Rub-śo nomads are a recognized family of high rank. It intermarries with the kings of Ladakh. Thus one of the most famous queens of Ladakh, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, wife of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, was a Ru-śod (Rub-śo) princess; and the present ex-king Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal is also married to a Rub-śo princess. As the nomads are also in the habit of building *maṇi* walls furnished with votive tablets, it may be possible to gather from such tablets a few names of chiefs. Thus on a tablet discovered in 1909 in the vicinity of the Dkor-mdzod monastery, on the shore of the Tsho-mo-ri-ri lake, are found the names Ga-ga Tshe-riṅ-bkra-śis, father and son. As far as I remember, they are the names of the father and grandfather of the present chief.

6. The No-nos of Spyi-ti

The No-nos are the ruling family of chiefs in Spyi-ti. At present it is impossible to decide whether they are descended from a native Spyi-ti family or from certain governors of Spyi-ti, posted there by the kings of Ladakh. Thus a Rdzoṅ-blon-chen-po, mentioned on a votive tablet, is called Stan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. He may be identical with king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's step-brother, Bstan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. (See *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, part vii.) From the list of Spyi-ti MSS. and inscriptions collected by Mr. Howell's two pandits in 1908 the following names of Spyi-ti No-nos or Ga-gas may be gathered. (But these documents have never as yet been properly examined.) 1. Ga-ga Mkhyen-rab (Kanrab), supposed to have been the first No-no of Spyi-ti. 2. Stan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal, mentioned again in an inscription from Raṅ-rig. 3. The name of a certain Ga-ga Rdo-rje is found on a dedication sheet from Kyi-bar. He was a contemporary of Tshe-dpal-don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh (beginning of the

nineteenth century). The No-nos of Sku-gliṅ are adherents of the Sa-skya school of Lamaism. The name of the capital of Spyi-ti is spelt in various ways, Gra-mkhar, Graṅ-mkhar, Braṅ-mkhar, etc. A legend telling of the extermination of the Ladakhi garrison at this castle is found in my collection, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, No. 17. The most famous monasteries of Spyi-ti are: Ta-bo (formerly under Gu-ge), Ki (or Skyid) (Dge-lug-pa order), Spyin (Rñiṅ-ma-pa order), and Btaṅ-rgyud (Sa-skya-pa order). According to information obtained by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth, there are several (four?) families of No-nos in Spyi-ti, who have never had much political importance: districts and residences will be mentioned in a description of localities to be published later.

7. THE CHIEFS OF NA-KO

A line of chiefs is known to have once resided at Na-ko in Kuṇawar. As Na-ko is situated exactly above the ancient town of Li, it is possible that the chiefs of Na-ko reigned over the town and district of Li. I found the name of a single chief only in a votive tablet inscription at the ancient Na-ko monastery. It was Jo Dpal-ḫbyor. His wife's name is given as Jo-jo Bsam-brtan.

It is interesting that in 1870 a brother of the rājā of Bashahr, called Fatḥ-Siṅgh, made himself the head of this old principality. He fortified the bridge between Na-ko and Li; but in the same year he was caught and seized by the Bashahr troops.

8. THE CHIEFS OF RU-THOG

From the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* we learn that in the days of king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal there existed a chief at Ru-thog called 'Aṅ-pa (Dbaṅ-pa, ruler). No inscription of any 'Aṅ-pa has yet been found. Ru-thog was a Station of the Tsaparang (Rtsa-braṅ) mission; when that mission was destroyed by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the 'Aṅ-pa shared the fate of the Rtsa-braṅ ruler.

9. THE CHIEFS OF PU-HRAṄS

From the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* we learn that the name of the last member of the native line of Pu-hraṅs chiefs (tenth century) was Dge-bśes-btsan. He gave his daughter Ḫbro-za-ḫkhor-skyoṅ in marriage to king Ñi-ma-mgon; and thus Pu-hraṅs became part of the West Tibetan empire. When the Gu-ge kings ruled over Gu-ge and Pu-hraṅs, the latter province was given apparently to a branch line of the royal family of Gu-ge, the Lde dynasty. When the line of the kings of Gu-ge came to an end, one of the Pu-hraṅs princes, a certain Bsod-nams-lde, was asked to become king of Gu-ge. (Compare the chronicles of Gu-ge.)

NOTE

As regards the so-called kings of He-na-sku, only one name has as yet been discovered. On p. 87 of the MS. copy of the treaty of Wam-le (*c.* 1751 A.D.) we read that the He-na-sku king of that time was named Dkon-grub, perhaps Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub. On p. 31 it is stated that the line of the He-na-sku kings branched off under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. The so-called kings of Rgya were only ministers (*blon-po*). See my notes on them in my book *Archæology in Indian Tibet*, p. 63, and *supra*, pp. 225 sqq.

XXIII. Appendix, containing a passage from the *History of Kashmir* in Persian by Maulavī Hasan-Shāh, copied from a history by Maulavī Haidar Malik of Chodra

'Historians describe the time of rule of the Rajahs up to the reign of Renchan as 4,445 solar years, and till then the Hindu religion prevailed. But no one was firm in his convictions and there was great variety and antagonism of sects. Therefore, according to the saying (Arabic) that "people follow the religion of their kings" Buddhism was the predominant religion, besides various sects of Khatris, Vaish, Kaisth, Parsi, Nāg-worshippers, etc., who lived here. When in the battle of Zalchu many people were killed, and a few remained in different faiths, and when Renchan, who was a Buddhist, sat on the throne and saw that the real faith was in danger owing to the great variety in religion, he wished to have only one religion in the country under his rule. But, as entrance into the religion of Shiwah was impossible and he was undecided as regards the others, he thought that, whomsoever he should see first the next morning, his religion he would adopt. In the morning he saw Sayyid Sharaf-ud-Dīn Bulbul-shāh in the act of saying his prayers on the opposite bank of the River Bhat. He took a fancy for his form of devotions, and together with his own family he embraced his religion, and became a good Muhammadan, with the name of King Sadr-ud-Dīn. On the following day Rāwan-Chandar, the son of Rām-Chandar, the officers of state and the common people in large groups embraced Islām at the hands of the holy Sayyid. The date of this event is contained in the chronogram "the sunrise of the Muhammadan religion" [denoting 726 A.H.–1325 A.D.].

'The following verses have been inscribed on a stone in the Bulbul-langar mosque:—

'"My friend has become the ornament of assemblies, the observed of all observers. His face claims Islām, and his hair adorns paganism. He holds both paganism and Islām in his fist, and his fist too is the cynosure of beholders."

'Renchan-Shāh, after becoming Muhammadan, built a great Khāngāh for his religious guide on the banks of the River Bhat, and it was the first of its kind built in Kashmir. He arranged for food to be distributed to the needy and wayfaring, and endowed some villages in the Nāgām *pargaṇa* for the upkeep of the establishment. This institution lasted till the time of the Jught kings, and poor people were fed there. On that account the quarter was called Bulbul-langar. Renchan-Shāh built for himself a royal palace, which is now occupied by the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Amīn Waisī. Contiguous to the same he built a very large mosque, and used to read his Friday prayers in it. After some time this mosque was burnt down, and he rebuilt a small mosque with dressed stones; it still exists under the name of Renṭan-masjid. Altogether Renchan-Shāh ruled for two years and seven months, and he died near the Bulbul-Shāh convent.'

TEXT

مورخان مدت فرمانروائی راجها تا عهد رینچن چهارهزار وچهارصد وچهل و پنج سال شمسی مي نویسند وتا این زمان طریقه مذهب هنود رواج داشت اما هیچکسی بر صرافت خود نبود تعدد واختلاف مشارب وتنوع و تکثر مذاهب بسیار داشت ازانجمله بمقتضای "الناس علي دین ملوکهم" در مذهب بوده تکثر ورواج پیشتر بود وغیر ازین مذاهب مختلفه مثل کهتري و ویش و کایت و پارسی وناگ پرست وغیره بسیار فرقه در اینجا سکونت میداشتند چون در واقعهٔ زوالچو خلقت بسیاري بقتل رسید وجمعي قلیل بمذاهب مختلفه موجود ماند وقتیکه رینچن که بمذهب بود بود برسریر جهانبانی استقلال یافت بکثرت و اختلاف مذاهب و ملل مذهب اصلی را خلل دیده خواست که در ملک ماتحت خود یک ملت مروج سازد چونکه دخول در مذهب شیعه متعذر بود و در مذاهب دیگر متردد ماند پس با دل خود سنجید که فردا کسیکه اول صبح مي بینم بمذهب اوگرایم بامدادان جناب سید شرف الدین را ملقب به بلبل شاه دید که برساحل آنروی دریای بهت نماز میخواند نماز ونیاز او پسندیده با اهل و عیال خود بمذهب اوگرویده طوق اسلام بگردن انداخته خود را بملک صدرالدین ملقب ساخت فردا بمتابعت او راون چندر پسر رامچندر و سران سلطنت وعامه خلائق جوق جوق بردست سید بزرگوار بشرف اسلام مشرف گشت طلوع افتاب دین احمدی تاریخ اینواقعه گفته اند این ابیات بر یک سنگ کنده در مسجد بلبل لنکر اند

یار من بهر محفل آرائی شد تماشاي هر تماشائی
روي او کرد دعوی اسلام موی او کرد کفر آرائی
کفر و اسلام را بچنگ آرد خود مر آن چنگ را تما شائی

رینچن شاه بعد یافتن دولت اسلام براي مرشد بزرگوار خود خانقاهی رفیع برکنارهٔ دریاي بهت ترصیص نمود و این اول خانقاهي است که در کشمیر تعمیر یافت و در انجا براي آمد ورفت محتاجان و مسافران لنگر جاري ساخت و بجهت مصارف مطبخ و اخراجات خانقاه چند قریه از پرگنه ناگام معین فرمود که تا زمان شاهان جغت بدستور معمول بود وفقرا و مساکین ازانجا راتبه خوار بودند ازینجهت آن محله را بلبل لنگر میگفتند رینچن شاه برای سکونت خود دولتخانهٔ شاهي آباد ساخت که فی الحال مرقد حضرت سید محمد امین ویسی درآنجا است متصل آن مسجد جامع در غایت وسعت معمور ساخت و خود در انجا نماز جمعه ادا میکرد بعد چندگاه مسجد جامع سوخته شده بجاي آن مسجدي قصیر از احجار تراشیده ترصیص نمود که تا حال موجود است و آنرا رینچن مسجد میگویند رینچن شاه همگی دو سال و هفت ماه بحکومت بسر برده انتقال متصل خانقاه بلبل شاه آسود

Another tale of Renchan Shāh (Riñcana Bhoṭṭa) is given on pp. 180–1 of my *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 7, l. 18: For *bram-zehi* read *bram-zeḫi*.

p. 14, l. 24: For 'Bu-rig' read 'Pu-rig'.

p. 14, l. 26: For 'Bar-bog' read 'Bar-ḫbog'.

p. 55, l. 16: For ི་ཀ read ཱི་ཀ.

p. 64, l. 17: For *Mṅon-pahi* read *Mṅon-paḫi*.

p. 64, ll. 26 ff.: It is remarkable that the four points of the compass are here given in the order east, north, west, south, not east, south, west, north, which is usual in the Northern Hemisphere. The inverted order, together with the inverted *svastika*, is found in Bon-po literature, for instance, in the *Gzer-mig*. And the fact that this order is followed here speaks in favour of my view that the chapter shows influences of the Bon religion.

p. 67, l. 29: For 'Brāhma' read 'Brahmā'.

p. 71, l. 18: My opinion that the tribe of Ḫa-ża (Se-ḫa-ża) are the Lahulīs is questioned by M. Paul Pelliot in his article 'Notes à propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur', *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, p. 144, note. He says that the Ḫa-ża are the Tou-yu-houen of the Ku-ku-nor. Without doubting that he is right in his identification, I believe that it is quite possible that the tribe has separated, and that nowadays members of the same original tribe are found in different localities. Thus it was a tribe of Me-ñag who founded the village of Sa-bu, a few miles east of Leh, whilst the other Me-ñag are found in Eastern Tibet. It is the Lahulīs themselves who assert that the word Ḫa-ża, found so often in Padmasambhava literature together with the local names 'U-rgyan (Udyāna) and Mandi (Za-hor), actually refers to their own country. In the present designation of Lahul, viz. Gar-ża, two original names, viz. Ḫa-ża and Dkar-żva (white-caps), were combined. According to Bon literature, the Ḫa-ża are a tribe of fairies, and it is therefore interesting to note that in many inscriptions, as well as in folklore, Lahul is called a 'land of fairies' (*Mkhaḫ-ḫgroḫi-yul*).

p. 71, ll. 19–20: For 'Krakucehanda' read 'Krakucchanda'.

p. 76, ll. 30–1: For *Rgyal-spun-po-* read *Rgyal-rabs-spun-po-*.

p. 81, ll. 9 and 32: The *Spaṅ(Dpaṅ)-skoṅ-phyag-rgya* (Bkaḫ-ḫgyur, Mdo 24) is a short ritual tract, containing invocation, confessions, etc. It is printed in a volume entitled *Dkar-chag-dgos-ḫdod-kun-ḫbyun*, preserved in the Prussian State Library.

p. 82, l. 26: For 'Ḫ-nu' read ''A-nu'.

p. 87, l. 9: A possibly better translation, according with the views of the Tibetans, is that given in *J. and P.A.S.B.*, vol. vi, 1910, p. 412. 'He (i.e. Padmasambhava) put a *vajra* into the water, whereupon Zil-chen took the shape of a boy.'

p. 87, ll. 38–43: The Report of Nain Singh's journey is contained in *Report on the Trans-Himalayan Explorations in connexion with the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India during* 1865–7, *drawn up by Captain T. G. Montgomerie* (n.d. Dehra Dun (?)).

p. 90, ll. 28–9: For 'Brāhma-' read 'Brahmā-'.

p. 92, last line: The *Ḫbum* is the *Prajñā-pāramitā* in 100,000 verse-lengths (*Śata-sāhasrikā*).

p. 96, l. 1 : The three lakes. In the Ladakhi Marriage Hymnal (see *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, by A. H. Francke, p. 50) the names of three lakes are given as follows :—(1) Ma-phaṅ, (2) La-ṅag, (3) Sgo-mo.

p. 97, l. 22 : For 'Pu-raṅs' read 'Pu-hraṅs'.

p. 97, l. 31 : The *Rgyud-ḫbum* does not seem to be known : probably it was a collection of Tantras.

p. 101, l. 20 : For 'Ddud-' read 'Bdud-'.

p. 104, l. 5 : For *btsun-gral* read *btsun-khral*.

p. 105, l. 13 : For 'Ḫkhar-ḫo-ldoṅ' read 'Ḫkhar-'o-ldoṅ'.

p. 110, l. 10 : 'Chief and owner.' The Tibetan phrase *Jo-bo-bdag-po* is the official title of the Gu-ge kings, the *Chodāpo* of the Jesuit records; cf. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, p. 79.

p. 112, ll. 11–12 : With regard to d'Andrada's mission to Tsaparang, the work of L. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603–1721 (The Hague, 1924), should be consulted. It contains a chapter on the Tsaparang Mission. We learn from this book that the first European known to have visited Leh was the Jesuit Azevedo. He was received in audience by the King of Ladakh, probably Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The Rev. H. Hosten's statements will have to be corrected accordingly.

p. 112, l. 39 : For 'Ḫgrug-pa' read 'Ḫbrug-pa'.

p. 114, l. 31 : For 'Śod' read 'Sod'.

pp. 119–20 : The *Bkaḥ-ḫgyur-ro-chog*, which is contained in an existing xylograph, is a recital of the titles of works in the *Bkaḥ-ḫgyur*. *Gser-ḫod* and *Gyaṅ-skyabs* are also known as the titles of two short xylographed tracts. See the volume entitled *Dkar-chag-dgos-ḫdod-kun-ḫbyuṅ* in the Prussian State Library.

p. 123, l. 3 from end : Gzims-cuṅ (or Gzim-chuṅ) is a house for retirement, e.g. that of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa.

l. 35 : For 'tafetta' read 'taffeta'.

p. 126, l. 6 : } p. 127, ll. 7–9 : } For *khaṭmband* read *ḳẖātamband*.

p. 128, l. 33 : For 'Sar-re' read 'Śar-re'.

p. 139, ll. 6 sqq. : } p. 141, l. 27 : } Rāmbīr is a mistake of the Tibetans for Raṇbīr (Raṇavīra).

p. 140, l. 29 : For 'Dharma-'āt-mas' read 'Dharmātmas'.

p. 141, l. 21 : For *al-wan* read *'al-wan*.

ll. 32 sqq. : For *pao* read *paḫo*.

ll. 33 sqq. : For *bati* read *ba-ti*.

l. 34 : For *rdo-saṅ* read *rdo-sraṅ*.

p. 142, l. 4 : Concerning Gzim-chuṅ see the note above on p. 123.

p. 142, l. 7 and later : Wāzīr, for Wazīr, is a mistake of the Tibetan text.

p. 142, l. 47 : For 'Reb-slob' read 'Redslob'.

p. 143, l. 3; Tika. The *ṭīkā*, Sanskrit *tilaka*, is a mark imprinted in the centre of the forehead as a sign of heir-apparency or, in the case of women, of marriage.

l. 10 : For 'the lancers' read 'the bugles'.

p. 143, l. 3 from end : Hakīm, for Ḥākim, is perhaps a mistake of the Tibetan text.

p. 152, ll. 23 ff. : With regard to Csoma de Körös' Tibetan studies in Zaṅs-dkar Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, I.C.S., believes that he has found the exact site. According to his investigations it is the Rdzoṅ-khul monastery on the Dpon-tse River.

p. 156, l. 2 from end : }
p. 157, l. 2 : } The Yab-sgod king is perhaps identical with Sultan Yagu, No. 39, on p. 189.

p. 157, l. 3 : The Ga-rogs (poor people) are probably a family of smiths. In the *Kesar-saga* the name of a famous smith is Ka-rog.

p. 159, l. 35 : For ' together with the valley ' read ' together with Gsum-mdo (a village) '.

p. 166, l. 49 : The name Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma, as found on one of the walls of the cave temples of Sa-spo-la, is of ancient date. The present head-lamas of Ri-rdzoṅ who are called by the same name are probably the spiritual descendants of the ancient lama of Sa-spo-la. In the same manner the spiritual descendants of Stag-tshaṅ-ras-pa who reside at He-mi[s] are at the present day also called Stag-tshaṅ-ras-pa.

p. 169, l. 6 : For ' the Smṛtis (śāstras) came ' read ' the (teachers) Smṛti and others came '. Smṛti seems to be a personal name : see Walleser, *Prajñā-pāramitā*, p. 28, and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, ed. S. C. Das, ii, p. xiii.

l. 10 : It is interesting that the name of Sroṅ-ṅe's son Żi-ba-ḥod is found in an inscription on a brass image discovered by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth at Graṅ-rtse, Spyi-ti. The image represents Śākya-muni.

ll. 15–16 : Grags-pa-lde is probably an abridged form of the name Khri-bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde. The latter form occurs, in a votive inscription found by me on a *maṇi*-wall at Tabo in Spyi-ti, as the name of a king who reigned at Tsaparang.

p. 174, ll. 42–3 : Chod is generally spelled Phyod.

p. 181, l. 22 : Another period when the Dras district may have felt the yoke of the Chinese was the time of the great Mughal emperors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

p. 185, l. 16 : Add to the account of Zufur Khan that he built the *darwāza* (barrage) at Torgo (Thur-dgon) ; see Vigne, *Travels*, ii, p. 244.

p. 186, last line but one : Add that one of the inscriptions contains the name of one of the ancient Balti kings. It is Lag-chen, ' great hand,' Mahābāhu.

p. 190, l. 33 : For ' (Haidar-khān) ' read ' (Hatim-khan) '.

p. 191, l. 9 : The full name of the duchy of Keris is Skye-ris, meaning ' home '.

p. 194, l. 24 : Add that Biddulph gives (*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 144–5) a line of predecessors of Ali Sher, among whom are found the titles Fakir, Tham, Singe, and Bokha : See K. E. von Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichen Himalaya*, pp. 254–7. He himself made the acquaintance of the chiefs Ali Shah and his son Shah Abbas.

p. 195, l. 35 : }
p. 206, last line : } For 'Massey' read 'Massy'. His work is entitled *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Delhi, Jalandhar and Derajat Divisions of the Panjab* (Allahabad, 1890).

p. 214, l. 29 : Add that Lcags-mkhar (which is also mentioned above, p. 206) is found in the Bon-po book *Gzer-miṅ* as the name of a castle of the Nāgas.

p. 218, l. 29 : For ' (Ṛiddhi) ' read ' (Biddhi or Pṛithvī) '.

p. 220, end : Add that, according to the colophon of a MS. of the Tibetan *Vetāla*-stories recently found in the possession of the Bar-ḥbog family, the family is descended from a Brāhman ancestor.

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(Containing chiefly proper names (of persons and places), titles, technical terms, etc.)

N.B.—The variations and inconsistencies in the spelling are due for the most part to (a) *variations in the original documents, Tibetan and other*; (b) *differences in the systems of transliteration or spelling adopted by European writers from whom quotations are taken*; (c) *particular deviations on the part of the same writers.*

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